

Thomas Jefferson's

FARM
BOOK

Edited by Edwin Morris Betts

79°

ROCKINGHAM



Poplar Forest



°STAUNTON

38°

AUGUSTA

BATH

ALLEGHANY

ROCKBRIDGE

NELSON

AMHERST

BOTETOURT

JAMES RIVER

CEDAR C.

Natural Bridge

JAMES RIVER

PEAKS OF OTTER

LYNCHBURG

Bear Creek
Poplar Forest
Tomahawk

BEDFORD

BEDFORD

CAMPBELL

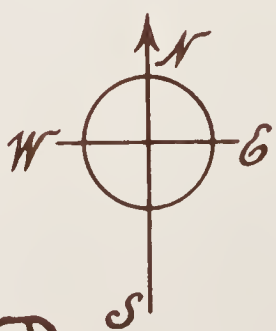
OTTER RIVER

ROANOKE RIVER

HUNTERS

FLOODS

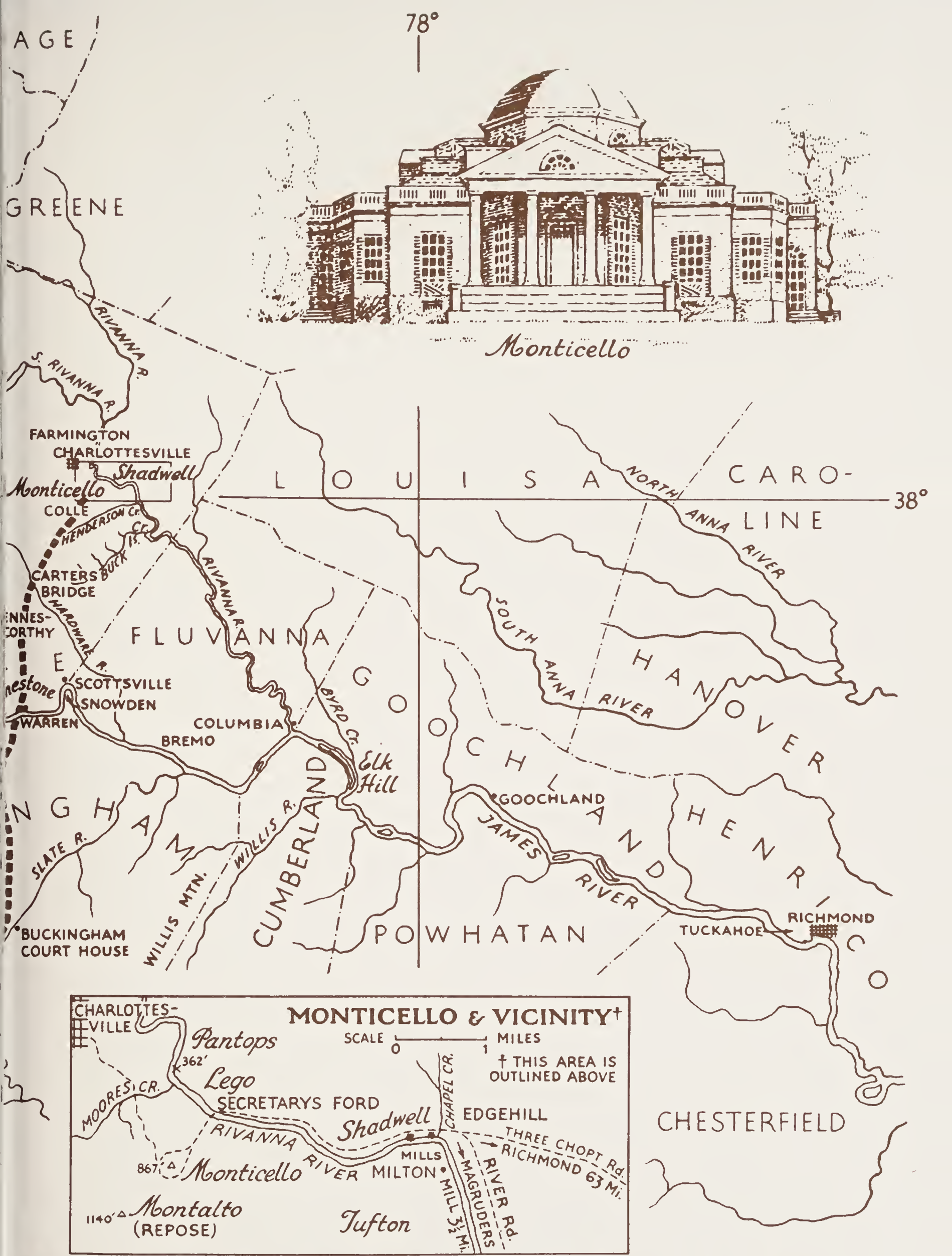
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JEFFERSON COUNTRY

JEFFERSON'S ROUTE BETWEEN MONTICELLO & POPLAR FOREST

LANDS AND ESTATES OWNED BY JEFFERSON, THUS: *Monticello*

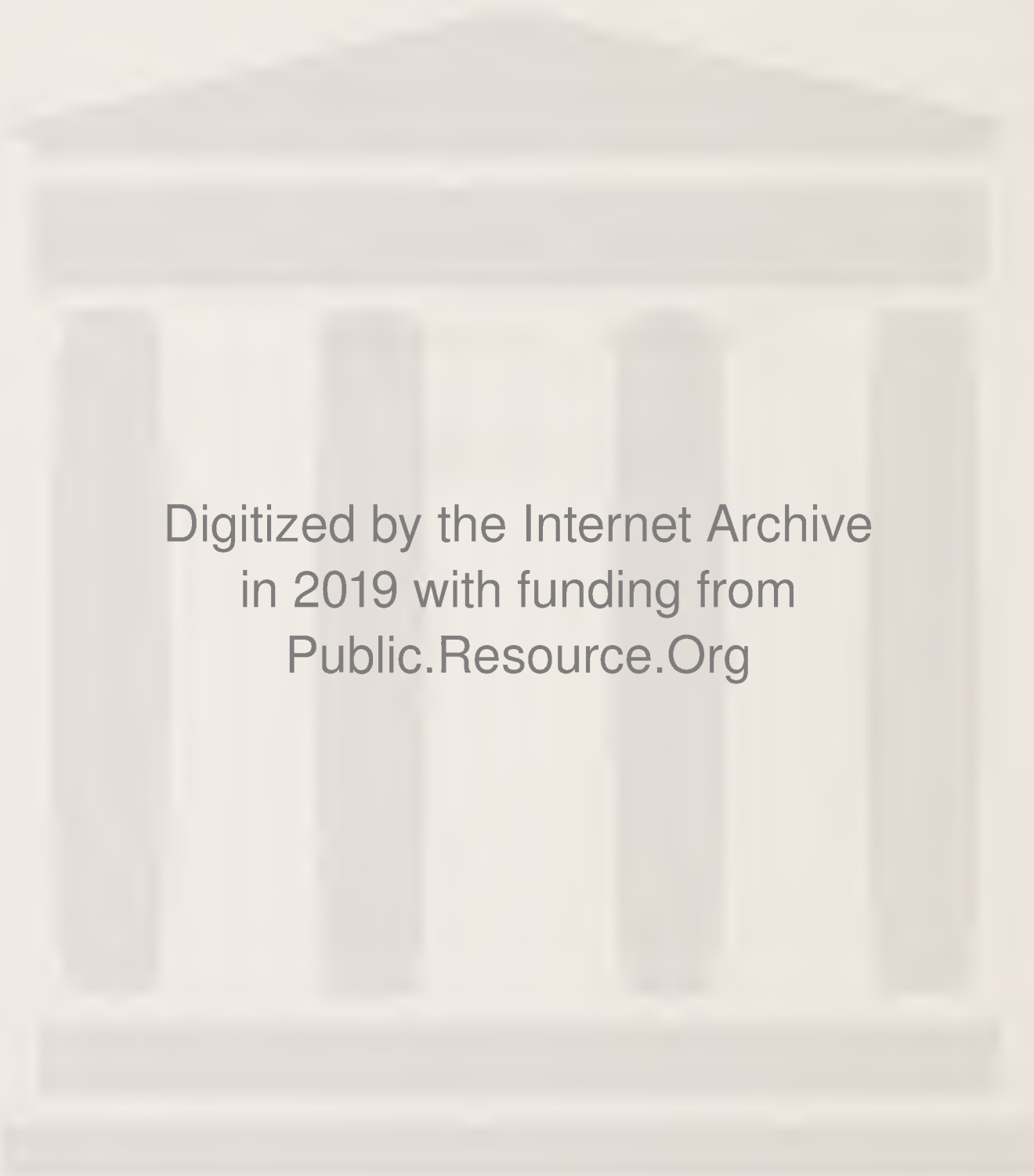
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NORMAN J. W. THROWER 1953

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Thomas Jefferson's
Farm Book



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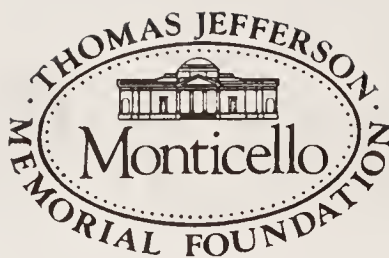
*WITH COMMENTARY
AND RELEVANT EXTRACTS FROM
OTHER WRITINGS*

EDITED BY EDWIN MORRIS BETTS



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1999



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Jacket illustration: Thomas Jefferson's drawing of Paul Pillsbury's machine for shelling corn (Library of Congress). Jefferson owned one of these machines.

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Preface

WHEN Thomas Jefferson died on July 4, 1826, he left all of his personal papers, letters, memoranda books, et cetera, to his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph. The *Farm Book* was among these papers. After the death of the grandson, most of the personal papers remained in the possession of the Randolph family until 1898 when Jefferson's great-grandson, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, purchased about seven thousand pieces and gave them, on June 9 of the same year, to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The *Farm Book* was included in this gift. It is still in the possession of the Society, and it is through their kind permission that it is here published in its entirety for the first time.

Jefferson began recording in his *Farm Book* in January 1774. He was then in his thirty-first year. His last entry was made in May 1826, slightly over a month before his death. The *Garden Book*,* in which many of his farming operations also are listed, had been started eight years earlier. Here it is shown that several years before he began his *Farm Book* Jefferson was already an experienced farmer. By 1774 he had traveled over the inhabited parts of Virginia and had made trips to other states, observing farming methods, the kinds of plants cultivated, the waste of rich soils by erosion, and the devastating effect on the land of growing too much corn and tobacco. He had read widely on agriculture and by the time the *Farm Book* was begun he was using his theoretical knowledge to improve his farms at Shadwell and at his new home, Monticello.

There are many entries in Jefferson's *Garden Book* that are more appropriate to his *Farm Book*, just as there are entries in the *Farm Book* that belong to his other memoranda books. But Jefferson was often inconsistent with the record of his jottings; probably he just placed them in the books at hand. The *Farm Book*, then, is not a farm book in the limited sense, but a plantation book embracing multitudinous activities on his several plantations, the center of interest always being either Monticello or Poplar Forest.

In the *Farm Book* are found portions of fifty-two years of plantation management at Jefferson's estates in Albemarle, Bedford, and Campbell Counties. The record is often incomplete, but by supplementing it with Jefferson's other memoranda and letters an almost complete picture is presented of a plantation economy which at-

* Published by the American Philosophical Society in 1944.

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tained its master's objective of self-sustaining independence. Complete economic independence was rarely attained from Jefferson's plantations. He was constantly in debt from their operations, partially because of his long absences from them, partly because of his dependence on careless overseers, but also because of his keen interest in experimenting with new ideas of farming, many of them leading into unprofitable ventures.

From 1794 until his death in 1826, Jefferson's plantations consisted of about 5,000 acres in Albemarle County and about the same number of acres in Bedford County. Before 1794 he had sold most of his holdings in other counties. A greater proportion of his acreage was in woodlands, but there were several hundred acres of cleared lands under cultivation in both counties. In Albemarle County most of the cultivated land was included in the plantations of Monticello, Tufton, Shadwell, and Lego; while in Bedford County, Poplar Forest, Tomahawk, and Bear Creek plantations contained the cultivated fields.

The land embraced in these plantations was of varying topography, ranging from the high and low hills to the flat lowlands along the rivers and creeks. The soil varied widely from the red clay of the hills to the rich sandy loam of river bottoms. On these soils Jefferson grew a variety of crops, including corn, wheat, and tobacco, as the staple ones; and oats, barley, rye, potatoes, artichokes, pumpkins, peas, clover, flax, hemp, and cotton, as the subsidiary ones. He also experimented with other plants and was far in front of his neighbors in introducing new ones. His unselfishness with his knowledge of plants and with the tried methods for growing them was unlimited, and he continually passed on to others all information that might be of benefit to them. This information went not only to his neighbors, but often was sent, as well, to friends in distant parts. In Jefferson's later years his interest in farming crystallized in the formation of agricultural societies, among which his own Albemarle County took a prominent lead. From this nucleus grew a state organization which had a significant influence on farming for many years. Like so many of Jefferson's ideas, this one soon spread to other states.

Jefferson's plantations were also busy with activities other than farming. At Monticello on Mulberry Row, which was part of the First Roundabout and ran parallel with the vegetable garden on the southeastern slope of the mountain, were located the nailery, the blacksmith shop, the joiner shop, the saw pit, and probably the spinning and weaving shop. In the nailery, thousands of nails were

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made; in the joiner shop, chairs, tables, and other objects were finished by Jefferson's slaves and hired artisans; and in the weaving house, cloth was made to supply the partial needs of the plantation. Down the mountain on the Rivanna River at the Shadwell plantation, two mills were humming with machinery turning wheat and corn into flour and meal. Shoemaking, distilling and brewing, brick-making, sawmilling, charcoal-making, coopering, and curing and prizing tobacco were other busy projects occupying Jefferson's attention. There were other businesses to attend to on these plantations, and one marvels that Jefferson, with all the other innumerable affairs with which he was associated away from home, could even find time to record the happenings in the *Farm Book*. He did, and we have here a plantation record that is unique.

In editing the *Farm Book*, I kept the published *Garden Book* always in mind, and no material included in that volume is repeated here. That fact should be considered in reading the *Farm Book*. The plan of editing is somewhat similar to that followed in the *Garden Book*. An introduction is given to each subject listed in the *Farm Book*, especially as outlined by Jefferson on page 61, and this is followed by letters, items from the account books, memoranda books, and other documents relating to the subject. I originally planned to include all of the available material on the various subjects, but after the material was compiled it became evident that there was much too much for one volume; therefore, many items from the account books and many letters had to be omitted. The present volume now includes only the more important letters and items; copies of those omitted are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society and may be consulted there. Another difference between the *Garden Book* and the *Farm Book* is the sequence of material. In the *Garden Book* the recordings are much more orderly, especially as to chronology, while in the *Farm Book* they are more scattered. In order, then, to have better unity in editing, all related notes are brought together. For example, the biographies of people mentioned are grouped together, abbreviations and definitions of words are under another head. The subject of "Slaves," which forms a large portion of the book, is treated in its section, and so on.

It should be further noticed that I have not tried to interpret Jefferson's farming activities in relation to other periods of history but simply to show what Jefferson accomplished or failed to accomplish, and the scope of his interests on his plantations. The Intro-

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duction by Mr. Francis L. Berkeley, Jr. interprets the *Farm Book* in relation to Jefferson's period as well as to others.

No attempt has been made to evaluate the currency used by Jefferson with the values today. The constant fluctuations in value and the fact that he used currency from different parts of the country makes the task a too formidable one for this type of book. The reader should keep this in mind in considering the price Jefferson paid for any commodity or service.

Jefferson's original spelling and punctuation of all letters and documents have been retained. However, all superscripts have been lowered and any line over or under individual letters of a word has been omitted. When a superscript was lowered and by doing so the word became unintelligible, the word has been printed in full. Since Jefferson used many abbreviations and symbols in the *Farm Book*, and since some of them are uncommon, the reader should consult page 509 for an explanation of them if he is in doubt as to their meaning.

Since the original *Farm Book* passed in 1826 from Jefferson to his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, several of its pages have become separated from it and are now in other repositories. Fortunately, some of these pages have been recovered and are here included in their proper places. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Roger W. Barrett, of Chicago, and the Alderman Library, of the University of Virginia, for permission to publish them.

I am happy to thank the following institutions for permission to include Jefferson manuscripts from their collections: the Library of Congress; the Huntington Library and Art Gallery; the New York Public Library; the Yale University Library; the Maryland Historical Society; the Missouri Historical Society; the Massachusetts Historical Society; the Virginia Historical Society; the Princeton University Library, Princeton University; and the Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

It is also a pleasure to thank the following persons for permission to use Jefferson manuscripts from their collections: Mr. Virginius Dabney, Mr. Foreman M. Lebold, Mr. A. J. Lieberman, Mr. Lloyd W. Smith, and Mr. Lawrence G. Hoes.

My special appreciation is due the Editor, Dr. Julian Boyd, the Associate Editor, Mrs. Mina R. Bryan, and the former Associate Editor, Dr. Lyman H. Butterfield, of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, for their invaluable assistance in giving me access to the Jefferson photostats and always informing me when new material relative to the *Farm Book* came to their attention. Without their

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assistance and interest, especially that of Mrs. Bryan, several important items would not have appeared in this book.

I am also grateful to Dr. Dumas Malone for suggestions from his wide knowledge of Jefferson; to Dr. Howard C. Rice for information and pictures of Jefferson's models of his "Mouldboard of Least Resistance," which he discovered in Paris; to Dr. Fiske Kimball for his continued interest and information; to members of the Rare Book and Manuscript Division of the Alderman Memorial Library for assistance in many ways; to Mr. Datus Smith, Director of the Princeton University Press, who gave valuable aid towards the improvement of the manuscript; to Mr. P. J. Conkwright, topographer of the book; and especially to Miss Miriam Brokaw for many valuable suggestions and her interest in seeing the manuscript through the press.

And finally I wish to express my deep gratitude to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for granting to me a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1947-1948; to the American Philosophical Society for a grant from the Penrose Fund and for their generosity in making possible the editing and publishing of the *Farm Book*; to Dr. Luther P. Eisenhart and the late Dr. Edwin G. Conklin, who spent many hours reading the manuscript and assisting me in bringing it to its final form; and to Mr. Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., who wrote the illuminating Introduction in which he not only brought together the different facets of the *Farm Book* but showed their relation to other similar documents and other historical periods.

E. M. B.

University of Virginia
September 1953

Introduction

The Earth Belongs to the Living—THOMAS JEFFERSON

"I AM GOING TO VIRGINIA. I have at length become able to fix that to the beginning of the new year," Jefferson wrote, late in 1793. "I am then to be liberated from the hated occupations of politics, and to remain in the bosom of my family, my farm, and my books. I have my house to build, my fields to farm, and to watch for the happiness of those who labor for mine." A few months later, soon after his fiftieth birthday, he reported (incredibly) that he was encouraging himself to grow lazy. "I return to farming," he wrote John Adams, "with an ardor which I scarcely knew in my youth, and which has got the better entirely of my love of study. Instead of writing 10 or 12 letters a day, which I have been in the habit of doing as a thing of course, I put off answering my letters now, farmer-like, till a rainy day, and then find it sometimes postponed by other necessary occupations."¹

The master of Monticello, who found the governance of others distasteful, governed himself with severity. His "Epistolary Record," in which he made daily entry of letters written and received, shows a small decrease in his correspondence following his resignation from President Washington's cabinet. Other records attest his continuing industry. If ostentation was foreign to him, so was familiarity. No one ventured to take liberties with the tall, spare, erect gentleman, who reminded his overseer of a race horse in training. His emotions were private and deep. Twentieth-century makers of Christmas cards have produced some attractive facsimiles of Yuletide greetings from George Washington and other contemporaries, but they have searched in vain for a casual allusion to Christmas by Jefferson; in all his many thousands of letters, not even such a phrase as "compliments of the season" has rewarded their efforts. That festival of mirth and frivolity among his Virginia neighbors was regularly occupied by Jefferson with routine tasks and study, with recording thermometer, hygrometer, and barometer readings, and with hours of painstaking writing. But in 1794, when he actually believed that he had quitted public life forever, just as in 1810, when he had in fact done so, he exhibited not only relief at

¹ Letters to Mrs. Angelica Church, 27 Nov. 1793, and to John Adams, 25 April 1794. Paul L. Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VI, 455, 505.

his escape from onerous duties but joy over the return to his own soil. He was not by nature a melancholy man, and he was never so buoyed with optimism as when on his own farm.

He must have felt wonderfully in harmony with his world in the spring and summer days of 1794 when he walked and rode through his farms, vineyards, gardens, and orchards, laying ambitious plans for the restoration of his long-neglected lands, and habitually singing as he went, not the melodies chanted by his servants at work, but the more sophisticated music of Italy and France, which he and his daughters would play together during the lengthening evenings in the beautiful house he was remodeling at Monticello.² And it was in the wheat fields, happily supervising the harvesting of his grain, that La Rochefoucauld found him in the summer of a pastoral year.

"In private life"—La Rochefoucauld wrote—"Mr. Jefferson displays a mild, easy and obliging temper, though he is somewhat cold and reserved. His conversation is of the most agreeable kind, and he possesses a stock of information not inferior to that of any other man. In Europe he would hold a distinguished rank among men of letters, and as such he has already appeared there; at present he is employed with activity and perseverance in the management of his farms and buildings and he orders, directs and pursues in the minutest detail every branch of business relative to them. I found him in the midst of the harvest, from which the scorching heat of the sun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nourished, clothed, and treated as well as white servants could be. As he cannot expect any assistance from the two small neighboring towns, every article is made on his farm; his negroes are cabinet-makers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths, etc. The children he employs in a nail factory, which yields already a considerable profit. The young and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest. He animates them by rewards and distinctions; in fine, his superior mind directs the management of his domestic concerns with the same abilities, activity, and regularity which he evinced in the conduct of public affairs, and which he is calculated to display in every situation of life. In the superintendence of the household he is assisted by his two daughters, Mrs. Randolph and Miss Maria, who are handsome, modest, and amiable women. They have been educated in France."³

² In support of the recollections of Captain Bacon, the overseer at Monticello, we have the following from Jefferson's tinsmith: "Mr. Jefferson always singing when ridin or walkin: hardly ever see him anywhar out doors but what he was a-singin: had a fine clear voice, sung minnits (minuets) & sich: fiddled in the parlor." Rayford W. Logan, ed., *Memoirs of a Monticello Slave*, 23 and note.

³ Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson, the Apostle of Americanism*, 314-315.

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The year 1794 is a convenient reference point for a backward glance at Jefferson the farmer from the perspective of our own generation. The crowded chronology which appears elsewhere in this volume is a sufficient reminder of the justice of Jefferson's hope that, having devoted to the service of his country "five and twenty years continual employment . . . it will be thought I have fulfilled my tour like a punctual soldier and may claim my discharge."⁴ Jefferson himself supposed, in short, that 1794 was 1810, and readers of his *Farm Book* will find much evidence of the new-found leisure of the two periods. These are the two years, for example, for which the *Farm Book* furnishes us with the detailed inventories of capital investment which constitute the "Land Rolls." These are the two years which repeat in full the 1774 census of the Negroes. Jefferson believed in 1794 that his long years as an absentee landlord were over. He did not then foresee the dozen years he was to spend later as vice-president of the Republic, as creator of a new political party, and as a two-term president. But for what turned out to be at least a longer-than-normal interlude, Jefferson set himself to apply in personal management on his own farms the results of half a lifetime of study and experimentation as an agricultural theorist. The letters and notes he left to posterity, the mechanical models he designed and made, record his contributions to scientific agriculture. The *Farm Book* tells us what manner of practical farmer he was, or aspired to be, and above all gives us a glimpse into the self-sufficient plantation villages that he ruled.

The *Farm Book* is actually continuous from 1774, its first extensive entry being a roll of the 50 servants previously inherited from his father, and of the 135 assigned to him in January of that year from the estate of his father-in-law, John Wayles. In this settlement Jefferson also inherited 11,000 additional acres of land, more than half of which he soon afterward sold to pay a debt that came with the inheritance, a debt which, through unfortunate circumstance and his own scruples, he was ultimately to pay twice. In the two years between his removal from Shadwell to Monticello in 1770 and his marriage, he had doubled his original landholdings. Later he also acquired by patent the Natural Bridge property, a geological wonder which he retained and admired throughout his life, but after 1774 he disposed of outlying lands, consolidating his properties in the interest of better farm management. By 1794, therefore, his lands included 5,000 acres in Albemarle county and a similar number in Bedford. His principal "plantation village" was, of

⁴ Chinard, 309; Ford, VII, 39.

course, Monticello, from which he farmed, or leased on terms unusual in his day, the nearby tracts of Tufton, Shadwell, and Lego, and in Bedford County, Poplar Forest, supplemented by Tomahawk and Bear Creek. The major portion of these tracts, like his other holdings in their entirety, was still forested and not under cultivation.⁵

Even though his lands lay in the Piedmont country, where farmers (those who cultivated grain crops) outnumbered planters (growers of tobacco) to an even greater ratio than in the Tidewater, Jefferson never completely succeeded, as George Washington did, in becoming exclusively a farmer. He remained always in some part a planter, relying to a considerable degree on the staple crop, tobacco, to produce a cash income. This was particularly true during the first twenty-five years of the half-century's activities recorded in the *Farm Book*. It was partly the result of necessity—constant absence, dependence on overseers, his extraordinary needs and uses for money—and in part because of his theories.

Farmers he believed were the "chosen people of God," persons "whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue . . . the focus in which he keeps alive that sacred fire, which otherwise might escape from the face of the earth."⁶ It has been suggested that Jefferson loved democracy because it gave free expression to farmers, but he himself always argued that the establishment and survival of democracy depended on peopling the land predominantly with farmers. Having been born and reared in the most colonial of colonies, a land which imported its pins, its post-chaises, and its postillions' livery, he argued that the workshops for America and the corrupt cities which they bred should remain in Europe.⁷ After the destruction of our commerce by the French and the British in the closing years of the century, he altered both theory and practice to conform to new realities. For the remainder of his life he strove to escape the role of planter, to make his farms more completely self-sufficient communities, to import nothing save books from abroad that he could possibly obtain in America, to promote domestic crafts as an antidote to urbanization.

The beginnings of the Agricultural Revolution coincided with Jefferson's youth. What a pity it is that he never became permanently his own farm manager until the years when the western world was gripped in an agricultural depression which prostrated

⁵ Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the Virginian*, 439-441.

⁶ *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Ford, III, 268.

⁷ James E. Ward, "Thomas Jefferson's Contributions to American Agriculture," typescript dissertation in University of Virginia Library, chapter II.

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Britain's farmers for a generation and impoverished American agriculture for nearly as long.⁸ How fortunate it was on the other hand that his intense love of his soil, his insatiable desire for improved methods, and his irrepressible belief in the possibilities of progress kept him forever experimenting, teaching, and learning the farmer's art in bad times and good. It is indeed no accident that Jefferson's "Scheme for a System of Agricultural Societies" and the founding of the Albemarle Agricultural Society of his own county preceded the formation of the Royal Agricultural Society of England by a quarter of a century.

It is important to keep in mind that Jefferson was born and educated in a British colony having the closest of ties with the home country. English agriculture in the early years of the eighteenth century had changed amazingly little since the disappearance of the feudal manor in the fifteenth. A communal system of landholding and farming still prevailed widely throughout Great Britain. Despite the fact that the enclosure of the lands had been in progress for several centuries, most of the land was still unenclosed. A farmer of eighteen acres in England usually had to cultivate those acres in eighteen or more different strips, separated by the parcels farmed by others; while his mongrel cattle and hogs competed with geese for such sustenance as the common and waste provided. Local differences were great. Such a common measurement as "acre," for example, which had once meant a day's plowing for a team, had come by 1800 to have quite different meanings among the various shires of England.⁹ There was little opportunity for improvement in plant or animal husbandry until the progress of enclosure gained real momentum in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Enclosure, however, brought with it to Britain some of the evils which Jefferson feared for America. Driving the tenants from England's farms and the squatters from the commons, it produced an increasing number of landless laborers at a period when domestic manufactures, such as weaving, were declining. If the proposals of Arthur Young and Lord Winchelsea—that cottagers on the new enclosures be given a garden and a lot for a cow—had been more widely heeded, the too-rapid growth of the industrial cities fathered by Watt's steam engine would have been moderated, and the worst features of the unspeakable industrial "slavery" which plagued

⁸ W. H. R. Curtler, *A Short History of English Agriculture*, 262-270, cites Walpole's evidence on parishes in which virtually the entire population became paupers or bankrupts during the Great Depression of 1816-1837.

⁹ Curtler, 3, 252-261.

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nineteenth-century England might have been avoided. The industrial system, which later led Robert Owen to assert that England's prosperity rested on the backs of thirty thousand little girls, came more slowly to rural America. Jefferson, who looked forward to industrial urbanism with even greater horror than he felt for the agricultural slavery in Virginia, devoted much of his effort as a resident farmer from 1809 to 1826 to promoting domestic manufactures on the plantation.

But Jefferson hated actual slavery, agricultural though it was, as it prevailed in his own community. He devoted the energy of his youth toward modifying the legal structure of slavery. In old age he attempted to ameliorate the conditions of the slave system on his own plantations and on those of others. He never doubted that slavery would be destroyed, and he urged younger men to carry on the fight against it. His remarkable letter of 25 August 1814 to Edward Coles, a native of Jefferson's home county who became governor of Illinois, is quoted elsewhere in this volume.¹⁰ It summarizes with a simple eloquence no other writer could approach, Jefferson's attitude toward slavery, his hopes for the future, his demands for timely action. Readers of the *Farm Book* will note, however, that within the legal limits imposed by the majority, Jefferson came close to creating on his own plantations the ideal rural community and domestic economy for which Young and Winchelsea, as advocates for the English laborers, argued in vain.¹¹

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced few landmarks in the agriculture of Britain. Potatoes appeared in England in 1586. Queen Elizabeth's Poor Law Act of 1601 and the introduction of turnips and clover in 1645 were important for both home country and colonies. To the Virginia colony these were of less immediate and local importance than the work of John Rolfe with tobacco and that of the European merchants in bringing Negro slaves to Virginia in the second decade of settlement. The Agricultural Revolution was not formally inaugurated until ten years before Jefferson's birth, with the publication in 1733 of Jethro Tull's *Horse-hoeing Husbandry*.¹² Tull's advocacy of improved cultivation as a substitute for manures had enormous appeal in Virginia, where, in contrast to England, labor was scarce and land plentiful, and where manures,

¹⁰ Ford, IX, 477. For Jefferson's relations with his own slaves, and their touching reception of him in 1789, see Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and the Rights of Man*, 246 and note.

¹¹ Curtler, 257.

¹² Curtler, chapters VII-VIII and chapter XIII.

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with the exception of marl, were generally unobtainable and rarely used. As a follower of Tull, Jefferson won gratitude and rewards from the farmers of many nations by the invention of his famed "Mouldboard plow of least resistance," and the perfection by his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, of a method of hillside plowing to prevent erosion.¹³

With the other principal figures of this Revolution, the revolutionary-minded Mr. Jefferson was in constant touch, even when far removed from his own farms. The proposals of Lord Townshend for crop rotation he developed and applied to such an extreme degree as to injure his own profits, whatever the benefits to the inheritors of the soil. His ideal of a seven-year, rather than a four-year, rotation plan was not always practicable, but the demands he made on those who leased farms from him were remarkable in their day, as may be seen in the leases reproduced in this volume. The *Farm Book* abounds in evidence on Jefferson's application of Robert Bakewell's ideas on methods of breeding livestock—a type of enterprise in which the benefits were quickly passed on to neighbors near and far. And with the great promoters and publicists of the agricultural enlightenment—such men as Arthur Young and Sir John Sinclair—Jefferson and his farmer friend at Mount Vernon maintained an exchange of information.

George Washington was one of the most enlightened farmers of his day. It is fortunate, however, for his reputation as a practical farm manager and businessman that he died a quarter of a century before Jefferson. Washington emphasized the cultivation of grain, which became the staple crop of the most progressive nineteenth-century farmers in Virginia and elsewhere both before and after the post-Napoleonic depression. Had he lived to the years when the treaty-makers contrived at Vienna the most durable peace of modern times, when bread from America was no longer needed to feed the Atlantic fleets and the armies of Europe, he doubtless would have shared the financial distress which affected Jefferson as well as his own heirs at Mount Vernon.¹⁴

The master of Monticello is held in grateful remembrance by farmers for other reasons than his greatness in political history and

¹³ When Jefferson is compared unfavorably as a practical farmer with his son-in-law, one of the most successful farmers of the day, it must be remembered that Governor Randolph was almost always able to be in residence on his farm.

¹⁴ Wheat exports amounted to 5,357,000 bushels in the decade which ended with Washington's death; the figure shrank to 1,330,000 in the 1810-1820 period, and fell away to a mere 175,000 in the decade of Jefferson's death. L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, II, 817.

INTRODUCTION

his work as a practical farmer. These reasons—and they are implicit in the *Farm Book*—are summarized by a modern agricultural authority, M. L. Wilson, as including his championship of “the responsibilities of the individual . . . the application of science to agriculture, the improvement of the plow, the advocacy of soil conservation, the development of the concept of the agricultural college, and the recognition of agriculture as a learned profession.”¹⁵ Readers of Jefferson’s notes will retain a vivid impression of his amazing attention to detail, the knowledge he drew from his observations, his passionate love of the land.

“The greatest service which can be rendered any country,” Jefferson once wrote, is to “add a useful plant to its culture.” His lifelong activity in bringing foreign plants to America testifies to the sincerity of this conviction. During his own years abroad, the searches through Europe for seeds and grafts for American experimentation were never-ending. The success in Georgia of the species of rice he procured from the mountains of Africa came only after disappointments with the seed he had obtained from Cochin China and, by personal smuggling in defiance of the death penalty, from central Italy. Even his failures endeared him to farmers. When nearly eighty, his biographers remind us, he continued to encourage the South Carolinians to new trials of the olive trees he had brought from France.¹⁶

Jefferson, as he himself pointed out to a would-be biographer, transacted most of his life’s business by letters, being careful always to keep by him for ready reference a file of all that he received and wrote. Exclusive of the books in his library, his personal agricultural record consisted of his letter-file, his account books, his weather records, his *Garden Book* (published several years ago by the American Philosophical Society), and finally his *Farm Book*. The very richness of this written legacy has tended to obscure the *Farm Book*, which was actually the heart of the whole record, but which most of us have known only through its quotation by other writers. It is a happy circumstance, therefore, that this first publication of the *Farm Book* includes selected quotations from the records that accompanied it. Thus we can view it here now more surely as its author did. For its publication in connection with all

¹⁵ From M. L. Wilson’s address before the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, 22 April 1943, printed in the *Proceedings* of the Society, 87: 216-222. It is included also in the useful sourcebook, *Jefferson and Agriculture*, compiled and edited by Everett E. Edwards, and published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture as No. 7 in the Agricultural History Series, 1943.

¹⁶ Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and the Rights of Man*, 126-128.

of Jefferson's writings, we must wait until the industrious editors at Princeton approach the completion of their fifty-volume work, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*.

The *Farm Book*, as it appears in manuscript, is a compendium of information. It is both a topically arranged agricultural commonplace book and a broad record of all the multitudinous activities of Jefferson's plantations. Until the emergence of the experimental farms and agricultural colleges which Jefferson advocated, no American created a record of equal scope and interest. Not even George Washington, practical and successful farmer that he was, nor that other great Virginia farmer, John Taylor of Caroline, who operated a model farm and through his essays gave to Jefferson and his contemporaries agricultural instruction, nor even Edmund Ruffin, who led Virginia's pre-Civil War agricultural revival, has left a farm record to compare with it.

Among English records, for what is perhaps the most satisfactory comparison, one must go back through the centuries to the manorial rolls of the ablest of the thirteenth-century barons and their successors, above all to the writings of Walter of Henley, whose agricultural wisdom has been useful through six hundred years until the coming of the tractor. A reader who turns from the *Farm Book* to the manorial rolls (such as those published by the Hampshire Record Society or in Hall's *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*) will find many points of similarity both in the wealth of detail and the nature of the records, the responsibilities of the landlord and the laborer, the functions of bailiff or steward and those of the overseer. Monticello and its dependencies shared with the ancient manors the self-sufficiency enforced by the scarcity and remoteness of large towns. As was progressively the case at Monticello, the manor practiced diversified farming, but relied most heavily on grain as the staple crop.

Walter of Henley, the mid-thirteenth-century commentator, who remained the best authority on English agriculture until the time of Fitzherbert, observed farming operations with Jeffersonian thoroughness and application. Note particularly how his conclusions compare with Jefferson's "Aphorisms, Observations, Facts in husbandry," which fill nearly sixty pages in the original manuscript of the *Farm Book*.

"A plough of oxen," Walter wrote, "will go as far in the year as a plough of horses, because the malice of the ploughman will not allow the plough of horses to go beyond their pace, no more than

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the plough of oxen. Further, in very hard ground where the plough of horses will stop, the plough of oxen will pass. And the horse costs more than the ox, for he is obliged to have the sixth part of a bushel of oats every night, worth a halfpenny at least, and twelve pennyworth of grass in the summer. Besides, each week he costs more or less a penny a week in shoeing, if he must be shod on all four feet. But the ox has only to have $3\frac{1}{2}$ sheaves of oats per week, worth a penny, and the same amount of grass as the horse. And when the horse is old and worn out there is nothing but his skin, but when the ox is old, with ten pennyworth of grass he shall be fit for the larder . . . You know surely that an acre sown with wheat takes three ploughings, except lands which are sown yearly; and that each ploughing is worth 6d. and the harrowing 1d., and on the acre it is necessary to sow at least two bushels. Now two bushels at Michaelmas are worth at least 12d., and the weeding $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and reaping 5d., and carrying in August 1d., and the straw will pay for the threshing . . . Change your seed every year at Michaelmas; for seed grown on other ground will bring more profit than that which is grown on your own . . . Feed your working oxen before some one, and with chaff. Why? I will tell you. Because it often happens that the oxherd steals the provender.”¹⁷

Readers of the *Farm Book* will note that Jefferson shared Walter's admiration of oxen, and that the system at Monticello also included mules to supplement the oxen and horses for the more specialized employments of the upland Virginia farms. The argument, incidentally, over the relative merits of horses and oxen for plowing continued for five centuries, until Walter's position was confirmed by the authoritative pen of Jefferson's contemporary, William Marshall. And oxen continued to plow the fields of Jefferson's home county until a little over a decade ago, when they finally gave way to the still more economical tractor. If Walter of Henley could have walked with Jefferson in the fields of Monticello, the two men would have understood each other thoroughly and shared together the excitements of discovery. Who knows, perhaps Jefferson could have persuaded Walter to a better faith in the virtue of farmers or in the essential goodness of human nature.

From the Jefferson who appears in the pages of history, from the controversies which still rage around his name, the *Farm Book* seems remote enough. But it brings to the modern farmer or gardener a fund of practical wisdom, culled and tested by an

¹⁷ Curtler, 31-37.

INTRODUCTION

extraordinary and inquiring mind. To the casual reader, be he farmer, city-dweller, or that very modern creature, the suburbanite, it recalls a forgotten way of life, bringing before him much that is obscure in the lives of our fathers, opening for a moment illuminated vistas into the rapidly receding night of the past.

FRANCIS L. BERKELEY, JR.

University of Virginia Library
July 1953

Facsimile of
Thomas Jefferson's
Farm Book

NOTES ON THE PAGINATION OF THE FARM BOOK

The folios in type, which duplicate Jefferson's own where visible, represent the numbering of the original Farm Book.

Pages 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 121, 122 are blank and are therefore omitted.

Pages 10, 20, 34, 58-b, 98, 99, 101, 112, 115, 118, 120, 126, 141, 170 are blank but are retained in order to keep the recto-verso relationship of the book itself.

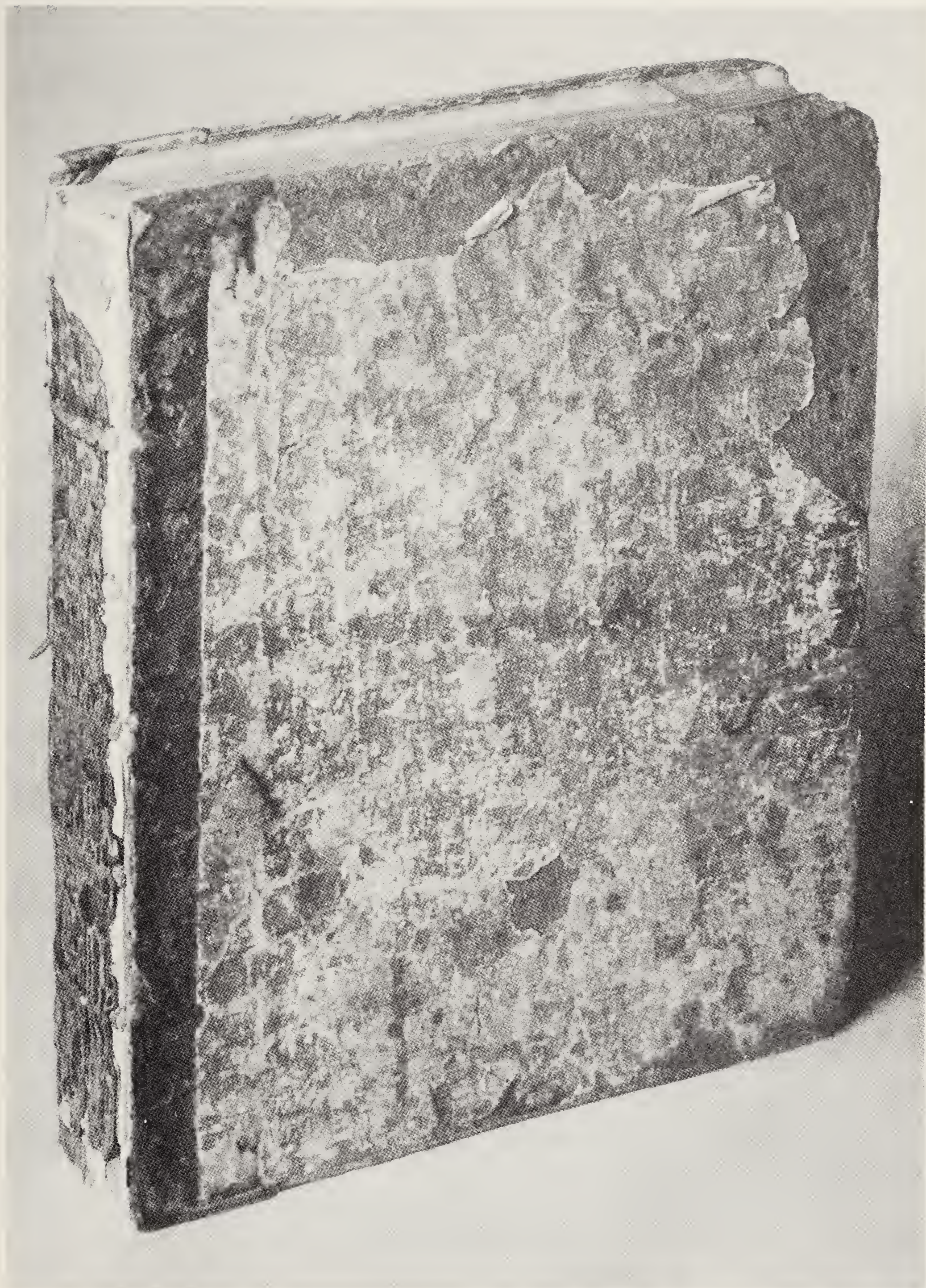
Pages 25, 26, 35, 36, 49, 50, 73, 74, 151, 152, 169, 170, 175, 176 are missing from the original Farm Book. Of these, pages 49 and 50 have been restored to their proper places from the Alderman Library, University of Virginia; pages 73, 74, 151, 152, 169, 170, 175, 176 from the former Barrett collection.

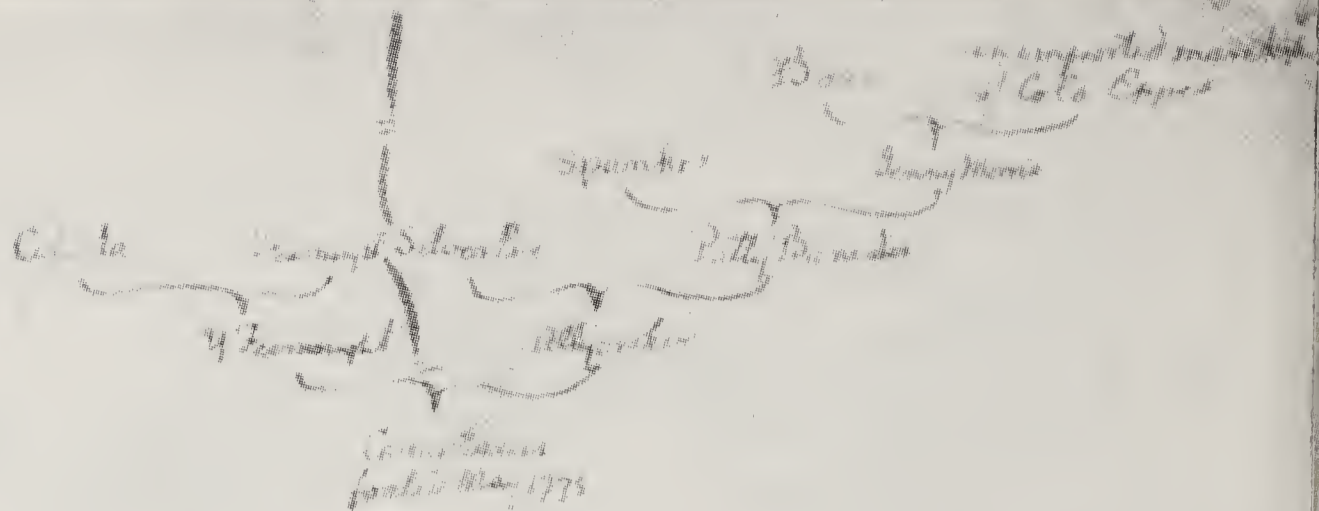
Between pages 54 and 59 there are missing two sheets. A loose unnumbered sheet was found inserted here and since the dates follow chronologically those of the preceding ones it has been numbered 55, 56. One loose sheet from the Barrett collection was numbered 57, 58 by Jefferson. It has been inserted in its original place. Also at this gap it appears that an unnumbered sheet has been pasted in. This has been numbered 58-a, 58-b.

NOTES ON THE FARM BOOK

The illustration on the facing page is of Jefferson's original Farm Book, 1774-1826, now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is a memorandum book with leather-strip board covers, 20.2 cm by 16 cm. It originally contained 379 pages of which Jefferson's plantation notes cover most of the first 177 pages. There are 202 blank pages after Jefferson's notes. The pages are not numbered after 147.

The marginal words, set in type, are to help to clarify the obscure words.





Augm book.

~~Elk Hill~~

~~Leopold~~

~~a filly, her sire young Fearnought~~

~~foaled May 1770~~

Horses, breeding mares &c.

X 1. Ally-crocker, ^{foaled 1758.} her sire Silver eye. her dam Patty. Banister who was ^{got by} ~~Spanner or Jenny Morris~~ ^{noted} ~~where the property of Mr. John Morris was sold~~ ^{running} ~~had been the property of Mr. John Morris~~ ^{Carter's,} ~~of the name of Carter~~ ^{out of} ~~of the name of Carter~~ ^{a high}

X 2. Gustavus. his sire was Whittington ^{foaled}

^{foaled 1762} bought of J. Wilkie ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{runaway}

3. Cecullen. his sire was Hob or Nob. his dam Allycrocker

^{foaled 1764.}

4. The General. his sire was Janus

^{foaled 1769} bought of Alexander Spotswood

5. Crab. his sire was Whittington. his dam was got by Crab

^{foaled about 1771} bought of J. Wilkie

X 6. Everalllyn

^{bought of John Hydon. Dear.}

X 7. Alfred. his sire was Partner. his dam Allycrocker

^{foaled 1774} sold to Richard Anderson.

8. Caractacus. his sire young Fearnought who was got by old Fearnought on Calista.

^{foaled May 1775}

9. Ethelinda. ⁷⁷⁶ a sorrel filly. her sire young Fearnought. dam ^{Ever-} ~~Ally~~ ^{alllyn}

^{foaled 1776}

10. Silver tail. an iron grey mare at Elk hill. her sire was

her dam a grey mare at Elk hill.

^{foaled 1773.}

11. a very old bay mare at Wilkie's creek.

12. a bay mare at Elk hill, daughter of No. 11. taken by one of

^{foaled 1773.}

13. a bay mare at Wilkie's creek. daughter of No. 11.

14. ~~There was a good mare at Elk-hill, she came from Alfred, if a very~~
good mare there.
foaled 1773.
15. a ~~Roan~~ at ~~Willie's~~ ~~crash~~.
- (1777) 16. young Alfred. a sorrel horse colt. his sire Alfred. his dam N^o 11.
foaled 1777.
- x 17. a roan horse colt. his sire Alfred. his dam N^o 15.
foaled 1777. ~~Dead~~...
- (1778) 18. Orro ~~a roan~~ ^{a chestnut} a sorrel filly. her sire young Teanought. dam Altyerker.
foaled May 1778.
- Peggy 19. ~~Jefferson~~ a bay filly. her sire young Teanought. dam N^o 12.
foaled. March 1778.
20. Zanga. a horse colt. ~~his~~ ^{his} sire young Teanought. dam Silver tail
foaled May 1778 for G. W.
21. a filly. ~~her~~ ^{her} sire young Teanought. dam N^o 14.
foaled May 1778 taken by enemy.
22. Odin. a horse colt. sorrel. his sire young Teanought. dam N^o 13.
foaled April 1778.
23. ~~Polly~~ ^{Polly} a roan filly. her sire young Teanought. dam N^o 15.
foaled May 1778.
24. X a gray mare. her sire young Teanought. dam Silver tail. N^o 10.
foaled May 1779 taken by enemy.
25. X a bay horse colt. his sire young Teanought. dam N^o 12.
foaled June 1779. exchanged with K. Jefferson.
26. X a chestnut filly. her sire young Teanought. dam N^o 13.
foaled June 1779. taken by enemy.
- (1780) 27. Silveret. a gray horse colt. sire Caractacus. dam Silver tail.
foaled 1780.
- X a bay horse colt. sire Caractacus. dam N^o 12.
foaled 1780. ~~Dead~~.

A Roll of the proper slaves of Thomas Jefferson. Jan. 14. 1774.

Monticello.

- * { Goliath.
- * { Hercules.
- + { Jupiter. 1743.
- * { Gill.
- * { Fanny
- + { Ned. 1760.
- Suckey 1762.
- Franky. 1767.
- Gill. 1769.
- * { Quash
- * { Nell.
- * { Bella. 1757.
- * { Charles. 1760.
- Jenny. 1768.
- * { Betty
- { Turno
- * { Toby junr. 1753.
- { Luna. 1758.
- * { Cate. about 1747.
- Hannah 1770.
- Rachael. 1773.

Monticello.

- + { George
- + { Ursula.
- George.
- Bagwell.
- Archy. 1773.
- + { Frank 1757.
- + { Bett. 1759
- + { Scilla. 1762.

* denotes a labourer in the ground.

+ denotes a titheable person following some other occupation.

- denotes a person discharged from labor on acct of age or infirmity.

Lego

* Harry.

* Will.

* Leah.

* { Leah.
Lily. 1772.

Shadwell.

* { Moll.

{ Phill. Dec. 1768.

{ Phyllis. 1771.

- { Mally. 1760.

{ Dilcy. 1764.

{ Will. Mar. 1768.

Betty (Patt's dau'r)

- Toby.

Slaves conveyed by my mother to me
under the power given her in my father's will
as an indemnification for the debts I
had paid for her.

Lego.

* Caesar.

Shadwell.

* Sall.

+ { Lucinda. 1761.

{ Simon. 1765.

{ Cyrus. Nov. 1772.

* Squire.

* Belinda.

* Val. 1760.

{ Charlotte. Mar. 1768.

{ Minerva. Sep. 1771.

{ Sarah. Dec. 1772.

A Roll of the slaves of John Hayles which were allotted to S. J. in right of his wife on a division of the estate Jan. 15 1774

Tradesmen

- + Sance Elkhill
- + Abiam Guinea } Carpenters
- + Billy boy Poplar Forest } Smiths
- + Barnaby 1760 Guinea } Smiths
- + Phill Guinea Shoemaker
- + King Judith Creek
- + Jim Hubbard Elk hill } Watermen
- + Peter Crank's

Poplar Forest

- * Guinea Will
- * Betty
- { Hall Sep. 1767.
- { Diley Mar. 1769.
- { Suckey May. 1771.

Wingo's

- * John 1753.
- * Davy. 1755.
- + Mary. 1753.
- * Doll. 1757.
- * Charles.

Judith's creek, or Dun lora.

- Peg
- * Judy
- { Hannah. Oct. 1771.
- { Tamar. June. 1773.
- * Jupiter
- Phyllis
- { Shandy Aug. 1768.
- { Sam. July. 1770.
- { Phyllis. Nov. 1772.

Crank's.

- * Emanuel
- * Patti
- { Prince. 1769.
- { Isabel. 1770.
- { Peter } 1772
- { Sam. }
- Lucy
- Jack.

Byrd, or Elk-hill.

- * Sue.
- + Robin. 1757.
- * Phoebe. 1759.
- Betty. 1762.
- Joe. 1764.
- Patty. 1766.
- Samco. 1768.
- Nanny. 1771.
- Sue. 1773.
- * Nan.
- * Frank.
- Garnet. 1764.
- Natt. 1766.
- Joan. 1768.
- Annistead. 1771.
- Natia. 1773.
- + York.
- * Mima.
- Beck. 1771.
- * Tomo.
- * Brave.
- * Turpin.
- * Sack.
- * Patt Kennon.
- Tom. 1767.
- Jeffery. 1769.
- * Bramford.
- * Jenny.

continued.

Elk-hill captives

- Sam.
- * Polydore.
- * Suckey.
- Mary. 1773.

Indian Camp.

- * London.
- * Sarah.
- * Ned.
- * Arney.
- * Isabel.
- Lewis.
- Sarah. 1764.
- Leg.
- * Phoebe.
- Frank. Jan. 1764.
- Betty. Aug. 1767.
- Lucy. July. 1769.
- * Sam.
- * Dinah.
- * Jack.
- * Aggy.
- Sam. Feb. 1762.
- Judy. 1764.
- Dinah. 1766.
- Solomon. 1769.

continued.

Indian camp contin^d.

- * { Will.
- * { Judy.
- * { Jemmy
- * { York. 1764.
- * { Abby. she is said to have been older than La-
may & York. probably born ab. 58.
- * { Jesse. Nov. 1772. Abby's son.
- * { Ambrose.
- * { Hannah.
- * { Harry. 1770.
- * { Nanny 1772

Angola.

- * { Kate.
- * { Cuffey.
- * { Stephen.
- * { Sall. 1764.
- * { Phill. 1766.
- * { Daniel. 1772.
- * { Sam.
- * { Nancy.

Guinea.

- + { Betty Hemings.
- + { Nancy. 1761.
- + { Jemmy. 1765.
- + { Thonia. 1767.
- + { Eritta. 1769.

Guinea contin^d.

- { Peter. Aug. 1770.
- { Sally. 1773.
- { Danie (grandson) 1772.
- + { Aggy.
- + { Jemmy. 1764.
- + { Dick. 1767.
- * { Sall.
- * { Aggy. 1769.
- * { Jemmy. 1771.

Bridge quarter.

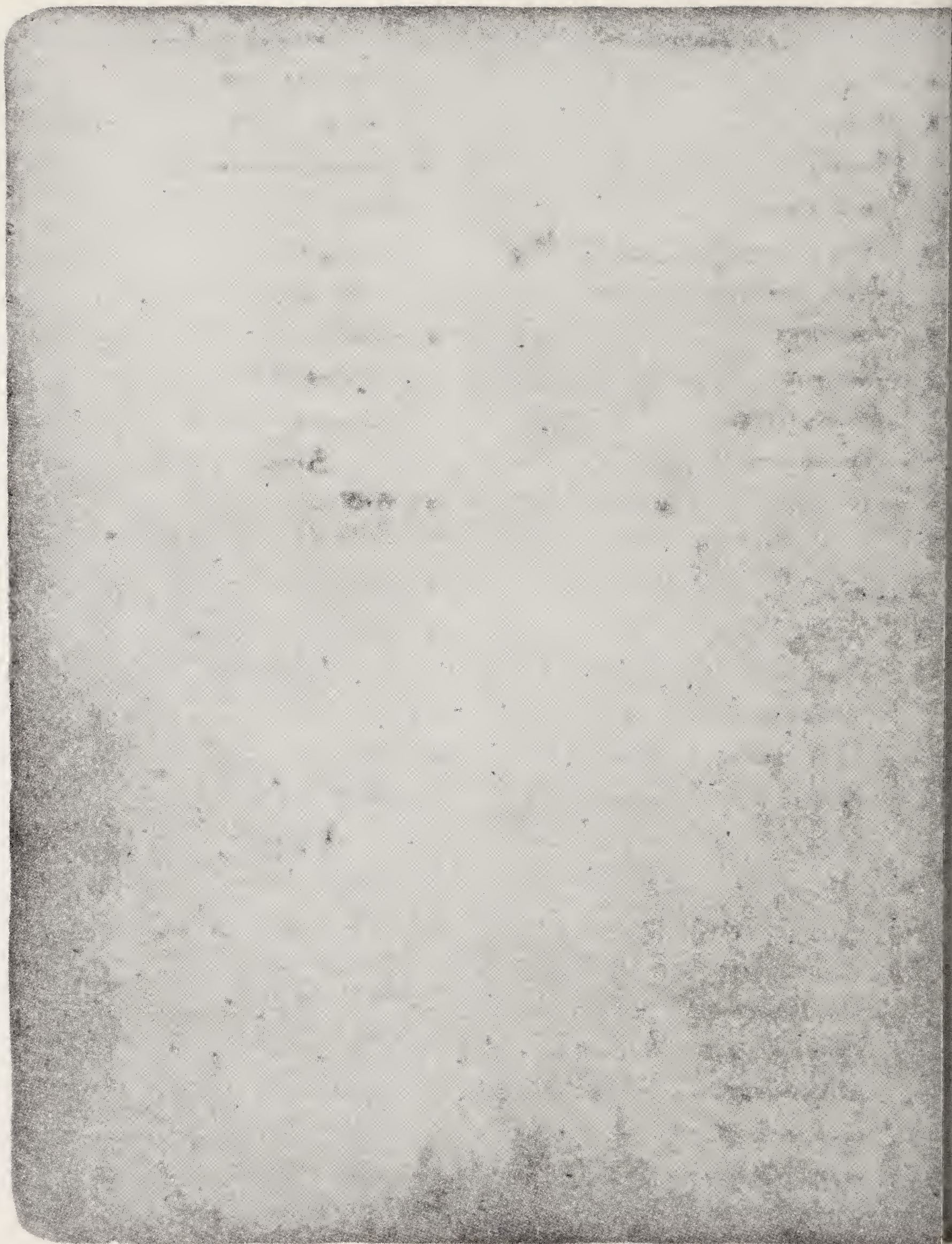
- * { Will.
- * { Betty.
- * { Tom.
- * { Isabel.

Liggon's.

- * { Peter.
- * { Hannah.
- * { Betty. 1772.

Forest.

- + { Martin. 1756.
- + { Bob. 1762.
- + { Dinah. 1761.
- + { Billy Wamoy. 1763.
- * { Lucy.
- + { Suck.
- + { Old Jenny.
- * { Mingo.
- * { Tom Shuckelford.



1774.

Location of Slaves.

for 1774.

Monticello.

+ Martin. 1755.

+ Bob. 1762

+ Jamey 1765

+ Mary. 1753.

+ Betty. 1759.

+ Scilla. 1762.

+ Old Jenny.

+ Ned. 1760.

+ George.

+ Morilla.

+ George. 1759.

+ Bagwell. 1768.

+ Archy. 1773. died. July 1774.

- Juna

+ Luna 1758.

+ Dinah. 1761.

+ Jupiter 1743.

+ Suck 1758.

+ Frank 1757.

+ Barnaby 1760.

+ Samco. sold.

+ Abram } Carpenters.

+ Betsy } Jan. 1782.

+ James Hubbard

+ York

+ Peter

+ King

* Goliath.

* Hercules.

* Gill. died. 1774.

* Fanny

+ Suckey. 1765.

+ Franky. 1767.

+ Gill. 1769.

* Quash.

* Nell.

* Bella. 1757.

* Charles. 1760.

* Jenny. 1768.

* Betty.

* Toby. junr. 1753.

* Cate.

+ Hannah. 1770.

+ Rachael. 1773.

1774.

Lego.

- * Harry
- * Will.
- * Caesar.
- * { Leah
- Lucy. 1773.

Shadwell.

- * { Moll.
- Phill. Dec. 1768.
- Phyllis. 1771.
- { Milly. 1760.
- Diley 1764.
- Will. Mar. 1768

Toby.

- * { Sall.
- + Lucinda. 1761.
- Simon. 1765.
- Cyrus. Nov. 1772.

- * { Squire.
- * Belinda.
- * Val. 1760.
- Charlotte. Mar. 1768.
- Minerva. Sep. 1771.
- Sarah. Dec. 1772.

Betty (Patt's dau'r) sent to H. Mullens.

Poplar Forest.

1774.

- * { Guinea Will.
- * Betty.
- Hall. Sep. 1767.
- Diley. Mar. 1769
- Sukeey. Mar. 1771.

* Amey.

- * { Will.
- * Judy.
- Jemmy.
- York. 1764.

- * Tom Shackelford.
- + Billy boy. Smith.

Wingo's.

- * John. 1753.
- * Davy. 1755.
- * Doll. 1757.
- * Charles.
- * { Londy.
- * Sarah died July 1781.
- Sarah. 1764.
- Peg.
- * Phoebe.
- Frank Jan. 1764.
- Betty. Aug. 1767.
- Lucy. July. 1769.
- * { Abby.
- Jesse. Nov. 1772.
- * Lucy. 1747.

1774. Dun-lora

- * Judy (Hix)
- { Hannah. Octob. 1771.
- { Thamar. June. 1773.
- { Peg.
- Jupiter.
- Phyllis.
- { Shandy. Aug. 1768.
- { Sam. July 1770.
- { Phyllis. Nov. 1772.
- * Ned.
- * Isobel
- * Sam. died 1774.
- * Dinah.
- * Aggy. died 1774.
- { Sam. Feb. 1762.
- { Judy. 1764.
- { Dinah. 1766.
- { Solomon. 1769.

Elk-Hill.

1774.

- + Phill. shoemaker.
- * Emanuel
- * Patl.
- { Prince. 1769.
- { Isobel 1770. given to A.S. Jeff. Feb. 1782.
- { Peter. } 1772.
- { Sam. }
- Lucy.
- Jack.
- * Sue.
- * Phoebe. 1759.
- { Betty. 1762. died Nov. 15. 1774.
- { Joe. 1764. died 1781.
- { Patty. 1766. given to Mrs Harris. 1777.
- { Sance. 1768.
- { Nanney. 1771.
- { Sue. 1773.
- * Nan dead.
- * Frank. died 1775.
- { Garney. 1764. dead.
- { Natt. 1766.
- { Joar. 1768.
- { Armistead. 1771.
- { Nalia. 1773.
- * Mimma.
- { Beck. 1771.

1774. Elk hill cont.

- * { Tomo
- * { Rave.
- * Turpin
- * { Jack
- * { Patt Kennon
- * { Tom 1767.
- * { Jeffery 1769.
- * { Branford.
- * { Jenny
- Sam.
- * Polydore
- * { Suckey
- * { Mary 1773. died Feb. 1774
- * { Jack
- * { Ambrose
- * { Hannah
- * { Harry 1770.
- * { Nanny 1772.
- * { Cato
- * { Cuffey
- * { Stephen
- * { Sall 1762.
- * { Phill 1766.
- * { Daniel 1772.
- * { Sam
- * { Nancy

Elk hill cont.

1774.

- + Betty Hemings.
- Nancy 1764.
- Thenia 1767.
- Critta 1769.
- Peter Aug. 1770
- Sally 1773.
- Daniel 1772.
- + Aggy.
- Jenny 1764.
- Dick 1767.
- * { Sall
- * { Billy Warrny 1763.
- * { Aggy 1769.
- * { Jenny 1771.
- * { Will
- * { Betty
- * { Tom
- * { Isabel
- * { Peter
- * { Hannah
- * { Betty 1772.
- * Mingo.

187. in all.

Blankets Beds: &c. given to slaves in 1774.

Monticello.

Blankets to the following.

Martin, Bob, Mary, Bett.

Old Jenny, Ned.

George, Ursula, Little George.

Doll, Nance, Dinah, Scilla, Luna.

Barnaby, Abrâm, Lewis.

Jane Hubbard, York, Peter, Phill

Soliath, Hercules, Jupiter, Suck.

Fanny, Fanny's children blankets

Quash Nell, Charles.

Betty, Toby junr. Cate.

Beds given to the following.

Mary, Ursula, Fanny, Nell, Cate.

Lego & Shadwell

Blankets to

Harry, Will, Caesar, Leah.

King, Judy, Moll, Sall.

Squire, Belinda, Charlotte &c.

Frank, Betty (Pat's dau)

Juno.

Beds to

Leah, Judy, Moll, Sall, Belinda.

Poplar Forest & Dun-lora.

Blankets to

Guinea Will, Betty, Hall &c.

Amey, Will, Judy, Tommy.

Tom Shackelford, John, Daoy, Lucy.

Londy, Sarah, Phoebe, Peg &c, Betty &c.

Abby, Peg, Jupiter, Phyllis, Shandy &c.

Ned, Isabel, Dinah, Aggy, Sam &c, Dinah &c.

Bella, Billy boy.

Beds to

Betty, Amey, Judy, Sarah, Abby, Phyllis

Dinah.

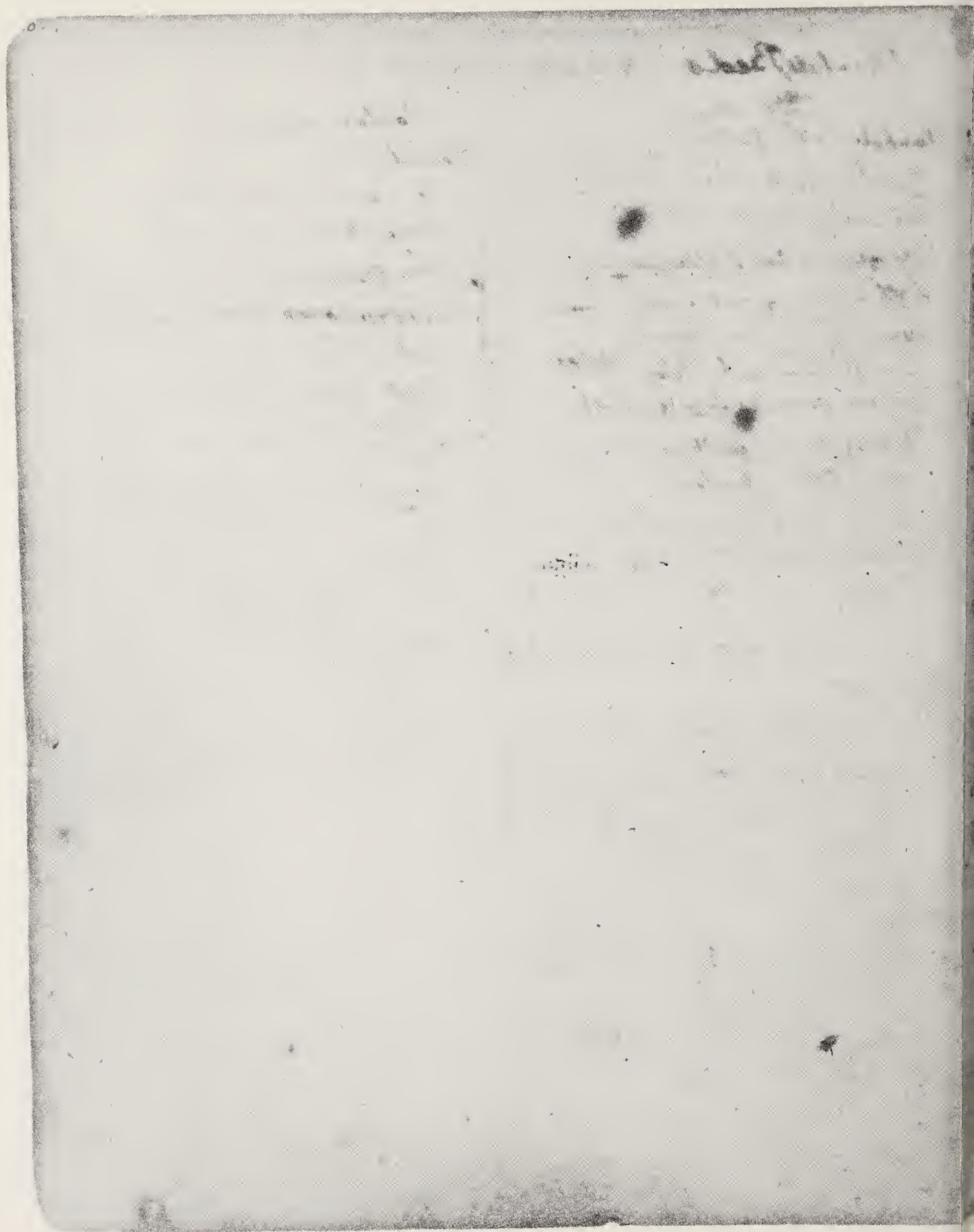
Elk-hill.

Beds to

Sue, Nan, Hannah, Cate.

Blankets to

waterman Charles, Billy, Blanny.



Births and Deaths in 1774

Births

Betty. (Phill & Moll. Shadwell)
 Betty (Sue's child. Wingo's) Aug.
 Judy. (Abby's child. Wingo's) Aug.
 Ambrose. (Hanah's child. Elk hill) Jan.
 Anonymus. (Black Sall's. Elk hill) Jan.
 Nancey (Mirna's child) Elk hill
 Betty (Pat Kennon's Elk hill)
 Solomon. (Bagby Peter & Hanah's) Elk hill
~~Iris (Squire & Melinda.) Shadwell. Sep.~~

Deaths

Archy. Ursula's child. July.
 * Gill. (Monticello)
 * Agger. (Sam & Dorah's. Ind. cr.)
~~Sam & Dorah's. Ind. cr.~~
 * old Sam (Dun-lora) May.
 Betty (Sue's. Elkhill) Nov. 15.
 Mary (Suckey's Elk hill) Feb.
 Anonymus (black Sall's Elk hill) Feb.
 Peg. (Poplar Forest) March.

Births and deaths in 1775

Births.

Isaac. (Ursula's. Monticello.) Dec.

Iris (Belinda's Monticello) July.

John Jupiter (Jupiter & Phyllis. Ind's cor.) Feb.

Anakey (Ned & Phoebe. Ind's cor.) July

Deaths.

Frank, Mingo's wife at Elk-hill

Blankets, Beds &c. given to slaves in 1775.

Betty
Martin
Bob
Jame

Roll of the negroes taken in 1783.

Deaths among the preceding from 1783. to 1794. inclusive

Betty Hemmings.
 Martin. 55.
 Jo. 62.
 Me 65.
 Maria 67.
 Critia. 69.
 Peter. Aug. 70.
 Sally. 73.
 Johnny. Apr. 24. 76.
 Lucy. Aug. 77.
 Mary. 52.
 Daniel 72.
 Molly. Mar. 77.
 Joe. Nov. 80.
 Abram.
 Doll. 57.
 Rachael May. 76.
 Martin. Nov. 77.
 Betty Brown. 50.
 Horneley Mar. 81.
 Maria 61.
 Billy May 80.
 Phill Shoen.
 Aggy.
 Dick 67.
 John 52.
 Annay.
 Dany. 55.
 Tiahel.
 Jane Mar. 3. 76.
 Moses 70. Nov. 30.
 Pally. 01. Sep. 9.
 Hunter. 43.
 Jack. 58.
 Bella. 62.
 Andrew. 80. Aug.
 James. 64.
 James. 80. Oct.
 Great George.
 Anala.
 George Smith. 59.
 Raywell. 68.
 Isaac. 75. Dec.
 Thingo.
 Fanny.
 Ned. 60.
 Franky. 67.
 Will. 64.
 Toms.
 Saliah.
 Anna. 58.
 Hercules.
 Billy. 60. Mar.
 Phill. Wagg.
 Moll.
 Phillips. 68. Dec.
 Phyllis. 71.
 Betty. 74. Mar.
 Mary. 76. Mar.
 Nanny. 78. July.
 Sally. 80. Dec.
 Will.
 Augustine 70. Aug.
 Eamon 70. Aug.
 Eamon 70. Aug.
 Eamon 70. Aug.

Sall. 60.
 Lucinda. 61.
 Simon. 65.
 Cyne (young Sall.) 72. Nov.
 Jane Hubbard.
 Cate.
 John. 68.
 Armistead. 71.
 Nace. 73.
 Hannah. 70. Jan.
 Rachael 73. Oct.
 Maria. 76. Oct.
 Eve. 79. June.
 Charles.
 Betty.
 Squire.
 Belinda.
 Val. 60.
 Charlotte. 68. Mar.
 Minerva 71. Sep.
 Sarah. 72. Dec.
 Iris. 75. July.
 Jeremiah. 77. June 2.
 Caesar.
 Milly. 60.
 Sam. 62. Feb.
 Will. Smith.
 Abby.
 Jesse. 72. Nov.
 Judy. 74. July.
 Sally. 77. Nov.
 Lucy. 79. Oct.
 Dick. 81. Oct.
 King.
 Judy. 74. Oct.
 Hannah. 71. Oct.
 Thamar. 72. June.
 John. 76. Mar.
 Tim. 78. Mar.
 Augustine. 79. Dec. 25.
 York. 81. Oct.
 Ned.
 Phoebe.
 Anakey. 75. July.
 Joe. 81. Mar.
 Dinah. 61.
 Orange. 77. Dec.
 Sally. 80. May.
 Lucretia.
 Nell.
 Charles. 60.
 Jenny. 68.
 Jesse. 74.
 Silla. 78. Aug. 1.
 Frank (Squire). 57.
 Frank (Redford) 64.
 Jane (Redford).
 Lewis. about 78.
 Tom Shackelford.
 Tilly. 58. 129.
 Elkhill.
 Sue.
 Phoebe. 59.
 Sams. 68.
 Nanny. May 71.
 Suckey. 74.
 Glosior 75. July.
 Sally. 78. Jan.
 Ambrose.
 Hannah.
 Harry. 70. Jan.

Ambrose. 72. Dec.
 Abram. 78. Sep.
 Abby. 80. May.
 Tom.
 Minna. (Stephan July. 80).
 Beck. 71. Oct.
 Nanny. 74.
 Suckey. 76. Mar.
 Sam. 78. May 12.
 Will. 81. Dec.
 Betty.
 Peter. 80. July.
 Billy Waring. 63.
 Aggy. 69.
 Will. (Squire).
 Nat. 68.
 Diley. 64.
 Suckey. 65. 31.
 Willis's creek.
 Peter.
 Hannah.
 Betty. 72.
 Solomon. 75. July.
 George. 79. Mar.
 Sally. 64.
 Philip. 66.
 Daniel. 72.
 Toms. 9.
 Poplar Forest.
 Dinah.
 Dinah. 66.
 Solomon. 69.
 Bella. 57.
 Rachael 76. Mar.
 Billy.
 Sarah. 64.
 Peggy. 80. Oct.
 Lucy. 27.
 Quincea Will.
 Betty.
 Harry. 67. Sep.
 Diley. 69. Mar.
 Suckey. 71. Mar.
 Caesar. 74. Sep.
 Billy. 77. Jan.
 Cuffey.
 Jack.
 Pat. Kemon.
 Tom. 67.
 Jeffry. 69.
 Betty. 74.
 Judy. 80. June.
 Will.
 Judy.
 York. 64.
 Lundy.
 Betty. 67. Aug.
 Lucy. 69. July.
 Jupiter.
 Phyllis.
 Shandy. 70. Aug.
 Sam. 70. July.
 Phyllis. 70. Nov.
 John Jupiter. 75. Feb. 35.

Nanny. 77. Dec.

Blankets, beds &c given to slaves in 1776.

Shoemaker Phill a blanket.

Betty Hemmings. a blanket.

Lucinda. Ned. Gamey. blankets

2. blankets sent to Bedford to

and to John's wife

Black Salt. Sam. blankets.

Black Salt, Doll. beds.

Number of souls in my family in Al-
bany as given in this year.

	Free	Slaves
Males of 16 years old & up w th	17	22
Females of 16 years old & up w th	5	17
Males below 16.	4	22
Females below 16.	8	22
Number of Free & Slaves	34	83
Number in the whole	117	

Births & Deaths in 1777.

Births	Deaths
Jeremiah (Squire & Belinda Shadwell) July	Anon. (Ned & Phoebe. Ind's or.) Octob.
Sally (Will & Abby Shadwell) Octob.	Aggy (Jup. & Sue. Monticello) Sept.
Martin (Abram & Doll Monticello) Nov.	
Billy (Betty Brown's, Monticello)	
Orange (Dinah's, Monticello)	
Anon. (Ned & Phoebe. Ind's or.) Aug.	
Billy (Guinea Hill & Bess. Pop. For.) January.	
Aggy (Jupiter & Sue. Monticello) July	

Births and Deaths in 1778.

Births	Deaths
Sally (Sue's, Elk hill)	Billy (Betty Brown's) May.
Samson (Mima's, Elk hill) May 12.	
(Patt Lannon's) July 10.	

Births, Deaths &c from 1779 to 1781. inclusive.

Other losses by the British in 1781.

blooded mares, colts & ploughhorses.
59. cattle
30. sheep.
60. hogs.
200. bar. corn in the house.
500 do growing & destroyed
80 do growing & lost for want of labourers
50. bush. wheat growing
10. lbs. tobacco in the house
12. do growing & destroyed
7. do growing & lost for want of labourers
250. lb hemp in the house.
250. lb do growing
250. lb flax growing
100. lb cotton growing & destroyed
130. lb do growing & lost for want of labourers
75. bushels of barley growing & destroyed
1000. fannels of fence destroyed
houses burnt £15.0-0
plantation utensils 15.0-0
p^r Doctors attending sick 65.0-0
expences sick & bring^s back some 20.0-0

Deaths &c.

1781. Cumber Land Hannibal }
Patty }
Samm. }
Sally. }
Nanny }
Fanny }
Pamela }
Nancy }
fled to the enemy & died.
Elkhill Flora (Black Sall's) }
Quomina (Black Sall's) }
Black Sall }
James (Bl. Sall's) }
Joe. (Sue's) }
Lucy }
joined enemy & died.
joined enemy, returned & died.
Sam. }
Elkhill Sonny }
Shadwell }
Harry }
joined enemy.
Monticello Barnaby, run away, returned & died
Elkhill York.
Isabel }
Jack. }
Hanah's child }
Phoebe's child }
caught small pox from enemy & died.
[note Judy & Mat of Elkhill & Robin of Shadwell joined
the army, but came back again & lived. so did
Isabel Hannibal's daughter after being taken to a ship
Elkhill Branford }
Sue, Sue's daughter }
Monticello Old Sonny }
Elkhill Phoebe (Sue's) }
Nanny (Tom's) }
1782

Births.

1782.

Deaths.

Lucy, Peter & Suekey, Monticello. Mar. 2. 1782.
Hannah
Andrew, Elkhill. Mar. 3.
Doll's. Monticello Oct. 5.

Owners & Stewards employed

	Monticello	Shadwell	Stewards	Monticello	Monticello	Tuption	Lego
1783		Chisolm	Key	1798.			
4		Chisolm		1800	Lilly		
5				1.			
6	Clarke		Ballou	2			
7	Clarke			3			
8	Franklin			4			
9	Franklin			5			
1790	Franklin			6	Freeman		
1	Rogers			7	Bacon		
2	Clarkson	Rogers		8			
3	Clarkson	Rogers		9			
4	Frederick	alexander					
5	Petit	alexander					
6	Petit	Page					
7		Page					

Roll of the negroes Nov. 1794. and where to be settled for the year 1795.

Monticello.		Shadwell	Bedford.
<p>Jupiter. 83. & Jan. 1800</p> <p>Martin. 55.</p> <p>James. 65</p> <p>Peter. 70</p> <p>Lucy. (Jenny's) 80</p> <p>Crilla. 69</p> <p>Jamey. 82. Apr. 23</p> <p>Sally. 73.</p> <p>Joe. 80.</p> <p>Betsy. 83.</p> <p>Betty Brown. 59</p> <p>Wormeley. 81</p> <p>Burwell. 83. Dec. 20.</p> <p>Brown 85. Dec. 25.</p> <p>Melinda 87. Nov. 6.</p> <p>Eduin. 93. Nov. 2.</p> <p>Betty Hommes ab. 35.</p> <p>George.</p> <p>Ursula ab. 37.</p> <p>George 59.</p> <p>Isaac. 75. Dec. } smiths</p> <p>Moses 79.</p> <p>Shepherd. 82. Oct</p> <p>Barnaby 83. May 2.</p> <p>Dary. 84. Sep.</p> <p>Ben. 84.</p> <p>Jamey. 82. or 83.</p> <p>Kit 86.</p> <p>John 83.</p> <p>Dary. 55.</p> <p>Levis ab. 60</p> <p>Abraham.</p> <p>Phill. shoem.</p> <p>Johnny. 75.</p> <p>Phyllis. 75. ab. 42.</p> <p>Tom Shackle. 80. } canters.</p> <p>Goliath. ab. 31.</p> <p>Mingo.</p> <p>Fanny ab. 36.</p> <p>Philly. 81. } spinners</p> <p>Lacy. 83.</p> <p>Aggcy. Dec. 96. lily.</p>	<p>Isabel</p> <p>James 76.</p> <p>Edy. 87. Apr. 10.</p> <p>Aggcy. 89. Mar.</p> <p>Lilly. 91. Feb</p> <p>Amey. 93. Mar. 1.</p> <p>Doll 57.</p> <p>Martin 77.</p> <p>Thonia. 93. Jan.</p> <p>Jenny (nelli) 68.</p> <p>Louis. 88. Mar.</p> <p>Jesse. 90. July.</p> <p>Sally. 92. Sep. 1.</p> <p>Molly. ab. 49.</p> <p>Mary. 76.</p> <p>Barth. 86. Jan.</p> <p>Clarinda 88. July</p> <p>Goliath. 91. May.</p> <p>Frank. 57.</p> <p>Toby. 53.</p> <p>Juno.</p> <p>Tuiston</p> <p>Ned. 60.</p> <p>Jenny (Aggcy.) 64.</p> <p>Ned. 86. Feb. 15.</p> <p>Fanny. 88. Mar. 31</p> <p>Dick. 90. Mar. 19.</p> <p>Gill. 92. Mar. 18.</p> <p>Quilla. 92. Apr. 14.</p> <p>Rachael. 76.</p> <p>Nancy. 91. Sep.</p> <p>Black Betty. 92. May</p> <p>Val. 60.</p> <p>York. 81.</p> <p>Nanny. 78.</p> <p>Sally. 80.</p>	<p>Squire. ab. 27.</p> <p>Belinda. ab. 39.</p> <p>Jerry. 77.</p> <p>Iris. 75.</p> <p>Squire 93. Dec. 1.</p> <p>Philly. 68.</p> <p>Phyllis 71.</p> <p>Sulla. 78. Aug. 1.</p> <p>Nelly. 94. Feb.</p> <p>Caesar. 94. Nov. 19.</p> <p>Logo.</p> <p>Bagwell. 68.</p> <p>Minerva. 71.</p> <p>Ursula. 87. Jan. 5.</p> <p>Mary. 88. Oct. 29.</p> <p>Virginia. 93. May 8.</p> <p>Judy Hix.</p> <p>Austin 79.</p> <p>Thamar. 73.</p> <p>Rachael. 90. Nov.</p> <p>Tim. 78.</p> <p>Lucinda. 61.</p> <p>Sarah. 86. Dec. 18.</p> <p>Sandy. 89. Dec. 1.</p> <p>Sousy. 93. Oct. 19.</p> <p>Sally. ab. 25. & 97.</p>	<p>James Hubbard.</p> <p>Cate. ab. 50.</p> <p>Armistead 71.</p> <p>Rachael. 73. Oct.</p> <p>Burrell. 94.</p> <p>Nell. 73.</p> <p>Mama. 76. Oct.</p> <p>Eve 79. June.</p> <p>Philips. 86. Mar.</p> <p>Sarah. 88. Aug.</p> <p>Mary. 91. Sep. 2.</p> <p>Will. Smith.</p> <p>Abby.</p> <p>Jesse. 72. Nov.</p> <p>Sal. 77. Nov.</p> <p>Lacy. 99. Oct. & 97.</p> <p>Dick. 81. Oct.</p> <p>Flora. 83.</p> <p>Dary. 85. Feb.</p> <p>Fanny. 88. Aug.</p> <p>Edy. 93. Apr.</p> <p>Armistead. 94. Nov. 19.</p> <p>Bess. Guinea Will.</p> <p>Hail. 67. Sep. Smith</p> <p>Caesar. 74. Sep.</p> <p>Cuffy. ab. 79. & 96.</p> <p>Suck. (Bess's) 71. May.</p> <p>Cate. 88. Mar.</p> <p>Daniel. 90. Sep.</p> <p>Stephen. 94. May.</p> <p>Hercules. ab. 33.</p> <p>Bot.</p> <p>Quilla. 75. Aug.</p> <p>Cowen. 78. Aug.</p> <p>Cate. 88. Mar. 8.</p> <p>Mary. 92. Jan.</p> <p>Hercules. 94. Nov. 20.</p> <p>Manah. Cate's. 70. Jan.</p> <p>Lucinda. 91. Dec. 9.</p> <p>Rachael. 93. Nov.</p> <p>Solomon. 94.</p> <p>Will. 94. Jan.</p> <p>Dick. 67. Rachael's.</p> <p>Dinah. 66.</p> <p>John. 85. Nov.</p> <p>Aggcy. 89. Mar.</p> <p>Moses. 92. Jan.</p> <p>Amos. 94. [Lacy's]</p> <p>Will. 94.</p> <p>Judy. 80.</p>

Register of births. B denotes Bedford

Males		Females		Males		Females	
79. Moses. Isabel's		Eve. Cate's	B.	96. May 6. Joyce. Iris's I.E.		96. Lucy. Phamar's I.E.	
Austin. Judy Hix's		Lucy. Abby's	B.	June 1. Lucy Lucy's		Aug. 18. Lucy Scilla's I.E.	
Luffy. Saff's & 96. B.				14. James. Mrs. Y. Hony		Aug. Harah. Dinah's B.	
80. Joe. Mary's		Lucy. Jenny's		Aug. Nell. Maria's B.		Suck's B.	
Gawen. Bet's B.		Sally. Molly's				Ally's B.	
		Cate. Bett's	B.			May 5. Suck's Mary's	
81. Wormeley. Batt Br's		Patty. Isabel's		97		Mar. 22. Lucy Rachael's	
York. Judy's						30. Lucy Isabel's	
Dick. Abby's B.						Oct. 24. Evelyn. Mrs. Y. Hony	
						Bec. Minerva's	
82. Shepherd. Doll's							
James. Cate's. qu. 83.							
83. Barnaby. Jenny's		Lucy. Molly's		98. Apr. Beverly Sally's		Mar. 98. Maria. Nanny's	
Burnell. Bet Br's		Flora. Abby's B.		Oct 29. 9		July 13. Lucy Phyllis's	
84. Davy. Isabel's. Sep.						June 8. Dinah. Mary's	
Ben. Judy Hix's						Oct. 25. Aggy. Red's Jenny's	
85. Brown. Bet Br's				99. June 22. Thirington's Isabel's		Apr. 10. Nanny. Minerva's	
Davy. Abby's B.							
John. Dinah's B.							
86. Bartlett. Molly's		Sarah. Lucinda's					
Ned. Jenny's							
Kil. Judy Hix's							
Philips. Cate's B.							
87. Jamey. Citta's		Melinda. Bet Br's I.E.					
		Edy. Isabel's					
		Ursula. Minerva's					
88. Lewis. Jenny's		Clara. Molly's I.E.					
		Fanny. Jenny's					
		Mary. Minerva's					
		Sarah. Cate's B.					
		Fanny. Abby's B.					
		Cate. Suck's B.					
89. Sarah . Lucinda I.E.		Aggy. Isabel's					
		Aggy. Dinah's B.					
90. Jesse. Lewis's		Rachael. Thamar's I.E.					
Dick. Jenny's							
Daniel. Suck's B.							
91. Lucy . Molly's I.E.		Lilly. Isabel's					
		Nancy. Rachael's					
		Nancy. Cate's B.					
		Lucinda. Harah's B.					
92. Gill. Jenny's Red's		Sally. Jenny's Lewis's					
Moses. Dinah's B.		Edy. Abby's B.					
		Mary. Bett's B.					
93. Edwin. Bet Br's							
Squire. Iris's I.E.		Amy. Isabel's					
Sooty. Lucinda's I.E.		Thenia. Doll's					
Reuben. Harah's B.		Virginia. Minerva's					
94. Abram. Rachael's							
Burnell. Rachael's B.		Holly. Scilla's I.E.					
Stephen. Suck's B.		Scilla. Jenny's					
Armstrong. Abby's B.		Dolly's Doll's					
Hercules. Batt's B.							
Evans. Dinah's B.							
Solomon. Harah's B.							
95. Lucy (Jenny Lewis's) Apr.		Edith. Minerva's Mary's					
Thurston (Bett's) July 8		Stephen. Phyllis's Apr. 20. I.E.					
Burnell. Lucinda's Sep. I.E.		Nancy. Sally's Oct. 5					
		Isabel. Suck's June B.					

Land Roll in 1794.

Acres
 1052 $\frac{3}{4}$ Monticello. viz 1000. patented by Peter Jefferson. 1735. July 19.
 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ rec^d in exchange by T. Jefferson from N. Lewis.
 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ purch^d by T. Jefferson from Richard Overton.
 571 $\frac{3}{4}$ Montalto. part of 483. acres purch^d by T. Jefferson from E. Carter.
 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ the residue were conveyed by T. J. to N. Lewis in exchange.
 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ purch^d by T. Jefferson from Pandemon Brown.
 40 purch^d by T. J. from T. Weller.
 150. called Tuxton. pat^d by T. Jefferson, 1755. Sept. 10.
 150. called Portobello. pat^d by P. Jefferson, 1740. Sept. 16.
 300.
 1924 $\frac{1}{2}$ Tuxton viz
 400. Shadwell. purch^d by P. Jefferson of William Randolph.
 819 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lego. purch^d by T. Jefferson of Thomas Garth.
 819 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pant-ops. viz 650. purch^d by P. Jefferson of the Smiths.
 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ purch^d by T. Jefferson of Walter Mowley.
 819 $\frac{1}{2}$
 2768 $\frac{1}{2}$ 730. viz 485. surveyed in the name of T. Jefferson.
 245. an undivided moiety of 490. surv^d for J. Harvie.
 730.
 400. Pouncey's. viz 300 part of the 400. pat^d by P. Jefferson 1756. Aug. 16.
 100. residue thereof devis^d by P. Jefferson to Speers.
 400. and repurch^d by T. Jefferson from Speers.
 404. 4. Limestone purch^d by T. Jefferson from Robert Sharpe.
 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ Limestone. an undivided sixth of 400. acres and 12 tons of hardware. pat^d by Philip Mayo. Sept. 1. 1749.
 222. on M^r Gehee's road pat^d by T. Jefferson 1788. Apr. 12.
 418 196. on waters of Buckwile. pat^d by T. Jefferson 1788. Apr. 12.
 in Albemarle.
 5591 $\frac{1}{2}$
 4627 $\frac{1}{2}$ Poplar Forest. viz 3000 part of 4000 pat^d by Stith.
 1000. thereof conveyed to M. & M. Randolph.
 3000.
 256. pat^d by Dan^l. Robertson.
 380. pat^d by Callaway.
 183. pat^d by J. Robertson.
 800. surv^d for J. Wayles 1770. Oct. 25.
 4627 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres patented by T. Jefferson.
 474. Tullos's viz 374. pat^d by Tullos.
 100 purch^d by J. Wayles of Rich^d. Stith pat^d by T. J.
 474.
 5101 $\frac{1}{2}$ in Bedford & Campbell. 100 purch^d by J. Wayles of Rich^d. Stith pat^d by T. J.
 474.
 157. in Rockbridge. Natural Bridge. pat^d by T. Jefferson 1774. July 5.
 10,627 acres.
 4. lots in Beverley town. viz N^o 57. 107. 108. 151. this last being the Ferry lot.
 part of lot 335. in Richmond, containing 825 square yards, purch^d by T. J. of W^m. Byrd.

	1794	1793 April	94 Mar	95 Mar	96 Dec	96 Spring	97 Fall	97 Spring	97 Fall
workhorses	2		6	6	5		7	9	
mules			5	7	1				
broodmares			3		1		3		
colts	16		1						
Steers & bulls	5		8	3+2	15			6	
cows	11		23	15	14				
3 y. old males			3	2	2			1	
females	6		3	5				4	
2 y. old males			8	1	4			2	
females	8		8	7	5			2	
yearlings	6		9	10	10				
calves	1		5					6	
Ewes above 6 Wethers	39			8+2					
Ewes 1 to 6 y. old				17					
lambs				17					
Sows & boars	12		19	9+1	5		5	12	
shoats	18		27	26	15		7	18	
pigs	43		23	30	13				
bacon hogs	40		21	30	22		9	8	
bees	1		2						
workhorses	5		5	6	8			3	
mules					2			2	
broodmares			2	4	2			3	
colts				3+4	4				
Steers & bulls	5		8	10	10		5	9	
cows	24		11	10	9		9	11	
3 y. old males			5	1	1			1	
females	4		3	4	2			3	
2 y. old males	5		3	3	3			2	
females			4	2	1		10	1	
yearlings	10			5	4				
calves	9		6	5	7		5	10	
Ewes above 6 Wethers			3		11			23	
Ewes from 1 to 6 y. old									
lambs				32					
Sows & boars	21		7	8	8			9	
shoats	51		42	20	21			2	
pigs	55		7	35	11			42	
bacon hogs	84		50	32	30			18	
bees	1		1						
Workhorses	5	9							
mules									
broodmares		3							
colts		5							
Steers & bulls		23	17	7+2	8	11		14	
cows	19	31	40	40	35	40		44	
3 y. old males	3		5	8	8	6		8	
females	6		7	8	7	8		11	
2 y. old males	6		10	11	11	14		11	
females		13	11	15	10	12		10	
yearlings	11	11	24	10+15	24	21		23	
calves	5	19	25	29	41	21		23	
Ewes above 6 y. old Wethers	24								
Ewes from 1 to 6 y. old									
lambs									
Sows & boars	10	114	121	20	19			17	
shoats	42			75	120			85	
pigs	25	26	73	70	120			62	
bacon hogs	44			110					
Bees	7			6000					

320

Rates of estimating builder's work.

Framing is from 7/6 to 15/ The square of 100. sq. ft. according to the quality from the slightest to the strongest, & if found provisions 15. $\frac{1}{2}$ is to be deducted. call 1. square then	£	s	d
sawing the stuff (about 50. ft.)	0	3	0
133. ft. of feather edge plank (it laps 2. ft. & shears 6. ft.)	0	8	0
planing & putting up	0	7	6
100. 20 ^d nails	0	1	9
100. square feet of lathing @ 3 ^d The square yard	0	3	3
450. 4 ^d nails	0	3	9
painting 3. coats of white lead, paint & oil included			

The same work done in brick of 1½ bricks thick would take 1800. bricks, with, making, laying, finding & so on 3. 12. 0

The same done in stone would take 6 perch (189. thick) the laying of which is worth 0. 15. 0

Peach trees planted Dec. 1794.

Monticello. in the North orchard, between the apple trees 263

dividing lines between the fields - - - - - 537

Do between the Quarry field & Long field - - - 70.

Legs. dividing lines between the fields - - - - - 287.

Distribution of blankets.

1792.5.8.1801

1793.6.0.1802.

1794.7.0.1802.

Jupiter
Betty Brown
Crilla
Sally
Nance

Abram.
Doll
Morton

Phill. shorn.

Amey
Isabel (h.ch.)
Edy

Jenny (h.ch.)

Jenny.

Molly's 3. chdr.

Phyllis
Mary.

Davy. (B. for 2)

John (B. for 2)

Goliath.

Mingo.

Bagwell.

Bartlett.

Belinda

VX

Jenny

IX's

Tan

Ashtin

Yate

Thomson.

Sell

31.

Betty Brown's 2 chdr

Wormaley.

Barnwell.

Jenny

Johnny junior

Shepherd

Ben Snowden

Cam.

~~Great Gorge~~

Ursula

Ursula

~~Ursula~~

Isaac

~~Aggy~~

John Gardner

Davy

Isabel's child

Moses

Ned

Red

Jenny's 2. chdr.

Dick.

Louis

Louis

Jenny's 3 chdr.

Scilla.

Molly

Tom Shackle

Fanny.

Minerva.

black Betty

Frank

Juno

Phil. M. for 2

28

Betty Hemmings.

James.

Peter

Brown

Philly

Doll's chdr

Rachael

her 3. chdr

Isabel's chdr

James

Patty

Garry

Jenny's 2. chdr

Philly

Barnaby

Jenny's chdr

Philly wagg

Philly's

Nancy

Sally

Lily

Jame Hubbard

Minerva's 3. chdr.

Caesar

Toby

Squire

Jilly Hex.

~~Philly~~

~~Philly~~

Lucinda.

Lucinda's 3 chdr.

28

Distribution of 39

Cross beds.

1794.7.0

Betty Brown

Amey.

Jenny (Levi's)

Molly

Fanny

Jenny. Ned's

Thomson

~~Scilla~~

Peter

~~Philly~~

1795.8

Betty Hemmings

Nance

Rachael

Ursula.

Aggy

Scilla

Minerva

Juno.

Lucinda

Mary

1796.0.

Crilla.

Sally.

Doll

Isabel.

~~Philly~~

Betty. black.

Belinda.

Jilly Hex

house boys.

Patty

9.

Suck

Scilla.

hogs killed Dec. 94.	
Monticello. Shadwell	
106	212
87	188
161	178
132	166
106	164
97	146
134	146
124	145
88	144
77	140
174	133
106	128
117	128
152	118
98	112
65	112
165	106
98	105
120	102
85	100
98	100
110	100
5.4 510	97
30 03	96
27 111	94
107	88
105	84
83	84
320 8	3942
30 100	123

beavers killed

Purchased from Brydies Co. for plantation & farm			
Cotton	179 2.3		
White flannel	208.48		
col half thick	57 1/2		
planning	66 1/2		
hose	30.48		
blankets	50.75		
oprah's	30.		
salt	493 2.48		
steak	3.30		
iron	40 3/4		
nails	410 1/2		
	169-18-9 1/2		
		179 3.4	
		25 19-6	
		7-13-4	
		7-14-	
		3-2-6	
		5-16-8	
		15-0-0	
		30-17-2 1/2	
		3-2-0	
		1-17-10 1/2	
		8-13-6 1/2	
		512 48	
		7.30	
		52 1/2	
		455 18	
		11.75	
		146-8-11 1/2	
		40-11-1	
		11-1-8	
		3-2-6	
		7-8-8	
		13-10-0	
		40-7-8	
		11-4-0	
		3-5-2 1/2	
		9-9-7	
		6-8-6	

a ploughman is worth.
his hire - - - £10-0-0
his clothes - - - 2-0-0
his food - - - 3-8-0
tools - - - 1-0-0
overlooking - - - 2-0-0
18-8
divided on 300 working days is
1/3 a day

a plough horse, lasting 6 years, is worth
as follows. his corn for a year 6-12-6
fodder - - - 1-17-6
pasture - - - 1-0-0
x 6 by 6 years 9-10
57-0
first cost - - 15-0
3 years int. - 2-5
for 6 years - 74-5
for 1 year 12-7-6
divided among 150 plough
days is 1/8 a day

then a ploughman, 2 horses, & the plough cost 5/a day, or by the acre
and one half of that, to wit 2/3 the days the horse are idle, suppose
then halved, and the ploughman to be at work.
the culture of an acre of corn 2 1/2
2 flash ploughing & 5 intervals to 5 flint 2 1/2 1-5
5 weeding 10
gathering, carting, chaff, shelling 6
double harrow & 1/2 a mill 1 1/2
2-15-0
by 6 years 10-10-0
3 Bar. 3 bush. corn @ 12/ 2-3-0
2-13-0

Distribution of clothes for Dec. 1794.

Rule for the orphans & woollen, supposing the latter $\frac{3}{4}$ yd. wide

the blanket & linen given a newborn infant serves till ^{next} clothing time.

Find the age, subtract the year of birth from the present year without regarding the month or those of	1 year old	2 ^d size	3 ^d size	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th
1 year old	1 st size	2 ^d size	3 ^d size	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th
2. 3. 4.	2 ^d size	3 ^d size	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th	
5. 6. 7.	3 ^d size	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th		
8. 9. 10.	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th			
11. 12. 13.	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th				
14. 15. 16.	6 th	7 th	8 th					
common sized men or women	7 th	8 th						
very large do.	8 th							

3. 5 skaines of three 2 to each shirt
 3. 2 to a suit of cloth + 3 to mend.
 9 skaines weigh 2. 0. 0.
 1. lb of thread contains from 100.
 to 130. skaines.
 8. yds of rolls to a bed
 5 lb of thread hang up 22 skaines
 which is 15. 0. 0. the 10.

Wright	10 1/2 yds Irish linen	coat, waistcoat & breeches of cloth	2 pr worsted stock V. 1 pr cotton.
James	10 1/2 yds Irish linen	coat, waistcoat & breeches of cloth	2 pr worsted stock V. 1 pr cotton.
Peter	10 1/2 yds Irish linen	coat, waistcoat & breeches of cloth	2 pr worsted stock V. 1 pr cotton.
Willa	10 1/2 yds Irish linen	11 yds cotton marse 3 1/2 yds flannel	2 pr cotton stock V.
ially	10 1/2 yds Irish linen	11 yds cotton marse 3 1/2 yds flannel	2 pr cotton stock V.
Betty	9 yds Irish linen	8 yds cotton marse 3 1/2 yds flannel	3 pr cotton stock V.
Joe	6 yds oym	3 yds beardskin	
Wormley	5 yds oym	3 yds beardskin	
Burrell	5 yds oym	3 yds beardskin	
Brown	4 yds oym	3 yds beardskin	

	yds of linen	half ell of cloth	skaines of thread	pr stock - wgs.	blum - ket	bed	shoe
George	8	9	6 + 3	1			1
Ursula	8	9 1/2	6 + 3	1			1
im. George	7	8 1/2	6 + 3	overall			1
Naac	7	8	6 + 3	overall			1
Jamey (Willa's)	2	3	6 + 3				
Luey (Jenny's)	7	8	6 + 3	1			1
Betty Brown	7	8	6 + 3			1	1
Melinda	3	4	6 + 3				
Edith	2	3	6 + 3				
Betty Hemings	7	8	6 + 3	1	1		
Moses	6	8	6 + 3				1
Shepherd	5	7	6 + 3				1
Barnaby	5	7	6 + 3		1		1
Daisy	4	6	6 + 3		1		1
Jamey Hubbard	4 1/2	6	6 +		1		1
Ben	4	6	6 + 3		1		1
Ket	2	6	6 + 3		1		1
100	58 3/4	56		4	4	1	

Sent to Hudson's
 May 1795
 his share was
 20
 17 1/2
 57
 114
 171
 91 1/2
 86 1/2
 91 1/2
 20 1/2
 171 1/2
 20 1/2 + 2 small skins
 continued

[illegible]

Estimate for the issues of the corn on hand Dec. 15. 1794

to wit, Monticello. on hand	Barrels	shrinkage	Barrels
	240 $\frac{1}{2}$	12.	229 $\frac{1}{2}$
Shadwell do.	270.	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	256 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oats at do.			486.
			20
			506

	from Dec. 15 to Apr. 1 106. Days.	from Apr. 1. to July 15 106. Days.	from July 15 to Nov. 15 123. Days.	Total 335. Days	
	Barrels				
120. persons	90.	90	105	285	@ 1. peck a week each
8. riding horses	32	21	-	53	@ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ gall. a day in winter & 1. gall. in summer.
5. brood mares	13.	-	-	13	@ 1. gallon a day.
3. colts	2	-	-	2	
7. mules	14	-	-	14	@ 3. q ^{ts} . a day each
16. work horses	56	36	-	92	@ 2. gal. on plough ^d days & 1. in ^g of rest. winter and half that in summer.
12. oxen	18	-	-	18	@ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ gal. on work ^d days, supposed C.
cattle	10	-	-	10	@ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. p ^{er} month on each side the river
3. heaves	4.	-	-	4	@ 1. gal. a day, for 135. days in all.
hogs.	21	-	-	21	@ $\frac{1}{2}$ bush. a day, on each side the river
Total	260	147	105	512	

Repartition of ~~the~~ between Monticello & Shadwell.

Monticello					Shadwell.				
Part.	Dec. 15. to Apr. 1. 106. Days.	Apr. 1. to July 15. 106. D.	July 15 to Nov. 15. 123. Days.	Total 335. D.	Alexander	Dec. 15 to Apr. 1. 106. D.	Apr. 1. to July 15 106. D.	July 15. to Nov. 15. 123. Days.	Total 335 D.
17. persons	35.	35	41 $\frac{1}{2}$	111 $\frac{1}{2}$	26. persons	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	62
8. work horses	28	18	-	46	4. brood mares	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
4. oxen	6	-	-	6	3 colts	2	-	-	2
cattle	5	-	-	5	8. work horses	28	18	-	46
3. heaves	4	-	-	4	8. oxen	12	-	-	12
hogs	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	cattle	5	-	-	5
	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	53	41 $\frac{1}{2}$	183	hogs	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Supplies for 8. horses	32	1	-	33 (a)	Tom. 67 person	35	35	41 $\frac{1}{2}$	111 $\frac{1}{2}$ (a)
1. mule	2	-	-	2	Supplies for lower 4 mules	-	-	-	20
4. brood mares	12	-	-	12 (b)					
George 1. man	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2 $\frac{1}{2}$					

Total 137 + 54 + 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ = 232 $\frac{1}{2}$

(a) at 11. bush. a week till Apr. 1. & 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ till July 15.

(b) @ 4. bush. a week till Apr. 1.

Total 122 $\frac{1}{2}$ + 72 $\frac{1}{2}$ + 64 $\frac{1}{2}$ = 259 $\frac{1}{2}$

(c) at 11. bush. 2. peck a week.

Diary for 1795

The fall of 1794 had been fine, yet little ploughing was done, partly from the want of horses, partly neglect in the overseers, & three men this confinement by sickness in myself, viz from Sep 1 to the latter end of Nov

Petit came to Monticello about the middle of Nov. & soon after they began to plough on both sides, first with one plough, then 2, then 3. They did not get the 4th plough each till the 2^d week in Mar. in the mean time 8 horses for each had been made up by purchasing 3.

Before Christmas, at Tufon the Highfield of about 35 acres, & at Monticello a part of the River field, to wit about 20 acres, & about 15 acres for an Outfield were ploughed, say about 70 a^c

On the other side about 25. or 30. a^c of the Square field were ploughed.

795. Jan. 7 Not a single ploughing day in either of these months. a degree Feb. } of cold of extraordinary severity, with many little snows, prevailed through the whole of them.

Petit cut down & grubbed about 8 acres between Franklin & Pog-
-gio fields grubbed the S. rock & cleared part of the Hollow & Knob, for
Alexander grubbed the patches in Square field
employed his men in mauling & cart in hauling rails to inclose East
& repair the fences in general.

Mar. 9. at night. John & his 4. companions have turned over the brick-earth.
have cut for fire wood 23 cords, & for coal 50. cords.

The mule carts have brought in 403 $\frac{1}{2}$ hampers of coal.

12 loads of dung from Shedwell to the Lucerne.

19. P.M. John & Co. have cut 86. cords of ~~wood~~ pine & 2 of hickory, & 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ of firewood.

Alexander has about 90. a^c ploughed

Petit about 113 viz Highfield 30. & 8 a^c of Hollow^d for corn, 15 a^c of the
River^d. 30. of Slaty^d for wheat, 20 for oats & about 10. a^c of S. rock^d for peas

Apr. 4 began to plant corn at Lego

finished bringing dung to the Lucerne with the mule carts

peaches & cherries in blossom.

Martin came to Monticello about the 24th of March

Apr. 1. began to sow clover, on trial with the box it took 11 gills to the acre. Col. H. Leard
sowed an acre with 12. gills, but not so well done. The sowings are Antient^d &
and an Outfield at the head of Slaty^d about 15. a^c also about 4. or 5. acres com-
-pleat Poggio

at Shedwell began to sow the Upper field about 30. a^c

6. the Outfield has taken 135 gills of clover seed, 29 at 11. gills to the acre, there must
be about 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres

20 finish sowing clover this day. 15. gallons have sowed Outfield & Infield at Tufon

May 0 the fallowing is finished here to about 10. a^c

9 the clover at Poggio in general blossom. begun now only to cut it for
green food. it has not been high enough till now

10. the first lettuce comes to table.

14. strawberries come to table.

46.

June 18. cut barley at Shadwell.

22. 8th at Tufton.

27. begin to cut wheat at Shadwell. The force employed as follows

17. Cradlers (Red. Toby, James, Val, & Bagwell, Caesar, Jerry, Philip).

5. reapers. Frank, Martin, Tim, Austin, Phill shoemaker.

7. stackers. J. Gr. George, Abram, Effex, Squire, Goliah, Tom, wagoner Phill.

36. gatherers. Isahel, Ned, Jerry, Lewis, Jonny, Doll, Rachael, Mary, Nanny, O. Betty, Molly, Sally, Amy, Minerva, Lucinda, Judy, Hix, Thamar, Iris, Salla, Belinda, Phyllis, Moses, Shepherd, Joe, Wormely, Burwell, Brown, Jany, Barnaby, Davy, Ben, Davy, John, Kit, Paddy, Lucy, Lucy.

July 3. began to cut wheat on this side the river.

3rd & 4th. These 2 days they cradled 73 a. There were but 12 cradlers at work on an average, & they stopped cutting by an hour by sun the 4th (Saturday) that all that was cut might be secured. They cut therefore fully 3 a. a day each, & may be counted on for that.The ox carts carry the sheaves of about 7 bushels of wheat at a load, one of them with 3. loaden besides the driver loads in 15' and to go $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile & return took 20'. They would load, go & return $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in 30'.

6. finished cutting wheat

7. finished cutting rye.

8. began to tread at Monticello with 7. horses.

When the harvest to go over again with the same force, the following arrangement should take place.

The treading floor should be laid down before harvest.

 $\frac{1}{2}$ a day, spare scythes should be mounted, & fingers for 2 a dozen more ready formed, bent & mortised, & some posts should be provided.

A great George, with tools & a grindstone mounted in the single mule cart, should be constantly employed in mending cradles & grinding scythes. The same cart would carry about the liquor, moving from tree to tree as the work advanced.

18. cradlers should work constantly. Smith George, John, Davy, Lewis, Johnny, Isaac, Peter, Patrick, Isaac, Ned, Toby, James, Val, Bagwell, Caesar, Jerry, Tim, & Philip.

18. binders of the women & able boys. Isahel, Jerry, Nanny, Doll, Molly, Amy, Minerva, Lucinda, Judy, Thamar, Iris, Salla, Phyllis, Moses, Shepherd, Joe, Wormely, Burwell, Brown, Jany, Barnaby, Davy, Ben, Davy, John, Kit, Paddy, Lucy, Lucy.

6. gatherers, to wit 5 small boys & 1 carrier for a horseman. Wormely, Brown, Davy, John, Ben, Kit, Paddy, Lucy, Lucy.

3. loaders. Moses, Shepherd & Joe, loading the carts successively with the drivers.

6. stackers. Squire, Abram, Shoemaker, Phill, Effex, Goliah, Austin.

2. cooks. O. Betty & Fanny.

4. carters. Tom, Phill, Frank, Martin.

58.

8. would remain to keep the ploughs a going. Rachael, Mary, Nanny, Sally, Thamar, Iris, Salla, Phyllis.

66.

in this way the whole machine would move in exact equilibrium, no part of the force could be lessened without retarding the whole, nor increased without a waste of force.

This force would cut, bring in, & shock 54 a. a day, and complete my harvest of 320 a. in 6 days.

the proper allowance 4. gallons of Whiskey, 2 quarts molasses, 1 midling besides fresh meat per day, with peas.

July 29. began to lay fallow Slatefield.

9. The Knobfield was sown the last fall with wheat on the North side of the road, and 47. rye on the South side. before harvest I laid off an acre on each side of the road where the ground appeared nearly equal. That of the wheat however was somewhat the best, but the wheat & the rye having been sown at the same time which was very late for the wheat & in good time for the rye. This circumstance was thought to make up for the difference in the quality of the ground. The wheat & rye being stacked separately, each stack measured exactly 4.8 cubic yards; & the wheat yielded 3. bushels 3. pecks, & the rye 3 1/2 bushels of clean grain.
The bulk of wheat in the stack then was to the bulk of grain as 129.6 : 4.6875 :: 27.64 : 1
that of rye - - - - - at 129.6 : 4.375 :: 29.62 : 1

- one fallow field is sowed on each side the river.
1. begin to gather fodder. Col^d. N. Lewis began a week ago.
begin to gather peaches for molasses.
11. The rains have been so constant that it has been impossible to tread out the wheat at Shadwell. 5 stacks of about 30. bushels each are still untrodden.
12. first treading wheat at Shadwell. no weevil yet to do injury.
fodder got & stacked at Shadwell. at Monticello it took but 7. or 8. days.
21. began to gather corn, & to dig potatoes.

Wheat sowed on each side of the river & the dates of sowing.			Shadwell			acres
Monticello.						
Aug. 20. - 31.	River field about	36.	Aug. 20 - 31.	Eastfield	- - -	35
Sep.	Highfield	36	Sep.	Triangle	10.	
	New ground	8		Pantown	- - -	10
	Longfield	20		Road	- - -	60
Oct. 10 - 28.	Slaterfield	35	Oct. 18 - 26.	Triangle	- - -	20 30
			27 - Nov. 11.	Middlefield	- - -	35
		136				170 = 306

Ploughing days this year have been as follow, ~~not~~

Jan. } not one.
Feb. }

Mar. 23. } during the Summer months of this year there were probably
Apr. 24th } twice as many wet days as in common years, for nothing like it has
May. 20th } ever been seen within the memory of man. yet these 10 months, being
June 20. } 43. weeks & 5. days have given 220. ploughing days, which average
July 24. } more than 5. a week. the account stands thus
Aug 19. } In these 10 months are - - - - - days 306.
Sep. 22 } of these there were Sundays & holidays - - - 49
Oct. 24. } ploughing days - - - 220
Nov. 23 } wet, frozen, &c. 37 306.
Dec. 20 }
220.

List of tools given in by Alexander Per Nov 1795. for Shadwell & Lego.

6. large ploughs & tackle.	Bagwell	1	1	1	1/2
7. single ploughs.	Phyllis	1	1	1	1/2
8. pr chains & traces.	Cassan	-	-	1	
1. harrow	Jenny	-	-	1	
2. dung forks	Judy	1	1	1	
2. corn rakes.	Louisa	1	1	1	
2. ox chains.	Phyllis	1	1	1	
	Schilla	-	-	1	
	Thomas	-	-	1	
	Lou	1	1	1	
	Richards	1	1	1	
	Minerva	1	1	1	

Hogs killed Dec. 1795

Monticello, Shadwell, Bedford

10. for B. Clark
2. for Timberlake
10. for negroes
1. for carry^g to
60. for Monticello.

83

Clerks, 1878

Person	Age	Sex	Mar.	Prof.	Rel.	Notes
George	4					
Arabella	4					
Lucy	4					
Betty Brown	7					
Melinda 81	4					
Edwin 93	2					
Betty Young	7					
Nancy	7					
Smith George	7					
John	7					
Moses 79	6					
Shepherd 82	5					
Jenny Walker 83	5					
Bernie 83	5					
Davy Isabel 84	5					
Ben 84	5					
Brown 85	4					
Bedford John 85	4					
Bedford Mary 85	4					
Kit 86	4					
John Jones	7					
John 82 Jones	7					
Davy Carpenter	7					
Lewis	7					
Abraham	7					
Phil Shoemaker	7					
Phil Waggoner	7					
Tom	7					
Goliath	7					
Mingo	7					
Fanny	7					
Patty 81	6					
Lucy (Molly) 83	5					
Aggie	7					
Isabel	7					
Edy 87	4					
Aggy 89	3					
Lilly 91	2					
Ann 93	2					
Parson 90	1					
Doll	7					
Martin 77	7					
Thenia 93	2					
Dolly 94	1					
Jonny (Lewis) 91	7					
Lewis 88	3					
Jesse 90	3					
Sally 92	2					
Molly	7					
Bartlett 86	4					
Clarinda 88	3					
Goliath 91	2					
Ned	7					
Jenny	7					
Ned 86	4					
Fanny 88	3					
Dick 90	3					
Gill 92	2					
Scilla 94	1					
Rachad	7					
Nanny 91	2					
Abraham 94	1					
Isabel	7					
John	7					
Lucy	7					
Frank	7					
Samuel	7					
Ed	7					
James	7					
York 81	6					
Mary	7					
Nanny	7					
Sally	6					
Squire	7					
Belamie	7					
Jerry	7					
Tris	7					
Squire 93	2					
Bagwell	7					
Minerva	7					
Ursula 87	4					
Mary 88	3					
Virginia 93	2					
Esther 96	1					
Scilla	7					
Nelly 94	7					
Judy Hix	7					
Tom	7					
Austen	6					
Philip	7					
Thamar	7					
Rachael 90	3					
Ann	7					
Lucinda	7					
Sarah 80	4					
Sandy 80	3					
Sousy 93	2					
Barnet 98	1					
Phyllis	7					
Sophia 90	1					
Old Sam	7					
Caesar	7					
Joe 80	6					
Wormely 81	6					
Burnell 83	5					
Jamy 87	4					
Calla 94	1					
Sally 91	1					
Betsy 80	1					
Jupiter 94	1					
Peter 90	1					
Hired people						
Eber	7					
Isaac	7					
Peter	7					
Patrick	7					
James May Wood	7					
Dick Jane Wood	7					
Rouben May Wood	7					
Bob	7					
Patrick 90	7					
Polly MacLantern	7					
Cain 80						

Bread-Lists for 1796. m. w. w. h.

Monticello	Mr. Petit.	Mr. Page.
The House ^{pecks} 3 Mr Bailey. 3 Mr. Bush 5 Mr. Watson 2 James 1 Peter 1 Lucy, cook 1 Betty Brown Wormely Dunroell Brown Melinda Edwin 6 Joe 1 Betsy 1 Nance 1 Crista } Jamey } 2 Sally } Edy } 2 Betty Hemings. 1 George } Ursula } 2 Smith George 1 Smith Isaac 1 Ben } 2 Kit } 1 Philip } 1 John, joiner 1 Phill shoemaker } 2 Aggy } Tom 1 Goliah 1 Mingo } Fanny } 2 Jupiter } Suck } Philip } 3 Suckey } 1 Johnny 1 Elizabeth 1 Molly 1 Anibal 1 Peter } Isaac } Patrick } Jamey } Dick } Reuben } 1 Bob } 1 Patrick } Billy } Cain } Ince } Tom }	^{pecks} John gardener } Amy } Davy } Isabel } attases } Davy } Patty } Aggy } Lilly } Amy } 8 Lewis } Jenny } Lewis } Jesse } Sally } m. Dany. B. } 6 Abram } Doll } m. Shepherd } Theris } Dolly } 5 Marlin } 1 Rachael } Nanny } Abram } 3 Ned } Jenny } Barnaby } Ned } Tanny } Dick } Gill } Scilla } 8 Phill wiggner } Molly } Lucy } Bartlet } Clarinda } Goliah } John B. } m. Hannah } 8 Jerry } Mary } 2 m. m. m. } Iris } 2 Old Betty 1 Val 1 Frank 1 Toby 1 Juno 1 York 1	^{pecks} Squire. } Belinda } 2 Bagwell } Minerva } Ursula } Mary } Virginia } 5 Philip } Thamar } Rachael } 3 Judy Hix } Tim } Austin } 3 Lucinda } Sarah } Sandy } Sousy } old Sall } 5 Phyllis } Nanny } Sally } 3 Scilla } Nelly } 2 Janny 1 Caesar 1 26
75		
42		
Laboring hands on each side.		
Monticello & Traylor	Shadwell & Lugo	
Frank born 1757.	Squire. born 27.	
Toby. 53.	Caesar. 49.	
Ned. 60.	Bagwell 68.	
Val. 60.	Philip 68.	
Jerry. 77.	James. 76.	
Martin 77.	Tim. 78.	
York. 81.	Austin 79.	
old Betty	Belinda. 39.	
Molly. 49	Judy Hix.	
Isabel.	Lucinda. 61.	
Amy.	Minerva. 71.	
Doll 57.	Phyllis. 71.	
Jenny. ned's 64.	Thamar. 73.	
Jenny. Lewis' 68.	Scilla. 78.	
Iris. 78.	Nanny. 78.	
Rachael. 76.	Sally. 80.	
Mary. 76.		

Ration lists for 1796.

	Monkwell.	fish	200 lb	Mountain	fish	ration	Shadwell.	
3.	George & Ursula.	12		Davy. Isabel.		2	John. Army	8
	(Smith George.	8	3 1/2	{ Betty Aggy. Sally. Army)	14	2	Squire. Belinda	8
	Bet. Melinda. Edwain.	8		Levins. Tenney.		3 1/2	(Bagwell. Minerva	14
2	Nance. Crilla	8	3	{ Levins. Jesse. Sally)	12		(Ursula. Mary. Virginia)	
	Crilla. Jamey	8		{ Abram. Doll		2	Philip. Thomas Rack	8
	Sally. Edy	8	2 1/2	{ Thenia. Dolly)	10	3	(Lucinda. Sarah. Sally. Sany)	12
	Suck. Philip	8	1 1/2	Rachael. Nanny Abram	6		Old Sally	
	Molly.	8					Scilla. Betty.	4
	Belay	4	3 1/2	Med. Tenney.			Indy.	4
	Zachary.	4		{ Fanny. Dick. Gell. Sutha	14	1	Tim.	4
	John Joiner	4	3	{ Phill. Molly.			Austen.	4
1	Phil. Shoemaker	4		{ Lucy. Clarinda. Golick	12		Phyllis.	4
	Aggy.	4		many.	4		Iris.	4
	Tom.	4		Sally.	4		Serry.	4
	Golick	4		Nanny.	4		Caesar.	4
	Mingo.	4		Old Betty.	4	22 1/2		
	Janny.	4		Jamey.	4	116		
	Space.	4	1	marlin.	4	82		
	Mose.	4		Val.	4	42 1/2		
1	Joe.	4		Frank.	4			
	Wormels.	4		Toby.	4			
	Shepherd.	4		Jens.	4			
3/4	Jame Hub.	3		Betty Hemmings.	4			
	Barnaby.	3		York.	4			
	Pennell.	3						
	Davy.	3						
	Brown.	2						
1/2	Ben.	2						
	John.	2						
	Davy.	2						
	Kid.	2						
	Barthel.	2						
	Med.	2						
1 1/2	Philis.	2						
	12. kneedmen.	72						
		22 1/2						

52 Clothes 1796							Bread List May 1797						
name	linen	wool	ings	bed	shoe		name	linen	wool	ings	bed	shoe	
George	8	8	1	1	1		Val	7	7	1	1	1	Monticello
Ursula	8	9	1	1	1		Frank	7	7	1	1	1	Mountain
Betty Hemings	7	7	1	1	1		Jamies	7	7	4	1	1	Peter 1
Betty Brown	7	7	1	1	1		Martin	7	7	1	1	1	George 2
Melinda 87	4	4	1	1	1		York 81	6	6	1	1	1	Ursula 2
Edwin 93	2	2	1	1	1		Mary	7	7	1	1	1	Davy
Nancy	7	7	1	1	1		Suckey	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	Isabel
Lucy	12	7	1	1	1		Nanny	7	7	1	1	1	Patty
Zachary 96	1	1.6	1	1	1		Sally	7	7	1	1	1	Edwin
Smith George	7	7	1	1	1		Lucy 83	6	6	1	1	1	Nancy 2
Isaac	7	7	1	1	1		Patty 81	6	6	1	1	1	Critta
Moses	7	7	ov	1	1		Aggey	7	7	1	1	1	Jammy 2
Joe	7	7	ov	1	1		Juno	7	7	1	1	1	Sally
Hornely 81	6	6	ov	1	1		Squire	7	7	1	1	1	Harnel 3
Shepherd 82	6	6	ov	1	1		Belinda	7	7	1	1	1	Aggy
Jammy Hule 83	6	6	ov	1	1		Jerry	7	7	1	1	1	Betty H. 1
Barnaby 83	6	6	ov	1	1		Iris	7	7	1	1	1	George S. 1
Burnell 83	6	6	ov	1	1		Squire	2	2	1	1	1	John H. 1
Davy Isabel 84	5	5	ov	1	1		Joia 96	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	Phill S. 2
Brown	5	5	ov	1	1		Bagwell	7	7	1	1	1	Aggy 2
Ben. Judy 84	5	5	ov	1	1		Minerva	7	7	1	1	1	Tom 1
John Bedford 85	5	5	ov	1	1		Ursula 87	4	4	1	1	1	Goliath 1
Davy Bedford 85	5	5	ov	1	1		Mary 88	4	4	1	1	1	Mingo 2
Phill Bedford 86	5	5	ov	1	1		Virginia 93	2	2	1	1	1	Fanny 2
Cary	5	5	ov	1	1		Esther 96	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	Mose
Ben Snowden	5	5	ov	1	1		Scilla	7	7	1	1	1	Joe
John Hemings	7	7	1	1	1		Nelly 94	2	2	1	1	1	Wooley
John Gardner	7	7	1	1	1		Judy Hix	7	7	1	1	1	Sheperd
Davy Carpenter	7	7	1	1	1		Kit 86	5	5	1	1	1	Jam H.
Lewis	7	7	1	1	1		Tim	7	7	1	1	1	Barnaby
Abram	7	7	1	1	1		Austin	7	7	1	1	1	Burnell
Phill shoemaker	7	7	1	1	1		Philip	7	7	1	1	1	Davy J.
Phill waggoner	7	7	1	1	1		Thamar	7	7	1	1	1	15
Tom	7	7	1	1	1		Rachad 90	3	3	1	1	1	Bon 1
Goliath	7	7	1	1	1		Lucy	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	John B.
Mingo	7	7	1	1	1		Lucinda	7	7	1	1	1	Davy B.
Fanny	7	7	1	1	1		Sarah 86	5	5	1	1	1	Phill B.
Isabel	7	7	1	1	1		Sandy 89	4	4	1	1	1	Cary
Edy 87	4	4	1	1	1		Souy 93	2	2	1	1	1	Bon S.
Aggy 89	4	4	1	1	1		Barret 95	2	2	1	1	1	Jupiter
Lilly 91	3	3	1	1	1		Phyllis	7	7	1	1	1	Suck.
Amy 93	2	2	1	1	1		Sophia 96	1	1 1/2	1	1	1	Philp
Thurston 96	1	1 1/2	1	1	1		Caesar	7	7	1	1	1	Johny
Doll	7	7	1	1	1		Sal.	7	7	1	1	1	Peter H.
Thonia 93	2	2	1	1	1		Critta	7	7	1	1	1	Jammy
Dolly 94	2	2	1	1	1		Jammy 87	7	7	1	1	1	Dick
Jenny Lewis	7	7	1	1	1		Sally	7	7	1	1	1	Patric
Lewis 88	4	4	1	1	1		Harnel	7	7	1	1	1	Moses
Jesse 90	3	3	1	1	1		Beloy	7	7	1	1	1	Betsy 1
Sally 92	3	3	1	1	1		Jupiter	7	7	1	1	1	Molly
Jammy 95	1	1 1/2	1	1	1		Peter	7	7	1	1	1	chil 2
Molly	7	7	1	1	1		Hired people	7	7	1	1	1	Betsy 1
Barlet 86	5	5	1	1	1		Peter	7	7	1	1	1	Val 1
Clarinda 88	4	4	1	1	1		Isaac T.	7	7	1	1	1	Frank 1
Goliath 91	3	3	1	1	1		Patrick T.	7	7	1	1	1	York 1
Ned	7	7	1	1	1		James W.	7	7	1	1	1	
Jammy	7	7	1	1	1		Dick	7	7	1	1	1	
Ned 86	5	5	1	1	1		Patrick	7	7	1	1	1	
Fanny 88	4	4	1	1	1		Bob	7	7	1	1	1	
Dick 90	3	3	1	1	1		Reuben	7	7	1	1	1	
Gill 92	3	3	1	1	1		Caen	7	7	1	1	1	
Scilla 94	2	2	1	1	1		Isaac H.	7	7	1	1	1	
James 96	1	1 1/2	1	1	1		Tom	7	7	1	1	1	
Rachael	7	7	1	1	1		Wapping	7	7	1	1	1	
Nanny 91	3	3	1	1	1		Joe	7	7	1	1	1	
Abram 94	2	2	1	1	1		Jam B.	7	7	1	1	1	
Mark Betty	7	7	1	1	1		Moses	7	7	1	1	1	
	7	7	1	1	1								

George Smith	8	George	20	Bagwell	
ly Brown		Ursula		Munroe	
Belinda	8	Daisy		Ursula	14
Lynn		Isabel		Mary	
nee	8	Edy	14	Virginia	
ella		Aggy		Esther	
ella		Lilly		Squire	
James	8	Amy		Belinda	8
lly		Thurston		Phyll	
Harriet	8	Ned		Thamar	8
ck		Fanny	14	Rachael	
Philip	8	Dick		Lucinda	
olly		Gill		Sarah	
child	8	Silvia		Sandy	8
der Hawkins	6	Jared		Soucy	
omey	6	Phyllis Waggoner	14	Barrett	
ick	6	Molly		Scilla	
Strick	6	Lucy		Neily	6
Roses	6	Bartlett		child	
ly Hemmings	4	Clanville		Judy	4
Hemmings	4	Goliath		Tim	4
	4	Lewis	12	Auston	4
iah	4	James		Phyllis	4
ngs	4	Lewis		Sophia	4
my	4	Jesse		Nanny	4
ly	4	Sally		Sally	4
ly	4	Jamy		James	4
ly	4	Abram	10	Caesar	4
oses	4	Doll			76
	4	Thenia		169	
	4	Dolly		150	
rmely	4	Isaac	8	76	
phers	4	Iris		395	
net Hubbard	4	Joyce			
malby	3	Jerry			
well	3	Mary	8		
my Isabel	3	Suckey			
own	3	John	8		
a Isabel	3	Arny			
n Bedford	2	Phyll	8		
y Bedford	2	Aggy			
ll Bedford	2	Rachael			
y	2	Nanny	6		
n Snowden	2	Abram			
ly	3				
ly	3	Juno	4		
	169	John	4		
		Betty	4		
		Val	4		
		Frank	4		
		Martin	4		
		York	4		
			150		

Diary 1796.

Jan. 1. Petit has ploughed the Knob field at 30. a. Franklin's 26. a.

Page has ploughed the Chapel ridge 40. a. Mount's field 40. a.

Man and ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ for cattle is out at Monticello this day.

Apr. 26. There has been a most extraordinary drought through the whole spring to this time. The seeds sown for a long time past have not sprouted. copious rains now fall for 36. hours, gentle at first, heavy at last.

30. the weather is become very cold. a great frost in the neighborhood.

May 1. the first blossom I see of red clover.

5. began to cut clover to feed.

6. Iris lays in with a boy Joyce.

10. began to sow peas.

June 1. Lenny lies in with a boy Zachary.

6. began to cut clover for hay.

14. finished cutting clover.

Ned, Lenny lies in with a boy, James.

23. the white pea beginning to blossom.

Diary of harvest.

		acres	stacks	
June 23.	Eastfield	35	100.	3.6.
25.	Riverfield	40	65	
28.	Poggio negro?	8		40.6.
29.	Triangle	30	63.	
30.	Pantons	9		95.
July 1.	Culpeper	7	27.	4.6.
2.	Springfield	16	48	
3.	Smith's	48	74.	
4.	Highfield	32	72	
5.	Slatefield	55	70	
6.	Longfield			
7.	Middlefield	20	27	
		300	546	+135.6

one ox cart of 4. or 6 oxen which did little.

2. carts of 3. mules each.

1. cart with 4. horses.

a wagon aided 4. days.

July 2. we stopped our ploughs; the pickers up not keeping up with the cutters.

The 18. mowers had been fixed on & furnished with 27. scythes, yet the wheat was so heavy for the most part that we had not more than 13. or 14. mowers cutting on an average.

13. cutters x 12 days = 156. which gives nearly 2. a. a d. for each cutter, supposing 300. acres.

9. sowed Buckwheat at Monticello

Aug. 18. Scilla has a child born.

22. our Threshing machine begins to work at the Riverfield.

Nov. 23. on this day a very severe spell of weather set in. on the 23^d. it was at the freezing point. 24th at 23°. 25th at 21°. 26th at 12°. Other indispensable work had prevented the digging our potatoes, & tho' the earth was remarkably dry (for it had not rained since the middle of Oct.) the whole were lost by frost.

17. we finished sowing our 3^d. field of wheat over the river (Dryfield). May wheat the 4th which should have been in wheat, we thought better to put into rye.

Dec. 10. we finish sowing our 3^d. field of wheat on this side the river (Ridgefield). May wheat our 4th (Brokenfield) which should have been in wheat, is to be in rye.

concluded with George that we will keep 12. breeding cows here.

children born at Bedford this year. Hannah (Dinah's) Aug. - a girl (Suck's)

a girl (Abby's) Nana (Maria's) Aug.

ploughing days have been this year as follows. Jan. 6. Feb. 15. Mar. 2

Apr. 25. May 12. June 19. July 23. Aug. 26. Sep. 20. Oct. 27. Nov. 24. Dec. 10 = 2

List of tools at Monticello & Tutton. given in by Hugh Petit Nov. 96.

10. hoes. 5. axes. 10. reap-hooks. 6. large ploughs. 8. small ploughs.

8. pair chain traces. 3. ox chains. 1. toothed hoes.

Plantation

Plantation	Plantation	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth	Tenth	Eleventh	Twelfth	Thirteenth	Fourteenth	Fifteenth	Sixteenth	Seventeenth	Eighteenth	Nineteenth	Twentieth	Twenty-first	Twenty-second	Twenty-third	Twenty-fourth	Twenty-fifth	Twenty-sixth	Twenty-seventh	Twenty-eighth	Twenty-ninth	Thirtieth
	Bagewell																														
	Minerva																														
	Mary																														
	Virginia	7	16	2																											
	Esther																														
	Bee																														
	Nanny																														
Ned	Ned																														
Jenny	Jenny																														
	Ned																														
	Jenny																														
	Dick																														
	Gill	9	16	2																											
	Scilla																														
	James																														
	Aggy																														
Davy	Davy																														
	Walter																														
	Aggy	8	16	2																											
	Lilly																														
	Amey																														
	Thimble																														
	Elanor																														
	Thimble																														
	Laurie																														
	Amey																														
	Lucie	6	12	1/2																											
	Sally																														
	James																														
	Evelina																														
Abram	Abram																														
Doll	Doll																														
	Ell	3	10	1/2																											
	Betty																														
Rachael	Rachael																														
	Michael																														
	Nanny	4	8	1																											
	Alam																														
	Larara																														
Phill	Phill																														
Molly	Molly	2	8	1																											
	Squire																														
	Belinda	2	8	1																											
Jerry	Jerry																														
Mary	Mary																														
	Sucky	3	8	1																											
John	John																														
Amy	Amy	2	8	1																											
Betty	Betty																														
	Ell	1	4	1/2																											
	Sally	1	4	1/2																											
	James	1	4	1/2																											
	Caesar	1	4	1/2																											
	Frank	1	4	1/2																											
	John																														
	John	2	8	1																											
Juno	Juno																														
	Phill	1	4	1/2																											
	Mr Lilly																														

60. B 142 172

3. Barr.

Roll of the negroes in the winter of 1798.9.
Monticello.

Bagwell 68
Minerva 71
 Ursula 82 Jan 5
 Mary 98 Oct 29
 Virginia 93 May 8
 Esther 95 Mar 19
 Bee 97
Ned 60
Jenny 64
 Barnaby 83 May 2
 Ned 86 Feb 15
 Fanny 88 Mar 31
 Dick 90 Mar 19
 Bill 92 Mar 18
 Scilla 94 Apr 14
 James 96 June 14
 Davy 98 Oct 25
Isabel
 James 76
 Moses 79
 Patty 81
 Davy 84 Sep
 Edy 87 Apr 10
 Agguy 80 Mar
 Lilly 91 Feb
 Amy 93 Mar 1
 Thurston 95 July 1
 Eldridge 97 Mar 30
Lewis ab 60
Jenny 68
 Lewis 88 Mar
 Lease 90 Jul
 Sally 92 Sep 1
 Jenny 95 Apr
 Eveling 97 Oct 24
Abram
Doll 57
 Shepherd 82 Oct
 Thenia 93 Jan
 Dolly 96 Dec 26
Rachael 76
 Nanny 91 Sep
 Abram 94 May
 Larara 97 Mar 22
Squire ab 27
Belinda ab 30
Jenny 77
Mary 76
 Suckey 96 May 3
 Joseph 98 June 8 July 99
Phil ab 42
Molly ab 49
 Bartlett 86 Jan
John 53
Amy
Betsy black
Caesar ab 49
Toby 53
Frank 57
George 30 4 Nov 2 99
Ursula 38 4 1800
Goliath ab 31
Mingo
Fanny ab 36
Tom Shackelford
Phil shoemaker
Juno

Betty Hemmings ab 35
Peter Hemmings 70
Betty Brown 58
 Wormley 81
 Dunwell 82 Dec 24
 Brown 85 Dec 25
 Edwin 92 Nov 2
 Robert 99 Dec 22
Nanla 61
Citta 69
 Jenny 82 Apr 22
 Sally 73
 Barnaby 98 Apr 1
John Hemmings 75
Joe 80
George Smith 59 8 99 June
Jane Hubbard 83
Phil Hubbard 86 Mar
Ben Hix 84 8 Nov 2 99
Ben Snowden 85
Cary 88
John Bedford 85 Nov
Davy Bedford 85 Feb
Jupiter 43 8 99 90

Bedford
Jane Hubbard
Cate ab 30
 arrived 71
 Rachael 75 Oct
 Burrell 94 Feb 98
 Nace 73
 Mama 76 Oct
 Nace 94 Aug 7 Jan 99
 Eve 94 June
 Sarnh 88 Aug
 Nancy 92 Sept an child
Will Smith
Abby
 Jesse 92 Nov
 Sal 97 Mar (Gann's wife)
 Isabel 95 June Molly 97
 Dick 81 Oct
 Flora 83
 Fanny 88 Aug
 Bey 92 Apr
 Mamuel 94
 Amy
 Miss Susan wife
 Hal Smith 97 Sep husband of Hannah
 Caesar 94 Sep
 Suckey 97 May
 Cate 88 Mar
 Samuel 90 Sep
 Stephen 94
 Philips 96 an brot June 99
Hemmings ab 35
Bel
 Austin 75 Aug
 Dawson 78 Aug
 Cate 88 Mar 8
 Mary 92 Jan
 Hemmings 92 Nov 20
Hannah Cate's 90 Jan
 Laurinda 91 June
 Reuben 93
 Solomon 94 22 Sep 97
 Dick 87
 Bina 86
 Agguy 89 Mar
 Moses 92 Jan
 Fanny 94
 Hannah 96 Aug Lucy July 1800
Ket 86
Will old
Liddy old
Nancy 78
Maria 98 Mar
Lucy 83

Rations	fish	Abol	1799	fish	Abol
George)	16	2	Rachael	8	1
Ursula)			Nanny		
Betty Brown)			Abram		
Wormley			Larara		
Burkell	16	2	Citta	8	1
Brown			Jenny)		
Edwin			Sally	8	1
Melinda)			Beverly)		
*Ban	16	1 3/4	smoth George	8	1
Nance)			*Frank	8	1
*Citta)			*Mose	8	1
Bagwell			*Simon	8	1
Minerva	16	1 3/4	*Stephen)	8	1
Mam			Moses	4	1/2
Virginia			Joe	4	1/2
Esther			Shepherd	4	1/2
Bee			Jane Hubbard	4	1/2
Ned			Barnaby	4	1/2
Jenny			Davy Isabel's	4	1/2
Ned			Ben Hix	4	1/2
Fanny	16	1 3/4	Cary	4	1/2
Dick			Ben Snowden	4	1/2
Gill			John Bedford	4	1/2
Scilla			Davy Bedford	4	1/2
James			Phil Hubbard	4	1/2
Davy			Bartlett	4	1/2
Isabel			Caesar	4	1/2
Agguy	16	1 3/4	Toby	4	1/2
Lilly			Juno	4	1/2
Amy			Frank	4	1/2
Thurston			Betty	4	1/2
Eldridge)			Patty	4	1/2
Lewis			Phil shoemaker	4	1/2
Jenny	12	1 1/2	Goliath	4	1/2
Lewis			Tom	4	1/2
Jesse			Betty Hemmings	4	1/2
Sally			John Hemmings	4	1/2
Jammy			Peter Hemmings	4	1/2
Eveling)			James	4	1/2
Abram			Jupiter	4	1/2
Doll	10	1 1/2	Ursula	3	1/2
Thenia			Edy	3	1/2
Dolly)			*Priscilla	4	1/2
Jerry					
Mary	10	1 1/2			
Suckey)					
Phil	8	1			
Molly)					
Squire	8	1			
Belinda)					
John)	8	1			
Amy)					
Mingo)	8	1			
Fanny)					

1799. June 27 arrangement of the harvest.

1799. June 27 arrangement of the harvest.																																													
radiers	Binders.	Louderers	Drivers	Stackers	Cooks	water tenders	liquor & grainstone in a cart	Ploughmen	sick																																				
John Ham	Ned. Janny	Abram	Joe	Bagwell	Betty	Lewis	Squire	Sh. Phill	Lewis																																				
James	Doll	Same Hub.	Caesar	Wormley	Fanny	Ned		Mary	Shepherd																																				
Dan	Lew. Janny	Brown	Toby	Belinda				Patly	Isabel																																				
John	John	Cary	Phill					Sn. Ben	Frank bun.																																				
Ned	Rashael	Red. John						Phill Hub.	ing coal																																				
Jerry	Army	Red. Dary	<table><tr><th colspan="4">Diary of harvest</th></tr><tr><th></th><th>a.</th><th>s.</th><th>stack</th></tr><tr><td>June 27. South field. rye</td><td>35</td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>July. 1. chapel ridge. wheat</td><td>40</td><td>41</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>2. middle field. do</td><td>20</td><td>19</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>3. Poggio. May wheat</td><td>23</td><td>37</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>4. do common do</td><td>9</td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>5. Franklin. do</td><td>14</td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>6. do</td><td>16</td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>							Diary of harvest					a.	s.	stack	June 27. South field. rye	35			July. 1. chapel ridge. wheat	40	41		2. middle field. do	20	19		3. Poggio. May wheat	23	37		4. do common do	9			5. Franklin. do	14			6. do	16		
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Moses	Molly	Bartlet																																											
Ban	Ursula																																												
Simon	Edy																																												
Steynes	Barnaby																																												
Mose	Isab. Dary																																												
Frank	Ben Hix																																												

2000

The actual crops of 1799		
	Monticello	Shadwell
Wheat	1033 1/2	Chapel ridge
rye	1000	Middlefield
oats	1000	Southfield
corn	1000	132 1/2
clo.	1000	35
	1000	35
	1000	94

June. Lewis: Henry lies in with a daughter

July. Paddy lies in with a son.

1809. Aug. 22 Fanny lies in with a daughter

Wm. L. Brown & Co. Ltd.

... ..

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl a) is the primary photosynthetic pigment in most plants and algae. It is a green pigment that absorbs light energy in the blue and red regions of the visible spectrum.

For 8. can already use 68. bands

1100 145

10201 16

12

5

40

9/14/44 50

1940

20

C. L. Lewis

1800. July 15. ripe figs. a considerable gathering both red & white

Cradlers	binders	loaders	drivers	stackers	cooks	ploughmen
Jay well	Ned Janny	Abram	Lerry	Frank	Betty	Sh. Phill
John Horn	Doll	Jame Hud	Toby	kid Joe	Belinda	Mary
James	Isabel	Brown	Caesar	Redd Day	Fanny	Phill Hud.
Dury	Minerva	Carr		Wormley		Bartlett
Lewis	Rachael	Slyphard				
John	dmy	kid mose			water binder	
Ned	molly				Lewis	sick
Moses	Ursula				Nad	
Joe.	Eddy					Lewis Janny
S. hand	Barnaby					Patty
	Isab. Dany					
	Ben					
	Bed P John					

Crop of 1800.		
Wheat	Hight [?]	40
	Out [?]	15
	In [?]	8
	River [?]	21
	Rage [?]	21
	Park	18
		112
Oats	Out [?]	25
Corn	Poggio	32
	Franklin	40
	River [?]	15
		87
Peas	Slater [?]	20
	Lowman Hight [?]	20
		18
		21



905 Now blankets were given as follows

Fanny 2. Cretia 2. Ursula 1. Bartlett 1. Bed^d Davy 1. Bed^d John 1. Phil Hubbard 1.
 young Davy 1. Goliah 1. Isaac 1. Brown 1. Martin 1. Charles 1. James Hubbard 1.
 young Lewis 1. Moses 1. Dormy 1. Barnaby 1. old Lewis 1. = 21.
 & to the following hirelings Harry 1. Ben 1. James 1. Isaac 1. Sam 1. Joe 1 = 6.

60.	Negroes retained.	Negroes in Bedford	Household, ab 1733. & 180
1801. negroes leased C. J. H. Craven		July 1805.	Bot.
Bagwell 68	Betty Hemings 75 & 807	Jane Hubbard	Austen. 75. Aug.
Minerva 71	Peter Hemings 70.	Cate. ab. 1747.	Craven. 78. Aug.
Mary 88	Betty Brown 59.	Armedhead. 71.	Cate 88. Mar. 8
Virginia 93	Edwin 93.	Nace. 73.	Mary 92 Jan.
Esther. 95.	Robert 99. Dec.	Sarah. 88. Aug.	Horwels. 94. Nov. 20.
Dec. 97	Nance 61.	Laney 91. Sep. Oct. 05	Jupiter. 1800. Mar. & 1809.
Red 60	Critla 69	Naghal Oct. 73.	Arch. 67.
Jenny 64	Larry 87. ^{per auction} Apr. 02	Wood. 91. & 1808	Dinah. 66.
Red 86.	Sally 73.	Cate. 97. Aug.	John 85. Nov.
Fanny 88.	Prevery 98.	Joe. 1801.	Aggy. 89. Mar.
Dick 90.	Ursula 87.	Lana. 1805	Moses. 92. Jan.
Gill 92.	Edy 87. 88		Evans. 94.
Scilla 94	Burnell 83.		Hannah. 96. Aug.
James 96	Moses 79.		Lucy 99.
Aggy. 98.	Joe. 80.		Laney. 1802.
Isabel	Wormly 81.		
Aggy 89	Jane Hubbard 83.	Will. Smith.	Ruby (old)
Lilly 91.	Barnaby 83	Abby	Nanny (Phill's) 78. July
Amey 93.	Isabel's Davy 84.	Isaiah 72. Nov.	Maria. 98. Feb. 24.
Thurston 95.	Brown 85. sold 1806	Dick. 81. Oct.	Phill. 1801. Aug.
Eldridge 97.	Bedford Wm 85.	Fanny 88. Aug.	Phillip 1804. July & 1807.
James 76.	Bedford Davy 85.	Edy 92. Apr.	
Betty 81. & Sep 06.	Ben. 85.	Armedhead 94. (man)	
Jenny 88	Camp 85. sold 1803	Amey. 97. Jan	
Jesse 90	Phill Hubbard 86.		
Sally 92.	Barlett 86.	Sal. 77. Nov.	
Lanny 95.	Lewis 88.	Isiah June 95 & 07	
Evelina 97.	John Hemings 75	milley 97. Mar.	
Doll 57.	Davy 55.	Betty 1801. Jan.	
Thenia 93	Lewis 60.	Abby 1804. Nov.	
Dolly 94.	Abraham. about 1740		
Rachael 76	Jenny 77.	Flora. 82.	
Nancy 91.	John 53.	Gawen. 1804. July	
Abram 94.	Goliath 31.		
Larania 97.	Thompson & 1802.	Hannah. (Catai) 70. Jan	
Squire 27.	Lanny 36. & 1802	Lucinda. 91. Jan	
Lucinda. 39. & 08	Phill wagg. 40.	Rachael. 95.	
Molly 49.	Tom & 1801.	Solomon. 94.	
Mary 76.	Phill shoom. & July 20 1807	Sally 98.	
Suckey 96.	Shepherd. 82.	Trilly 99.	
Amey	Isaac 70.	Laney 1805. Aug.	
Betty	Charles. 81.		
Caesar. 49.	Martin & 07	Bess (Guinea Vlt)	
John 53. & July 05		Hal. (Smith) 67. Sep.	
Frank. 57. & July 09		Caesar. 74. Sep.	
John. & 1801.			
		Suck (Bess's) 71. May	
		Cate 88. Mar.	
		Daniel 90. Sep.	
		Stephen. 94.	
		Philip. 96.	
		Ambrose 99.	
		Prince. 1804.	

Aphorisms, Observations, Facts in husbandry.

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62. Implements of husbandry.

The Plough. see pa. 36.

after the 15th or 20th of March the use of the great plough in grounds not before broken up with it, becomes injurious.

Harrow.

63.

Roller.

Асс

clean the locks of fences of every thing but the good grapes.

a laborer will weed 500. corn hills a day flusk

2. laborers will follow one plough & weed the intervals between the hills.

a laborer will grub from half an acre to an acre a week of common brushy landⁱⁿ_{the winter}

2. hands grubbed the grave yard 80. f. v. g. = $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours.

1. So. will grow 1 1/2 acre a week in summer, of the worst woodlands. enclosed lands in thickest are worse.

the price of grubbing is 24¢ per acre in Augusta, & cutting down & cutting up the large timber ready for burning is 16¢

Waggons.

65

1772 Aug. 20. the waggon brings 5. cord of wood at 10. loads, 300 yards, in a day.

it brings 28. rails at a load up a steep part of the mountain.

a good general size to be established for the boxes of wheels is $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$ which is rather stout for waggon wheels & rather small for ox cart wheels. But the advantage will be that when a wheel breaks down, you may borrow another from any cart or waggon happening to be idle, till the broken wheel can be replaced. diam. of the wheel 5 ft.

Carts.

Slides

The two-wheeled barrow carries 4 loads of the single one, at once.
 it is loaded & carried 30 yards in $3' + 1\frac{1}{2} = 4\frac{1}{2}$
 it will do then exactly double the work in the same time. loading being equal.
 a man digs & carries 50 yds. 5 cubical yards of earth in a day of 12 hours.
 a man carries 75 loads with old lime sticking to them, say 500. lbs in the two-wheeled bar-
 row on level ground.
 24 cub. yds. of very solid earth made 122 loads, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ cub. feet to a load.

II. Farm buildings & Conveniences.

Threshing machine.

1 st wheels.	56. : 11	is 5. for 1	at about 4 1/2" making 284.5 circumf. = 81.9	diam
2 nd	36 : 9	4. for 1	122.5 circumf. = 39.9	
3 rd	30 : 6	5. for 1		
		100. for 1.		

a Threshing machine to be worked by 2. men. single seced.

The spur wheel about 4. f. diam. 50. cogs. the vallower on the Drum wheel 6. rounds which is 8 1/3 for 1. They turn the cog wheel 15. times a minute.

$15 \times 8 \frac{1}{3} = 125$. revolutions of the Drum wheel in a minute.

2. men got out nearly 1 1/2 bush. of clean wheat in half an hour, it would have been full 1 1/2 but for waste.

it would take 4. men & a girl to work, and they would get out about 40. bushels in 12 hours. When the machine comes to work sleek & smooth. one may say on the whole that it gets out the double of what the same men could thresh. but infinitely cleaner. There did not appear to be 1. grain in 100. or 150. left in the straw.

Houses for Laborers.

Dan & Lewis & Abram have done the carpenter's work of Bagwell's house in 6. days getting the stuff & putting it together.

The Outfield granary took 24. days work to get the logs, rafters & studs & put them up completely. it may be valued then @ 40/ exclusive of floors & doors.

1810. Aug. the Threshing machine I am now erecting at Tugton is as follows.

The horse wheel has	128. cogs.	it's vallower	23. rounds.	which gives	5.5652. turns for 1.
Spur wheel	60.		16		3.75
band wheel	92. inches diameter.	which	22.2		4.1018

$5.5652 \times 3.75 \times 4.1018 = 87.272$ turns of Drum for 1. of the horse wheel.

3. beaters, or strokes at every revolution

261.816 strokes for every turn of the horse wheel

The diameter of the drum is 5. feet, it's circumference 15.708

The diam. of the horse circle is 20. f. it's circumference 88. f. he performs it in 29" @ 3 f p m

The velocity then of every a beater is to that of the horse as $15.708 \times 87.272 : 88$ or as 15. f. to 1 to wit 46 f. in a second.

1814 Sep. this machine gets out 170. b. a day, working as in ordinary, with 5. or 6. horses.

Oct. 6. the treble seced machine at Lego got out 66. bushels in a day, with 3. horses & 2 mules.

68.
Threshing floor.

Granaries.



Roads & fords

69.

- Moore's ford over the Buanna cost £28. on an accurate estimate
 1792 Nov in making the Upper Roundabout, 3 hands ~~worked~~ 80. yds a day
 in the old field = 24 yds a day, but in the woods where they had
 stumps to take away, not more than 40 & sometimes 25 yds = 13, or 8
 this work at 926 yds = .5261 mile in circumference
 1790 Oct. in making the road from where it begins to rise 1. f. in 10. a little above
 the Antient field to the upper Roundabout, 5 hands did 127. yds the first
 day, & 165. 1, on the second, = 256 33 yds a day. it was 12. f. wide
 & they crossed 3. or 4. considerable gullies which they filled with stone.
 1794. Apr. Path of the Orchard Roundabout. 2 hands did 90. yards of it, 4. f. wide
 in 2. hours. it was set with briars & some grubbing
 they grubbed 76. yds 6. f. wide in 2 hours, in the thickest West of S. orchard
 after it was grubbed 1. hand did 20. yds in an hour.
 1792. Sept. 18. The Orchard Roundabout passing above the garden along the Mulberry
 row, measured by the Odometer of the Phaeton $1473\frac{1}{3} = .837$ mile
 1795. Jan. 8. the road which leads from the Graveyard gate, descending 1 foot in 10.
 into that leading to the Secretary's ford, being 250. yards took 21. days
 work, which is 12 yds each. there was some stone ^{and gullies} to dig, but never
 a tree to take up. it may be estimated @ $1\frac{1}{2}$ a yard or 30. Dol. a mile
 it was 10. f. wide.
 1795. Dec. Diary of work on the road from the Park branch to Milton 8. feet wide.

	days work	yards in hand	yds. per day for each hand
Nov. 30 (6 hands) Dec. 1. (7 hands)	9.5	120.	12.6
Dec. 2. 3. (7 hands each) - - - - -	14.	125	9.
4. (7. do) - - - - -	7.	60	8.5
5. 8. (7. do) - - - - -	14.	155	11.
9. 10. (5. do) - - - - -	10	40	4.
11. 12. 14. (5. do) - - - - -	15	184	12.26
15. 16. 17. (5. do) - - - - -	15	203	13.5
21. (20. do) - - - - -	20	549	27.5
22. (20 do) - - - - -	20	283	14.15
23. (20. do) - - - - -	20	821	41.
24. half a day (20. do) - - - - -	20	261	26.
Total	154 $\frac{1}{2}$	2801	18 average

reckoning the days work @ $\frac{2}{3}$ the 2801. yds
 done in $154\frac{1}{2}$ days comes £15.9 the whole
 or £9. 14 the mile, or $1\frac{1}{3}$ the yard.

Estimate of Ascent, Level & Descent. in yards	Ascent	Level	Descent	Total
Upper hill - - - - -	225	225	206	656
Indian branch bottom - - - - -		28		28
Middle hill - - - - -	77	126		
Portobello hill - - - - -	187	246	116	752
from P. B. branch - - - - -	70	413		443
beg ^d of digging to Milton - - - - -		70	155	225
beg ^d of digging to Milton - - - - -			697	697
Total	589	1890	322	2801

in making a path 4. f. wide down the South side of the Ri-
 - ver field to the commencement of low grounds (to be
 joined to the Milton road)
 in going thro the woods
 5. men did 280. yds in 7. 15 which is $7\frac{3}{4}$ per hour each
 in going thro the old field
 5. men did 77. yds in 4. 5. which is 20.4 per hour each
 see next page. roads contin^d

Estimate of height of Milton above the river	feet
from beginning of road at the Park branch.	
rise of upper hill at 1 foot in 10. - - - - -	67.5
deduct Descent of same hill to the Indian branch - - - - -	61.8
Ascent of Middle hill or Morgan's hill - - - - -	79.2
whole height of that hill - - - - -	84.9
Descent of Morgan's hill to Morgan's branch - - - - -	12.8
Ascent of Porto Bello hill - - - - -	54.1
2 ^d of just beyond Porto Bello branch about - - - - -	9.
3 ^d at entrance of town - - - - -	14.
whole height of Milton above beginning of road - - - - -	77.1
Descent from begin ^d of road to river at mouth Park branch - - - - -	6.
fall of river from Park branch to mill about - - - - -	14.
20. at Mountain falls - - - - -	12.
height of Milton above river opposite the town at 100.1	

70.

Fences

1773. Rep. Randolph's fencing chain weighs $\frac{1}{2}$ lb per foot, & is 3/32 from the ground
- 1772 Park paling, every other pale high, the tall pales to have 5. nails, the low ones 4. nails is worth but 30% the 100. yds, out & out. calculated by Skip Harris.
- a man will cut & nail 300. chestnut rails a day thro' the year. ?
1815. July 1. of the chain inclosing the semi oval level in front of the house 182. ft weighs 90 lb

Roads continued from page 69.

1811. May. I think the road from the Pierhead up the river side, about 60. or 70. yards which is now finished, has cost about 100. D. it took 22. lbs of powder, about 14. days work of 2. men & 2. boys blowing ^{with them 42. days} repair of augers, about 60. days work of common labourers last year & about 15. days work of common labourers now.
1812. Sep. in making the Carlton path on the high mountain, thro' the woods & exceedingly steep, Wormley & Ned did about 50. yds a day, 4 ft. wide. which is 25. yds apiece.
1822. Feb. 10. E. in making a horse path on the 3^d. Roundabout & North side when it is very steep Wormley did 60. yds a day thro' the wood lands.

Fuel and light

comparative expense of candles and lamps. a common glass lamp, with a flat wick $\frac{1}{2}$ an 1. wide was placed beside a mould candle of the size called sixes, & allowed both to burn $16\frac{1}{2}$ hours without being moved. in that time $2\frac{3}{5}$ candles were consumed, a $\frac{1}{3}$ pint of oil. from the experiment it appears that 1. gallon of oil will burn 402. hours, and that it requires $10\frac{3}{5}$ lb of candle to burn the same time so that supposing oil to be .75 per gallon, it will be equal to mould candles at 7. cents per lb. which shows the advantage of oil.

$\frac{1}{2}$ oz of powdered brimstone will instantly extinguish a chimney on fire, if thrown on the burning coals on the hearth.

May 22. 1826. a gallon of lamp oil, costing $\$1.25$ has lighted my chamber highly 25. nights, for 6. hours a night which is 5. cents a night & 150. hours

Timber.

Get bark for tanning where your next clearing is to be, felling the tree & stripping it clean.
maul up every cut of timber which will make rails, stacking those not wanting for the present. let them be large.

72.

III. Animals

Horses.

a horse will tend 20 M . corn hills in the low-grounds. To wit, he will plough 2 M . a day, & so get over the whole in 10 days: but in the mountain land he will tend 25. or 30 M . hills. ancient husbandry. 10 barrels of corn a year is the allowance for a plough horse.

Mules.

Tom with his 3 small mules brings 15 bundles of railroad = 840 in his cart from Milton, which he considers as a very heavy load. The small three-mule carts bring $\frac{1}{2}$ cord of wood & 40 bush. coal at a load up the mountain. Phill's 3 mules bring 1600 lb from Milton. a very heavy load for them. It was 25 bundles of railroad & 200 lb bar iron.

Cattle continued from page 73

The 400 Barr. of corn are destined for bread for 111 persons, so not to be counted towards stock
 18 horses @ $1\frac{1}{2}$ bush. of grain & 100 lb of dry hay [or 400 green] per week Bar. grain 280 + 48
 20 working oxen @ $\frac{4}{5}$ of the allowance to a horse, of grain 250
 50 head of cattle from 1. to 10. years old @ 2. ton of dry hay a year, or green equivalent 530. 160
208

80 head of cattle from 1. to 10. years old, will be

32 head - from 1. to 4. years old

24 steers } - from 5. to 10. years old

24 cows }

8 will arrive to 11. years old every year for heaver

24 cows will give 12 calves annually

of which 8. will supply the place of the 8. calves killed annually

4. will supply accidental losses, or be veals

5 barrels of corn a year is the allowance for work oxen, and 1. barrel a year for every head of cattle of all descriptions.

Oxen.

break all your steers at 3. y. old, so that when an ox is fatigued, you may have others to relieve him. This costs nothing as you feed oxen only when you work them.

with feeding & working they make better bullocks than without.

Oxen should be fattened & killed at 10 years old; not sooner. Logan.

Today with 4 oxen & a horse bring in a cart from Milton 28 bundles of rail road = 1568 \$

Cattle.

the offal of 300. Bar. corn will winter 40. head of cattle, so will the straw of 1000 bush. wheat.

Veals are best from 6. to 8. weeks old, but may do from 5. to 9. weeks.

~~Dr~~ Logan buys bullocks in July, & in 2 months they are fat & sell double & more. kill all calves which fall after the 1st of June.

keep from 5. to 6. head of cattle to every hand. old husbandry.

Dr Logan allows 2. ton of hay per head in wintering his cattle.

kill cows (as well as steers) at 10 years old.

a cow (which will fatten to 700. \$) eats about 40. \$ of dry hay a day. 50. \$ of turneps & as much straw as she will eat, keeps her as well. she will eat 83. \$ of carrots and straw, but 50. \$ of carrots and straw will keep her well & yield much & excellent butter & milk. 50. \$ of potatoes and straw are a good allowance, and give no taste to the milk or butter. 6. young, exp. 261. 368-371. young in estimating the product from cattle rather milk $\frac{1}{2}$ per pint or 8. cream 6. butter 6. cheese $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. 372. his cows yield in a year 84. \$ butter 186. \$ cheese & 8. \$ worth of milk & cream each. at 372-378. but in page 377. he reckons the average 102. \$ butter & 200. \$ cheese per cow. in fattening cattle, they will eat from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of their weight of turneps per day besides hay. they will fatten in 6. months on turneps & hay alone, or in 3. months on a charge of food. they prefer carrots to turneps, ~~few~~ of them will suffice & fatten faster. at 380-386.

Proportion of cattle to a farm.

The number of cattle to be kept on a farm must be proportioned to the food furnished by the farm. as this increases by the progress of improvement the number of cattle may be increased, & with that the quantity of manure. sup- pose all my fields once got into culture, to wit 7. fields of 40. a. each of the farms. the rotation of crops will produce the following food.

320. a. of clover @ 500. \$ of dried hay, or 1. ton of green hay to the acre	80. tons	} 272 tons of
320. a. of wheat @ 1000 \$ straw to the acre	160	
160. a. of corn { yielding fodder tops & stubble equivalent to 400. \$ of hay per acre	32.	} fodder
at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels to the acre	400. Barr.	
160. a. of peas at 2. Barrels to the acre	320	} = 560. Barr. grass
100. a. of potatoes among corn @ 6. Barr. to the acre.	400	

so much of the 320. a. as are not put into clover must be in peas as an equivalent. see the application of this food on the preceding page.

Sheep.

never let the ram go to ewes till Michaelmas, or 1st of Oct. G^t Washington kill all lambs which fall after the 1st of May.

at sheering time mark the age of your sheep. The 3 first years by a nick each year in the right ear, & the 4th 5th 6th years by nicks in the left ear. The 6th ~~and 7th~~ crop the left ear & fatten them for muttons.

it is best never to house sheep. ewes which rear in a house among other sheep sometimes discover their lambs, losing knowledge of them in the crowd. a sheep requires about $\frac{1}{5}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ the food of a cow. Ronconi. voce 'Medica.' muttons are put into the cornfield about the 23^d July. A. Cary.

8. sheep will eat as much & dung as much as one cow. Taylor.

a sheep may be wintered on 10. ~~lb~~ of turneps, but it is not an ample allowance. a ewe and lamb will eat 12. ~~lb~~ of hay a week, having very little food besides. 6. young 1 exp. apr. 391. 392. they will do very well & fatten on any kind of grass. id. 390.

young ~~say~~ turneps should not be depended on for sheep later than March. that the turnep cabbage is then in perfection and continues 6. weeks longer, yielding from 22. to 28. tone per acre. 6. exp. apr. 394. — 397.

NR. allows $\frac{1}{2}$ ~~lb~~ of hominy a head to his sheep from Christmas to March. about 3. pikes each and $\frac{1}{2}$ ~~lb~~ of fodder a day for each, varying, according to the weather from a bundle to a sheep, to a bundle a pice. others allow but a gill a day of meal to each also about a spoonful of salt a head once a week. i. e. $\frac{1}{2}$ of a gill. or a quart a week for 32.

Goats

kids are fit for the table from 3 weeks to 3 months old.

Hogs.

keep a breeding sow to every 2 laborers. Ancient husbandry,
a hog of 2 year old takes 1 barrel of corn to fatten him. he will weigh 100 lb.
he eats a bushel of corn a week while fattening.

my mark in Albemarle is a cross & slit in the Right ear.
an Underkeel & slit in the Left ear.

2 bushels of corn keep a sown hog a year.

a hog (suppose of 100 lb) eats 1 bushel of corn a week, & in ~~between~~ 7 ~~of~~ weeks
will weigh 175 lb. consequently every bushel of corn adds 10 lb to his weight.
every hog raised & fattened (including the stolen & lost) will have eaten 3 barrels of corn.

the young hogs require a bushel of corn a month for 4 months, their 1st winter, & no
more till they are put up to be fattened. then 1 1/2 barrel. this makes him cost
2-1 1/2 but to this should be added 2 bushels eaten by the young hogs which are lost
and which make a part of the cost of those brought to slaughter.

IV. Persons.

Overseers.

Articles for contracts with them:

The employer to have his share of grain at a fixed price at the end of the year if he chooses it.

not to share till seed-grain is taken out, & then of what is sold or eaten by measure only.

allow $\frac{1}{2}$ a share for every horse, & the same for a plough boy.

a share for every 8 hands as far as 16. but never more than 2 shares.

provision 200. £ per annum if single, 500. £ if married.

to be turned off at any time of year if his employer disapproves of his conduct, on paying a proportion of what shall be made according to the time he has staid.

to pay for carrying his share of the crop to market.

to pay the carriage of all refused to be sold.

to pay his own taxes & levies.

to pay his share of liquor & hiring at harvest.

to exchange clear profits with his employer at the end of the year, if the employer chooses it.

not allowed to keep a horse or a goose, or to keep a woman out of the crop for waiting on them.

Labourers.

77

build the Negro houses near together that the fewer nurses may serve
 & that the children may be more easily attended to by the super-
 -annuated women,

children till 10 years old to serve as nurses

from 10 to 16, the boys make nails, the girls spin.

at 16. go into the ground or learn trades.

a barrel of flour yields 17 pecks of flour, & the labourers prefer receiving 1 peck
 of flour to $1\frac{1}{2}$ peck of Indian meal.

a barrel of fish, costing 7. D. goes as far with the laborers as 200. lb of pork worth 14. D.

a side of upper leather & a side of sole make 6. pr shoes, & take $\frac{1}{2}$ lb thread, so
 that a hide & 1. lb of thread shoe 6. negroes.
 worth of a pair of shoes. upper leather 3/ sole leather $1\frac{1}{2}$ & 3/ } = 8/6
 thread 6^d. making 2/

V. Provisions.

100. lb of green pork. makes 88. lb pickled D . or 75 lb of bacon.

green pork when made into bacon loses one fourth. C. H. Harrison
 herring, cost 18[¢] a hundred, pickled & canned in Paterson, 2 are a ration.

1. lb of salt is necessary for curing every 10. lb of pork for bacon. but another
 opinion is that a bushel of salt (of the weight of wheat) will cure 1000. lb of bacon, or
 is 1. lb salt to 16. lb pork, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ lb to a hog of 120. lb net, say 1. gallon to a hog of 125. lb .
 11 quart of salt saturates 1. gallon of water. per min D. M. Randolph.

VI. Preparation of ground.

79.

Fallow.

Young's experiments show that ploughing in fall gives from one to three bushels per acre more than ploughing in the spring. 4. Exp. agr. 206-211

They show that 2 ploughings produce $\frac{1}{4}$ more than 1. in barley which is a winter grain

3. $\frac{1}{8}$ more than 2

5. $\frac{1}{2}$ more than 4.

6. no more than 5.

4. Exp. agr. 213, 216.

he found ploughing deeper than 5. I. of no utility to wheat or barley the first year, but supposed it would become useful in 2. or 3. years. Trench ploughing 10. or 12. I. deep produced immediate benefit to turneps & canals, but not deeper. 4. exp. agr. 223.

Dressings

Turneps.

A. Carg sowed an acre of turneps for every 10 sheep. He turned his we-
 -thers on them as soon as the grass failed and his ewes about
 a month before they yeared. He folded them on
 a pint of seed sows an acre of ground.

Turneps do not exhaust land, if dug before Christmas. Taylor
 Turneps sowed on the wheatside succeed well without hoeing, and folded
 off with sheep are very advantageous. Parker.

Vetch.

sowed the last of September & ploughed in in May, a fine green dressing. Report on manure, Apr. 17

Buckwheat.

81.

When buckwheat is sown for seed, it should be in the last week of June.
 it's produce is very precarious. Alexander reckons on about 10. bushels
 to the acre on an average.
 to make seed, it requires strong land.
 it is 10. weeks from the seed to it's harvest.

When sowed for a green dressing, it should be thick, i.e. 3 pecks for
 the acre. Alexander.
 in 5. weeks it is fit for ploughing in.
 it rots in the ground completely in a fortnight. G. Washington.
 a dressing of buckwheat is equivalent to a coat of dung of about 10. loads
 to the acre; calling the load a cubic yard, or ton-weight. Logan.

82.

Dung.

Folding. Mr Taylor says he knows by accurate & constant experience that 20. head of cattle, folded of nights only, dung completely, 20. yds square. Before folding the ground should be coultured & covered with straw, then folded one week, and the straw & dung immediately turned in with the great plough. an Experiment to be tried. lay off a square acre & put 25 loads [yds] of dung on it. lay off 8 acres separately, around it. fold 2 of them with a given number of cattle, & the other 6. with 5. or 6 times as many sheep, giving 1. week to one acre, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to the 2^d. 2 weeks to the 3^d. & $2\frac{1}{2}$ to the 4th. sow the whole with wheat, and see which of the folded acres is equal to the dunged one, in order to ascertain the equivalence between folding & spreading dung.

Dung beneficially used as a top dressing in the spring. Report on Manures. p. 18.

Dung hill should be on a level, paved, with a well round it, shaded, channels at bottom to lead off superfluous moisture. p. 27. plant trees round it. p. 166.

Young says that 20. head of sheep will fold 1. acre a year in a manner to equal 20. loads of dung. than the folding of one sheep a year is equivalent to one load of dung. 3. exp. r. 166. This makes 20 sheep only equal to 1. cow. Mr Taylor's estimate in folding makes 1. cow fold $\frac{2}{10}$ of an acre in a year. This makes 1. cow equal to 18. sheep.

Long dung.

Rotted dung, cattle, little & big, will make 10 loads [cubic yds] in 6 months if well littered. Logan. D. M. Randall, Jr.

25 such loads come to manure an acre. Logan.

It would be well worth while to confine & litter cattle in a yard 1 hr or the summer. Logan.

each head would then manure an acre a year.

ding is carried on in Dec. Jan. Feb.

Masse. an easy method of estimating accurately the quantity of calcareous earth they contain by dropping spirit of nitre till saturated, on that & on unburnt limestone. Rep. Manure, p. 27.
Gypsum a calcareous earth combined with a mineral acid. when the calcareous earth is predominant it is a good manure, when the 2 ingredients are balanced so as to neutralize it perfectly it is neither good nor bad, when the acid is predominant it is injurious. ib. p. 85.

VII. Plants

Wheat.

G. Divers supposes that every cubic yard of a stack of wheat yields generally 2 bushels of grain, a demi-ton then yields 2 bushels of grain & 475 lb of straw & chaff, or perhaps $\frac{1}{2}$ of a ton.

Jo. Watkins says he knows from actual experiment that wheat loses 2 lb in the bushel weight, from Oct. to January which is 1 per cent p^r month.

he reckons the offal of a bushel of wheat worth 1/- see below

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ bush. of seed wheat to the acre produces the maximum. 1 young exp. agric. 271

drilling in equidistant rows, those 1 foot apart produce the maximum. ib. 286 292. 294.

in this way 2 bush. of seed per acre seems better than 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ib. 298.

all September & the first fortnight of October in England, for sowing, produces most. 310.

too early sowing does more mischief after a clover lay than after a fallow. ib. 306

as to change of seed he establishes these points. 1. wheats from the most opposite climates are best. 2. from opposite soils also, as clay wheats on gravel soil, or gravel wheats on clay soil. 3. wheat which has for some years been of the same neighborhood is worse than any change that can be made. 1. Exp. agr. 321.

for 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat a miller should give a barrel of ^{fine} flour, he keeping the offal for 6 bushels he should give a barrel of ~~fine~~ flour, he finding barrel & nails, & return^s the offal

6 bushels of wheat weigh	- - - - -	360	
a barrel contains of fine flour	$\frac{360}{196}$		
allowance for waste	- - - - -	20	
Offal. Seconds $25 = \frac{1}{2}$ bush. of corn	- - - - -	25	$= \frac{1}{2}$ bush. of corn
Shots 2 bushels	- - - - -	50	
bran 3 bushels	- - - - -	69	@ 1/- per bushel
			$\frac{3}{8-0}$

then wheat is @ 6/- per bush. then the offal is worth 1/- per bushel

to have a barrel of flour & the offal for 6/- instead of a barrel for 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ is getting 6/- for the odd half bushel of wheat

1800. Sep. 9. on accurate trial 3 bush. of wheat in the chaff as it came from the threshing machine yielded 1 bush. of clean wheat.

1814. May 3. the period for sowing wheat is from Oct. 10. to Nov. 10. that is sown either earlier or later is subject to the fly.

Rye.

it is thought that any ground will yield as much wheat as rye, & that wheat exhausts less than rye.

D. Ross has found that 4 bush. of rye furnish as much nutriment to horses as 5 bushels of corn. both supposed to be grown. also that a feed of 3. quarts of ground corn are as nutritive as 4. quarts of unground.

G. Divers thinks that 4. measures of bran are but equal to one of rye or corn.

Oats.

a common sheaf of oats, chopped, will fill a peck, & contains about a pint of the grain.

a good sheaf will weigh 2. cts.

100. cts in the sheaf will yield a bushel of grain, if the straw was not ^{very} rank.

86.

Barley

Indian corn.

1. gallon of plaster mixed in tar suffices to roll 1. bushel of corn.
1. bushel of corn plants 8. acres of ground in drills $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft apart, with single plants at from 18 in. to 30 in. or say 2. ft. distance in the drill.
- so that 1. pint of plaster is enough for an acre.

Potatoes.

planted alone in drills 5 ft. apart, take 8 bushels of seed to the acre, if cut into eyes.

The unrotted dung of the last winter may be carried out in Apr. Apr. or May, & the potatoe furrow being made, & potatoe dropped in, this dung is then put over them, trodden in, & covered with a thin coat of earth. Mr Taylor thinks this much the most economical way of using dung. it becomes well rotted & in a proper state for the succeeding crop of grain. &

1795. Dec. 6th. N. Lewis. this year in drills 4 ft. apart yielded 5 bush. to 140. yd² in the row = 130 bush. per acre
he says a hand will dig $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre per day, say 43 bushels per day
Young finds the planting at a foot apart all over the ground produce most & prepare the ground best for chert. 3. Expt. Apr.

mixed with corn.

one way is to drill the corn in 8 ft. rows, & 18 in. apart in the row, then to drill

the potatoes between. with good ploughing this is the best method. G. Washington this method takes about 5 bushels of seed to the acre, if cut into eyes.

Peters has tried this method many years. & measuring the produce of several acres it has been 60 bush. of corn & 120 bush. of potatoes to the acre.

June is the best time for planting potatoes, by which time the corn may have been worked over 3 times. Mr Parker.

another way is to plant the corn & potatoes in 6 ft. rows both ways, every other row being potatoes. this takes 2. or 2½ bush. of seed to the acre, & with bad ploughmen, is the best, because of cross ploughing.

To feed with potatoes, they are put into a trough with some water, and stirred about with a switch broom, then put into a dry trough & chopped with an S, the blade of which is 7½ in long, 3 in. deep, & has a socket to receive the handle which is as long as a spade handle.

a double measure of potatoes yields as much nutriment as a single one of corn. Logan
a peck of potatoes a day serves a horse. a handful of bran, or rye meal etc. is mixed in for them.

a bushel a day serves a fattening ox.

88.

Jerusalem Artichokes. see page 94.

see in Biblioth. phys. econ. plants 10. paces apart both ways, planted 3 paces deep
produce to the arpent 1600. boisseaux. the boisseau of Paris contains 20. livres of wheat.

Peas.

June is the proper time for planting peas, by which time, here they are to be mixed with corn, the corn may have been ploughed 3. times. per Parker. in Germany, Peas are sowed the same day with the oats.

as soon as they are all turned yellow, they are mowed with a scythe & left 4. or 5. days in the sun to get quite dry. then in the morning, when the dew on them will prevent their shattering, they are carted home and put into the barn loft, & about midwinter threshed, then they yield easily & without loss. they make 40. bushels to the acre. Weaver.

96. May. 10. in sowing with the drill plough a quart sowed 350. yards of furrows, which at 4. feet rows would be 10 1/2 quarts to the acre, or say 1 1/2 peck. this was of the white boiling pea of Europe, to wit their field pea, or split pea. sowing the same by hand, a quart sowed only 310. yards which is 11.85 quarts per acre, say 3. gallons. the proportions are exactly as 31:35: or 32:36. or 8:9. so that the drill saves 1/8 of seed in labor it saves the whole hand sowing, and the covering with a plough. we find a great advantage in preceding the drill by a harrow. 2 horses will harrow 15. a. a day.

1815. 7. bushels of low peas plant 40. acres in drills 3 1/2 f. apart. Pop. For.

Clover.

89

This clover growing among the Red does not lessen the crop of the latter. Logan. by two Rotations differing only in the circumstance that one has 3 years of red clover, & the other 3 years of rest, either successive or interposed. & at the close of the rotation that with the clover will be very much more ameliorated than the field which had 3 years of rest. Logan.

Dr. Logan sows his clover alone in the fall. The next summer is its prime, yielding 2 cuttings, the following year gives one cutting & pasture instead of a 2^d. his average cuttings are 2 tons to the acre. Wheat sowed on it after 2 years crop, gives the heaviest crop possible, as the ground is still clear of weeds. if the want of spring pasture renders expedient to let it remain still another year, then, to get rid of weeds, it will require an extra ploughing. The 2^d cutting is generally best for the quantity, & always for the quality of the hay. it is also best for the seed. Peters. The 1st cutting is before harvest, & the 2^d after.

Clover hay, if well stacked, will spoil but a little way on. however it is best to put it under barracks. Hay is generally stacked in Pennsylvania in stacks of about 3, 4, or 5 tons, but in England they pack in 15 or 20 tons, as hard as wood. it keeps the best. For the larger the stack, & the harder packed, clover when dried weighs $\frac{1}{4}$ of what it did when green. Kaim. 168.

The Seed-produce is very precarious in quantity. Dr. Logan thinks 2 bushels is an average crop. Peters 1 bushel, & he has seen vastly more to the acre. The heads are combed off, which does not sacrifice the hay. Young's experiments yielded on an average $2\frac{3}{4}$ bush. to the acre. he made it from the 2^d crop. he suspects that contrary to the common opinion, when clover seeds it injures the succeeding crop, whether clover or grain. 3. Young says. acre 300 350. The quantity of seed to an acre producing the maximum is in manured lands 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. na. 393

[These quantities sown by hand are but equivalent to $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $7\frac{1}{2}$ lb sown with the box] his experiments are decisive against autumnal sowing. it is the best summer feed for hogs. ib. 321. a field of 10 a. will pasture more than 2 fields of 5 a. each. ib. 299.

Vetch.

if for fodder it is sown about the autumnal equinox. 2 Dickson 212.

Young average crop of hay is 436A. to the acre. The seed 12 bush. 3 Loop. agr. pa. 21, 27.
 he thinks it best that the manure designed for wheat should be laid on the spring vetch, and the
 wheat sowed on the stubble in autumn. pa. 32. it would seem best to let clover pre-
 -cede wheat in the strong fields and vetches in the weak ones.

Fodder.

an acre of corn yields in blades, tops & shucks, what is equivalent to about 400. lb of blades.

8. or 12. lb of blades serve a horse a night

blades are generally put into cocks of about 1000. lb

Straw.

2600. lb of wheat straw to the acre is reckoned a tolerable crop. Agri.

-cult. of Middlesex p. 29.

another estimate is 100 lb of straw ^{& chaff} to every bushel of grain yielded.

92. Lucerne

green Lucerne, when dried, loses $\frac{3}{4}$ of its weight. 2. Dickinson. 230.
 a cow eats of mown Lucerne about 66 lb per day. of 5th for 66 lb. neither gives any taste to the milk
 nor will clover if the cow be not confined to it. 2. Young, exp. agr. 362-367.

Succory.

~~Many~~ Pumpkins.

Nov. 1796. less than an acre of pumpkins have fed 9 horses at Shadwell 5 weeks, as
 well as a gallon & a half of corn a day would have done. equal then to 35. days x
 9. horses, x the yield of corn = 12 barrels of corn. besides this a great proportion of the
 pumpkins had rotted. an acre of pumpkins then is equivalent to 5 acres of corn.
 to feed all the work horses, oxen, milch cows from Sep. 1. to Dec. 31. & to fatten the hogs
 8. acres of pumpkins should be planted on each side of the river, by the meadows.

Other grasses

ashes, while they are a fine manure for clover, destroy broom straw.

They are said to be the only thing which will do it. A Stuart from J. Rose.
 milch cows (which would fatten to 700 lb) will require for the summer's food $1\frac{3}{4}$ a. of grass and
 would more to 3375 lb hay to the acre, or less ground which would yield 3. ton of hay & 4. ton of straw.

Hay.

in a stack of hay a year & a half old, a cubic yard weighs 11. Dutch stone ^{= 176 lb} Rain 170.

94. Artichokes. see page 88.

500 bushels to the acre made by Mr Ben. Lewis.

$\frac{1}{2}$ bushel a day serves a hog.

Artichokes do better on clayey loams than either potatoes or carrots. The horse hoeing has been - dry suits them best. double rows 18 in. apart & intervals of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. the plants 1 ft. in the row when planted flush the rows should be 2 ft. apart & the plants 1 ft. in the row. average produce 481 bushels to the acre. but they do not leave the earth mellow. They thrive in almost any soil. 3. Young's exp. agr. 258.

Red beets. Carrots.

Beets are ameliorating. They suit clays better than carrots. should be substituted for unproductive fallows. they clean the ground. plants should be hoed to 18 in. apart every way. average produce 346 bushels per acre. 3. Young's exp. agric. 251.

to feed horse with carrots put 2 or 3 bushels at a time into a trough and with water & a broom wash them. take them out, chop them with the edge of a shovel & give them in chaff to the horses. $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels are equivalent to a bushel of oats, and with a plenty of hay will serve a horse a week. 4. exp. agr. 409.

Cotton.

1000 hills of cotton will yield from 10 to 15 lb of the common kind.

The Hardden cotton yields near the double, but it comes later & with more risk from frost.

a cotton warp & hemp filling make the best linen for negroes.

where cotton is to be divided with an overseer, it should be done weekly as it comes in.

Hemp & flax.

Dr Logan does not approve of sowing flax with clover
he does not think flax a great exhauster.

an acre of flax will make 50 lb

nothing will come immediately after flax except turneps.
ground once in flax takes 5 or 6 years before it will bring flax again.

hemp, 1. plough the ground for it early in the fall & very deep if possible
plough it again in Feb before you sow it, which should be in March.

a hand can land 3 acres of hemp a year.

tolerable grain's yield 500 lb to the acre. you may generally count on
100 lb for every foot the hemp is over 4 ft. high.

a horse will break 20, or 25 lb a day, & even to 150 lb.

if it is to be divided with an overseer, divide it as it is prepared.

seed. To make hemp seed make hills of the form & size of cucumber hills from 4 to 6 ft apart, in proportion to the strength of the ground. prick about a dozen seeds into each hill in different parts of it. when they come up then thin them to two, as soon as the male plants have shed their farina, cut them up, that the whole nourishment may go to the female plants. every plant thus tended will yield a quart of seed. a bushel of good brown seed is enough for an acre.

96 Pasture.

In the neighborhood of Philadelphia, butchers pay $\frac{1}{3}$ of a dollar a week for pasturing their fattening bullocks. Fields which are in a course of culture should never be pastured, as that injures them as much as rest would recruit them.

Orchards.

Straw about the roots of trees prevents the growth of grass & weeds, & near the tree, & manure & lighten the ground.

96. Sep. 4. Mr. Lykes examines my North orchard and says it consists of Clarke's pear-mains, Golden vilding & red Hughes. he says the Golden vilding must not be mellowed before pressed, it will yield nothing. it must be pressed as soon as fall. I mixed with the red Hughes the make the best cyder & yield best.
99. Nov. 1. 70 bushels of the Robinson & red Hughes (about half of each) have made 120 gallons of cyder. George says that when in a proper state (there was much rot among them) they ought to make 3 galls to the bushel, as he knows from having often measured both.

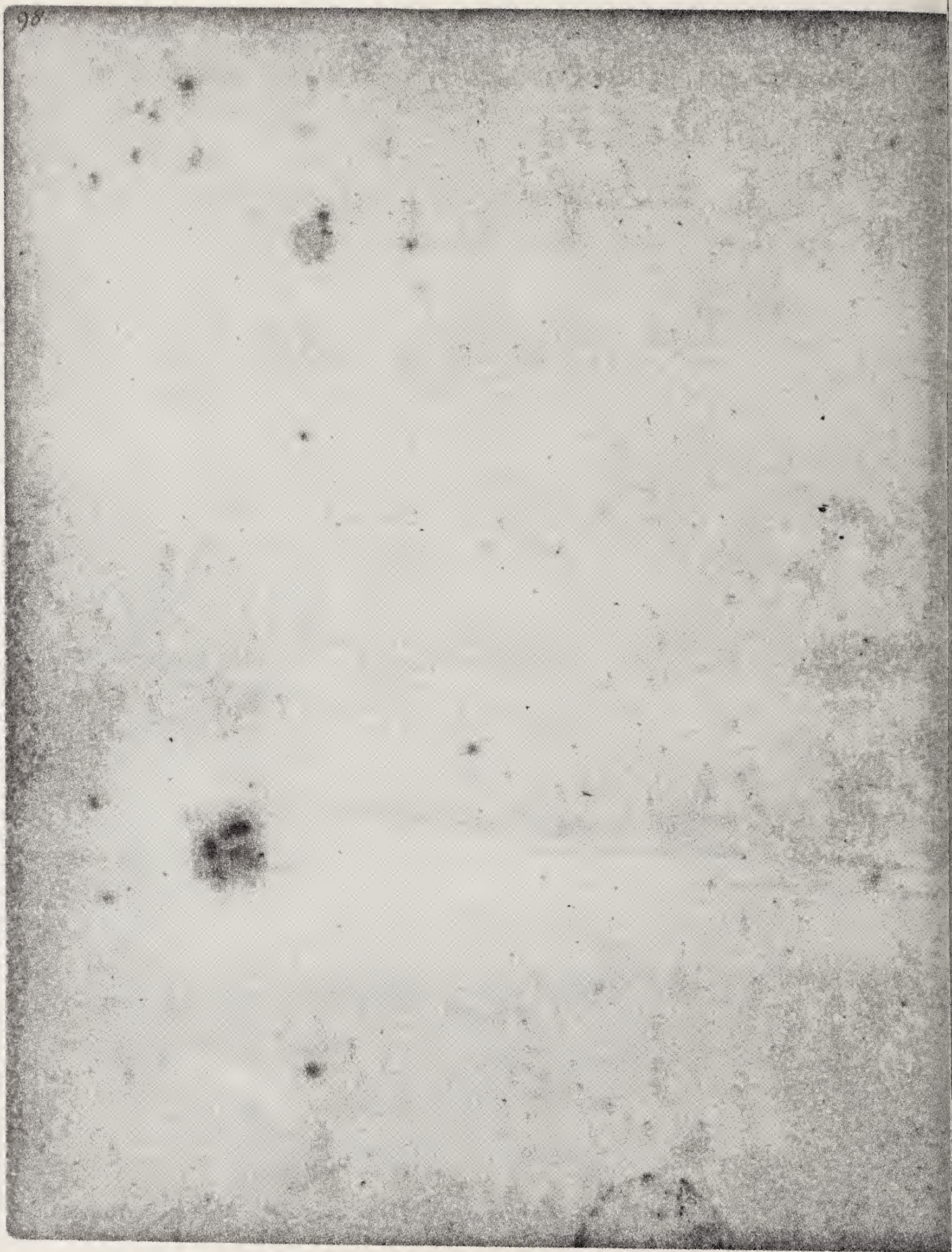
see 11. Bibl. Phys. econ. apple mill.

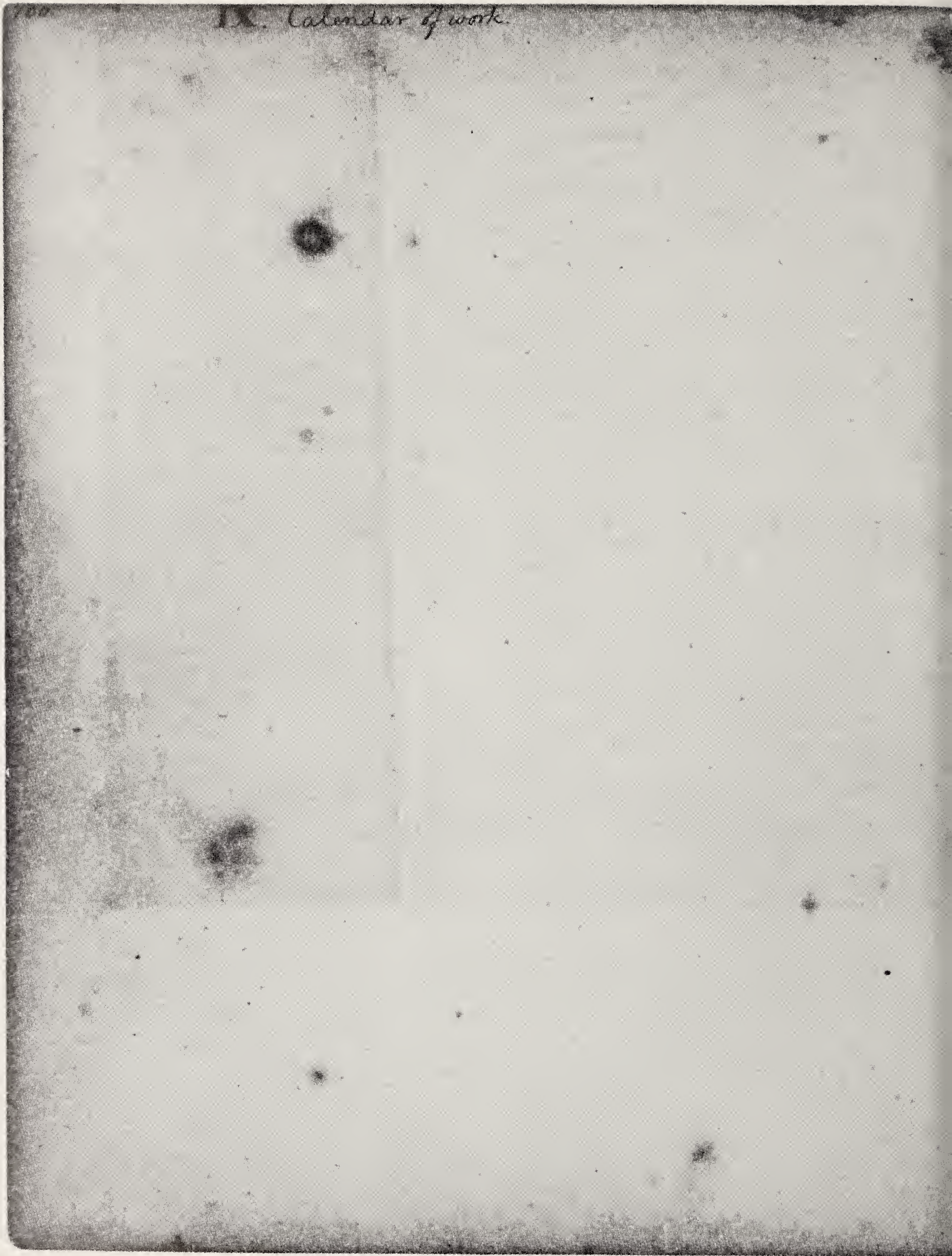
- 1826 Apr. Genl. Cooke says the Peach tree worm is hatching all July, Aug. Sep. and says it's egg immediately on being hatched. it may be seen & taken out from May to June. it should always be done before harvest.

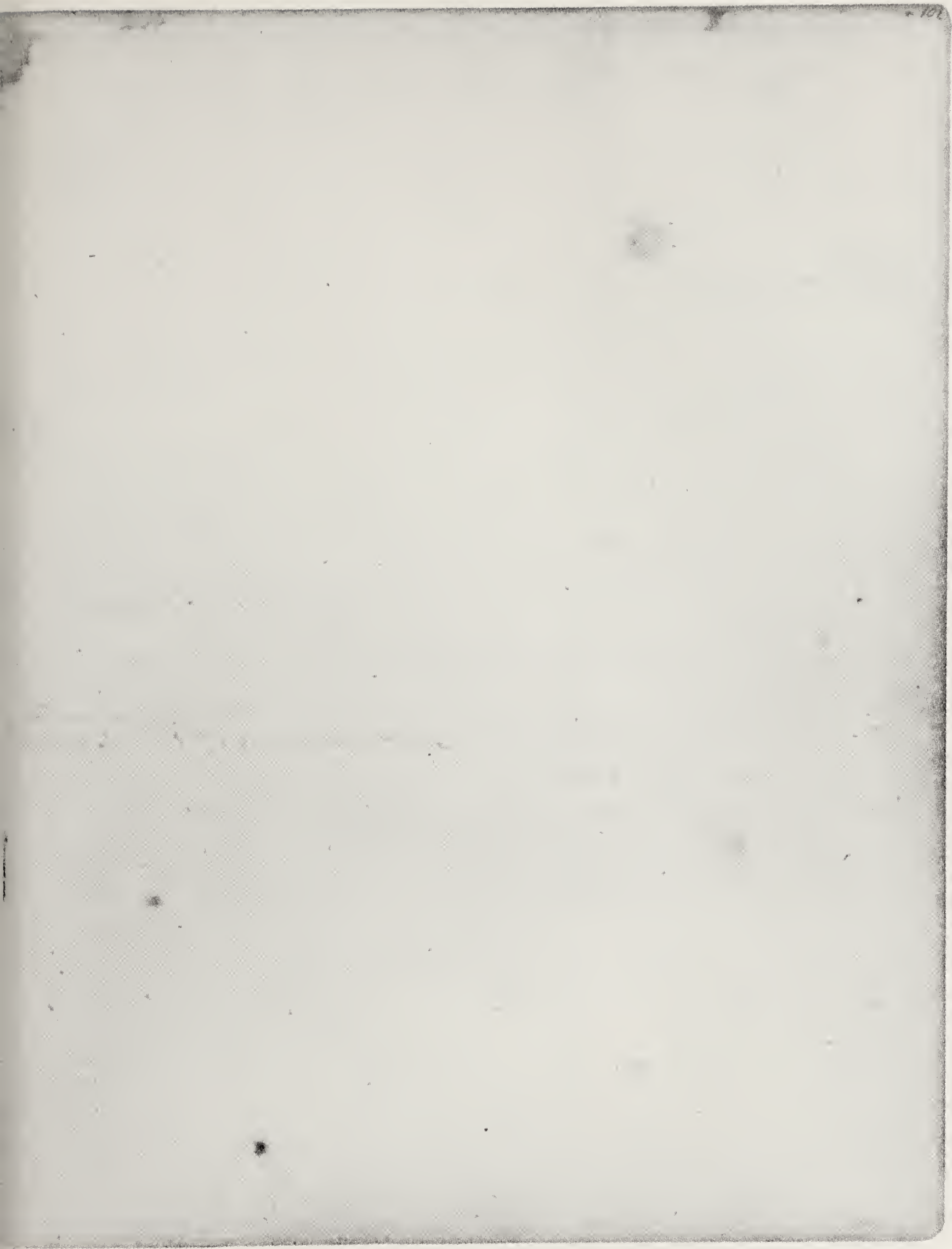
VIII. Rotation of crops.

92

G. Washington's Rotation is	¹ wheat	² buckwheat	³ wheat	⁴ clover	⁵ clover	⁶ clover	⁷ potatoes corn	8.	9.
Dr Logan's	wheat	barley	corn	potatoes flax	wheat	barley	clover	clo	X
as good one	corn & pot in halves	peas	wheat	clover	clover				







X. Building.

Brick. a demicord of earth [4. f. cube] makes 1000 bricks.
 a man will turn up 4. such cubes, or even 5, a day. the price for turning up is $\frac{1}{4}$ (Maryland) the cube, or 1000. bricks; the labourer binding himself.
 a cubic yard of earth in it's natural state weighs probably 1000. lb. a man moulds 2000. bricks a day. his attendance is a man to temper, one to wheel the mortar to him & a boy to bear off. (Philadelphia)
 there are 3000. bricks to every eye of a kiln, sometimes 4000.
 a cord of wood to every eye will suffice if there be a case of $2\frac{1}{2}$ bricks to the kiln, but if there be no case, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cord to each eye.
 at George town in 1792. a brickmaker for $2\frac{1}{3}$ D. the thousand made the bricks, turning up the clay & finding himself every thing except wood to burn & plank to cover them.
 the brickwork is about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole cost, the Carpenter's materials & ironmongery one third, & the Carpenter's work one third. bricks cost at Philadelphia 4. D. per M. and laying them 1.6 exclusive of sand, lime &c.
 brickwork requires 10. bush. of lime to the 1000. (Geo. town)
 but by Stephen Willis 15. bushels. this is exact from my own experiments
~~but~~ mortar takes 3. parts water to the 1000. bricks.
 an acre of ground yields a million of bricks for every foot depth.
 see page 30.
 10. bushels of limestone make 15. bushels of lime & lay 1000 bricks, the inside mortar being half lime & half sand, & the outside mortar $\frac{2}{3}$ lime, & the walls pointed from my own experience.
 1796. Aug. 26. 32 cords of wood burnt a kiln of 9. eyes & 42 M. bricks.
 1814. Chisolm & 2. apprentices (one of them a new beginner) lay 1600. bricks a day
 1829. Apr. by accurate trial $7\frac{1}{4}$ lb white lead gives 3. coats to 1. square.

Stone. paving or other stone cut @ 8^d. The superficial foot, the block being found¹⁰³
 & provisions.

The price of a Corinthian column at Paris is 24^d the inch of diameter;
 an Ionic 2^d 6^d the inch. per Hallet.

good stone work, of unheaved stone, takes from 2 to 3 bush. of lime per perch.
 the price for laying is 2/6 an 18^d. wall. in August it is 2/

such stone work is cheaper than brick in the proportion of 1056 - 6 to 581 - 5^d
 every thing calculated accurately by a workman at Georgetown, his brickwork
 comes to 9.6 per thousand, & his Stonework 2.0 per perch, including the cost
 & carriage of every article, even of the rough stone.

a man lays generally 3. perch a day. & even 5. in very thick wall.
 calculation of stone work at Monticello. the perch. laying @ 2/9

4. bush. lime @ 8 ^d	- - 2.8
stone masonry	- - 5.0
attendance	- - 4
	<hr/> 9.3

dry wall.

Wood. see page 37.

The sawmills over the mountains saw for 20/ the thousand, or one half for the other.

2 maulers & 3 rivers will give 750. pine slabs a day, of 16 ft. long, and double that number 6 ft. long. every slab clears about 4 ft. that is to say 30. slabs properly lapped clear 10 ft. another estimate is that 3 men will get only 450. slabs a day, of 6 ft. long & 2 ft. broad to give & draw 500. shingles is a common day's work.

A man may joint 3000. a day.
4 men got out and cut 600. chestnut poles a day, 7 ft. long for the garden a wagon brings in 300. of them at a time.

Paint. to a Square, i.e. 10 ft. square, 1 lb. span. brown & 1 pint of oil gives 1 coat.

Venetian blinds. The Upholsterer's part costs 2. Doll. and the painting (by a coach-painter) a French crown.

Cost of sashes of Mahogany of 9. panes	12. I. 19.	26 ft. run measure, 16 joints	London	Philadelphia
	4. 90.	18. I. 19.	19 1/2 ft. 20.	9 ft.
			@ .213 = 1.91	@ .38 = 3.4
			@ .34 = 1.35	@ .6 = 2.4

for sky lights the glass should lap 2 1/2 in. or more, the parts which lap should not touch one another, because they will suck in the rain by capillary attraction. There should be a free passage between them for the air. Can't trust.

Lime.

a bushel of limestone weighs 114. ~~lb~~ & makes 2. bushels of slacked lime.
 1797. Aug. by a tolerably exact trial 1. ~~hd~~^{unsacked} of limestone made $1\frac{1}{2}$ ~~hd~~ of slacked lime, want-
 ing about $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel. and $15\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of slacked lime laid 1000. bricks in a wall of
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ brick thick we may say then that 10. bush. of limestone are required to 1000. bricks.
 it takes a bushel of lime to give 3. coats of plaster to 4 square yards on brick wall.
 a cord of limestone of 128. cub. feet or $102\frac{1}{2}$ bushels make 6. wagon loads

Fresco painting. Schneider charges a dollar a yard, he finding paint &c.
 or 8/ ~~dollar~~ a day, paint &c. found him. he can do half
 a yard an hour.

The cost of iron pipes at Philad^a is as follow. 22. I. diam. is 6.25 p. / foot. - 20 cost 5.
 16. I. diam. cost $3\frac{1}{3} - 10 = 2.40 - 8 = 1\frac{2}{3} - 6 = 1.10 - 4 = .64 - 3 = .45 - 1\frac{1}{2} = .40$

Sheet iron. a square foot weighs 1. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb & costs 20. cents. } Philadelphia
 Sheet copper. costs about 40. cents the square foot. } 1792.

The largest sheet iron I have seen is 21. I. by 8 ft. 3. I.
 a box of tin contains 220 or 230 sheets $13\frac{1}{2}$ I. by $10\frac{1}{8}$ = $\frac{1}{12}$ of a foot and weighs 152. lb.
 it costs 13. I. and will cover 1 square & a half of roof.
 a man puts on a square a day.

Bohemian glass costs of the least thickness .16 the square foot } Donath. Phi-
 $1\frac{1}{2}$ thickness .20 } ladelphia.
 double thickness for windows .30 } 1792.

Brinckhurst supposes that no sheets of glass are made larger than 4. feet.

a workman at Genoa to whom I shewed a draught of my chimney-pieces, gave
 me the following estimate of what they would cost on the different kinds of marble
 of which he gave me samples.

	price of the cubic foot of marble	archi- trave traced along	archi- trave traced and abut.	but if only a plain fascia 6 I. wide 1.9. thick
Common marble	4-10	90	170	2-1+
Marble of Carrara	12-	105.	217-10	5-11+
Jasper of Sicily	40-	161-	400-	18-8+
Verde Antio.	270-	620-	1900-	124-4+

XI. Mill.

at Brandywine 2 pr of stones rent for $266\frac{2}{3}$ D.

100 bushels of wheat make 20 barr. flour at Brandywine & 22 in Maryland.

a miller's wages at Brandywine from 100. to 150. D. & found.

a head millwright's wages .86 cents, a journeyman's .67 per day & found.

The millwright's work of a mill of 2. pr stones, with boulding apparatus, fans, double wire screen, hopper boy, hoisting machine, screwpraker, is worth from 200. to 267 Doll.

a pair of millstones manufacture 10,000 bush. in the season. Dutton.

where the millwright is found, & everything brought into place he should make a double armed water wheel for 12/ the foot & the cog wheel for 15/ the foot in diameter, & the shaft & gudgeon supporters into the bargain: and a single armed water wheel for 20/ the foot. Gordon.

in Blowing much depends on the nature of the stone. but in very hard stone a man striking for himself will bore about 8. holes of 12 I. depth a day. Mr Locke 1. lb of gun powder will make about 20. charges. Mr Locke.

a man digs from 10. to 11. ^{cent} yards a day of canal work & throws it out. Mr Locke.

a cooper's task is 4. flour barrels a day, from the rough, i.e. from the stuff merely rived out into thicknesses for 2. staves and 6. barrels a day when the staves are drawn.

1810. Nov. the batteau with 8 hands collecting rock for the dam on the mountain side about 2 a mile above the dam, brings about 6. loads a day of 2 perch each. = 12. perch a day a wagon collecting stone in the plantation from the E. side of the meadow branch brings 12 loads a day of 2 perch each = 6 perch a day, leaving it's driver & 2. of the rail boys to load & unload. 12. hands get the long logs (60. ft. long) and tyers (21. of 16 to 20. ft. long) for a pen 12. f. wide in the clear, 50. f. long & 3. f. high, bring them into place by water, and lay them down in 3. days. The cost then of a pen 50. by 12. f. for the timber part is 18. D.

the stone 70. perch @ $4\frac{1}{2}$ = 315. D.
about 1. 30 or 8/ a foot running measure 64. 67
or 1 D. the cubic yard of the dam.

1811. June. completed the new Pierhead. it's floor is $9\frac{1}{2}$ f. below the spring of the brick arch, and 10 f 2 I. below the crown of the arch.

1811. Jan^r. 8. by an accurate trial with the spirit level, I found the surface of the water above the dam $6\frac{1}{8}$ I. higher than that at the mouth of the
valley at all race of the saw mill

1813. Mar. 25. fixed the bottom of the saw mill canal at 12 I. below the head of the dam by the spirit level.

1813. June. July. Aug. Sep. blowing on the road at the foot of the mountain on the riverside, each borer uses $\frac{1}{2}$ lb powder a day and bores 3. holes of 12 I. each. which is 12. blasts to the 50

1822. Aug. 24. by experiment at the Toll mill, the Peak stones ground 4. bushels wheat an hour
the Burr stones ground 4. bushels corn an hour
both then may be said to grind 200. bushels in 24. hours, half wheat, half corn.

1813. Jan. 7. a statement of the movement of the millworks at the foot of Monkville ¹⁰⁷
 The water wheel is calculated to turn 8. times in a minute.

Saw mill. The greater cog wheel has 144. cogs
 and drives the balance wheel of 12. spurs
 which gives 12. strokes of the saw for 1. of the water wheel
 or $12 \times 8 = 96$ strokes of the saw in 1.

Threshing machine.

The lesser cog wheel has 112 cogs
 drives a bundle of 14. rounds
 which is 8. for 1.

The bundle has a horisont cog wheel on same shaft of 48. cogs
 which drives the shaft of the drum wheel carrying 12. spurs
 which is 4. for 1.

Both together give $8 \times 4 = 32$ revolves of the drum for 1. of the water wheel
 or 32×8 revolves of the drum = 256 in 1.

Grist mill. The lesser cog wheel of 112. cogs
 drives a walkover of 26 rounds
 on the shaft of which is a cog wheel of 54 cogs
 driving a bundle of 16. rounds.

$$\frac{112 \times 54}{26 \times 16} = \frac{6048}{416} = 14\frac{1}{2} \text{ revolves of the mill stone for 1. of the water wheel}$$

$$\text{or } 14\frac{1}{2} \times 8 = 116 \text{ revolves of the stone in 1.}$$

Mill stones grind in proportion to the squares of their diameters. Therefore the
 work of a 5f stone is to that of one of 6f. as 25 to 36.

Their revolutions should be in the inverse ratio of their diameters, taking as a basis
 that a ~~5f stone~~ ^{5f stone} turns 90. times in a minute. then for the revolves of a 6f stone
 say as ~~20:12::13::~~ $6:5::90:\frac{90 \times 5}{6} = 75$

water wheels should also have their revolves in the inverse ratio of their diameters, tak-
 -ing for a basis that a 12f wheel should turn 12 times in a minute. then for a 20f.
 wheel say as $20:12::13::\frac{13 \times 12}{20} = 7.8$

The best motion for a saw is to make 115 strokes in a minute.

The skirt of every millstone, of whatever size should move with the same
 velocity. per Gilmore. but 2u? at 36 f. a second. to wit a 5f. stone sh^d
 make 2. revolutions in a second?

All. Still.

1014. Sep. 3. began to malt wheat. a bushel will make 9. or 10. gallons of strong beer
such as will keep for years, taking $\frac{3}{4}$ lb of hops for every bushel of wheat.

XIII. Smith's shops.

110.

Nails.

Weight & measure of nails

	Nails to 1 lb	to 1 lb thous.	length.
30 ⁰ British	---	56.	2. 8 th 4. 1.23
24 ⁰ New York	29	34 ¹ / ₂	
20 ⁰ New York	45	22 ¹ / ₅	
Baltimore	50	20	
Richmond	50	20	
Fredtly	54	18 ¹ / ₂	
British	---	23 ¹ / ₂	2-4.8
16 ⁰ Baltimore	59	17	
12 ⁰ New York	62 ¹ / ₂	16	
Baltimore	62 ¹ / ₂	16	
Fredtly	66 ² / ₅	15	2-6
10 ⁰ New York			
Baltimore			
Fredtly	77	13	2-4
British			
8 ⁰ New York	100	10	
Baltimore	100	10	
Fredtly	111	9	2-
Richmond	100	10	
British	---	10 ¹ / ₂	1-7
6 ⁰ Baltimore	125	8	
New York	140	7 ¹ / ₂	
Richmond	143	7	
Fredtly	182	5 ¹ / ₂	
British	---	6.9	1-4
4 ⁰ New York	300	3 ¹ / ₂	
Baltimore	250	4	
Fredtly	---	---	1.0
British	---	4.4	1-1
Mine.			
30 ⁰ -	18	56	4 ⁹
24 ⁰ -	30	33 ¹ / ₂	3 ¹ / ₂
20 ⁰ -	40	25	3
16 ⁰ -	50	20	2 ³ / ₂
12 ⁰ -	62 ¹ / ₂	16	2 ¹ / ₂
10 ⁰ -	77	13	2 ¹ / ₂
8 ⁰ -	100	10	1 ⁷ / ₈
6 ⁰ -	143	7	1 ¹ / ₂
4 ⁰ -	250	4	1.

Col^o. Wadsworth
Pres. N.Y. curr.
making alone.

Card or
2 oz. each } 2/6 p^rth.
12 oz. do. 2/6
doubt do. 2/6
10⁰ nails 2/6
2⁰ do. 3/
3⁰ do. 3/3
4⁰ do. 3/6
5⁰ do. 4/
1/2 inch brads 2/6
1.9. do. 2/6
1 1/2 do. 2/6
1 1/2 do. 3/
1 3/4 do. 3/3
2.9. do. 3/3
4⁰ nails } 9 p^rth
or brads } 6⁰
6⁰ do. 6⁰
4⁰ do. 8⁰
or trunk } 3/3 p^rth
8⁰ nails 4 p^rth
10⁰ 3 p^rth
12⁰ 2⁰
20⁰ 2⁰
24⁰ 2⁰

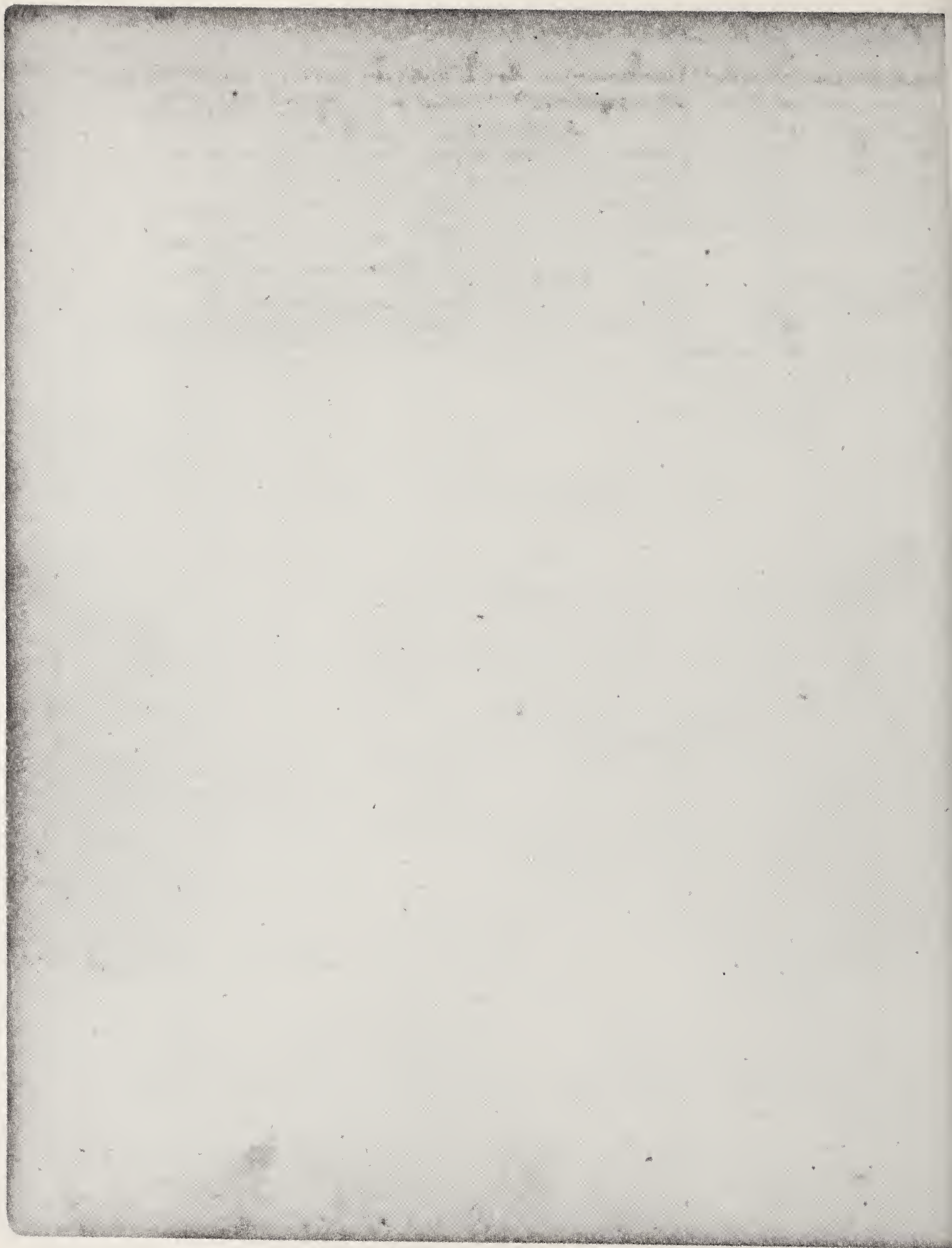
quoted by
another

task per day

	man.	boy	man Baltimore
24 ⁰	24 th		
20 ⁰	20		15 th
12 ⁰	16	12	15
10 ⁰	14	9	12
8 ⁰	10	7	8
6 ⁰	7	6	7
4 ⁰	5	4	3 ¹ / ₂
2 ⁰ brads	1000		
1 1/2 do.	1000		
1 1/2 1/2	1500		
1 Annals	1500		
3 ⁰ do. do.	1000		
2 ⁰ 1 1/2	1500		
card task	1500		

Col^o. Triple

the ton of rod is 2240
common left 12 p^rth 313.6
nails yielded 1926.4
a fire burns 6 to 7 bushels
of coal a day
a boy after 6 months make 500
1 year 800
the best 804
a hundred 1000
there are 4 sizes of nail rod
the half crown, or 30⁰ is the
largest. traces made of this
a pair weigh 8.4.



Coal.

at Millar's works. The negro men are tasked at 9. corts of coal wood a week, & are paid for whatever they do over that.

Art V. Carpenters, Wheelwrights, coopers.

staves for a tor^o. lid are by law to be 4. 6. 9. long. the head 34. 9. in the clear with an allowance of 2. 9. more for the missing head.

1812. June. Johnny Hemings & Lewis make a set of Venetian blinds with fixed slats, i. e. 2. pair 3 1/2 9. square in 6. days, splitting out the slats from common plank with the hand saw. say a window a week.

1814. Mar. 21. Johnny Hemings begun the body of a Landau Jan. 12. and finished it this day. ^{weeks days.} he had not more help from Lewis than made up for his visitors - ructions. the smith's work employed the 2. smiths perhaps 1/3 of the same time.

1818. Feb. 1. Johnny Hem. & Lewis began a dressing table & finished it in exactly 6. weeks of which 4. weeks was such dreadful weather that even within doors, nothing like full work could be done.

Apr 2 a 2^d is finished, having taken only from Mar. 15. to Oct 16. working days
7. a paneled door is done in 5. days, all the stuff being previously planed up

1821. Apr. 14. the staves of a flour barrel are got 28. 9. long & dressed 27 9.
it takes 16. or 17. staves to a barrel & 6. heading pieces. 22. or 23. in all.
a cut of a middle sized tree yields 16. or 17. bolts, which give 4. staves each
such a tree, middling good will yield 18. or 20 cuts.
a cut will make 3. barrels, staves & heading
one tree with another will make 50. barrels.



116. V. Spinning Weaving.

Estimate of what may be spun daily

	Length of Day Hours	Linen task	Wool task	Cotton task
Jan. Dec.	9.	15. $\frac{1}{3}$	12. $\frac{1}{3}$	6. $\frac{1}{3}$
Feb. Nov.	10.	16 $\frac{2}{3}$	13 $\frac{1}{3}$	6 $\frac{2}{3}$
Mar. Oct.	11.	18 $\frac{1}{3}$	14 $\frac{2}{3}$	7 $\frac{1}{3}$
Apr. Sep.	12.	20.	16.	8.
May. Aug.	13.	21 $\frac{2}{3}$	17 $\frac{1}{3}$	8 $\frac{2}{3}$
June July	14.	23 $\frac{1}{3}$	18 $\frac{2}{3}$	9 $\frac{1}{3}$
Average	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	19.	15 $\frac{1}{3}$	7 $\frac{2}{3}$

linen for laborers, 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ hemp makes 1. yd. warp & filling
Wool. for 2. yds to the lb
Cotton for 3. yds to the lb

1813. June 17. Judge Holmes' statement of the cost of manufacturing superfine broadcloth at Winchester.

Spinning 1. lb clean wool. 20. cuts @ 2^d. - - 3-6

Carding. 10. cuts p^r lb - - - - - 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Weaving 1. yd of $\frac{6}{4}$ broadcloth weighing 1. lb - - 4-0

Fulling, dressing, drying 5/ p^r yard or lb - - 5-0

13-0 p^r yd. or lb of washed wool.

The wool unwashed yields from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ it's weight of superfine cloth.

a yard of superfine $\frac{6}{4}$ cloth weighs 1. lb.

July 16. Judge Holmes writes that the workmen say it takes 2. lb washed Merino wool to make a yard of $\frac{6}{4}$ cloth.
The 39. lb unwashed but on the sheep's back which I sent to Winchester has yielded 10. yds cloth.

XVI. Pot-ash Pearl-ash.

117.

a tree of 12 ft. diameter will yield 1 cord of wood.

2 1/2 diam 2 cords

an acre of middling timbered land will yield 30 cords of wood

of the finest timbered 100 cords

a man will cut and burn 2 1/2 cords a day.

a cord of wood yields 2 bushels of ashes. [neither pine nor chestnut will do.]

a bushel of ashes sells for 9 cents.

a bushel of ashes makes 5 lb of brown salts which make from 3 to 5 lb Pearl ash in common way
5 lb of Pearl ash in Horsbrow's way.

there should be 15 or 16 tubs of 100 bushels each

for a small work 2 kettles suffice to boil the lie into brown salts
and 1 to melt up the brown salts.

1/2 cord of wood a day maintains one fire, which will do for 5 kettles.

To keep 3 kettles a going will require a man & boy to attend.

3 kettles will turn out 1000 lb of Pearl ash a week.

consequently require 100 cords of wood ^{a week} & 7 cutters to keep them constantly at work.

each kettle costs 24 dollars.

Pot-ash is worth in England

the ton, 4 in America $114 \frac{2}{3} = .057$ per lb.

Pearlash is worth in England £40. ster the ton, 4 in America $133 \frac{1}{3}$ D. 066 per lb.
or £40. Amer.

an estimate of the expence and profit of such a work @ 3 lb pearl ash to the bush ash
which would be 100 lb of Pearl ash a day

7 cutters, hired @ £12 a year, adding all these expences.

£ 128-16-0

a manager, hire & provisions

50-0-0

a boy

10-0-0

implements & animals -

10-0-0

a horse & team & driver, all expences calculated

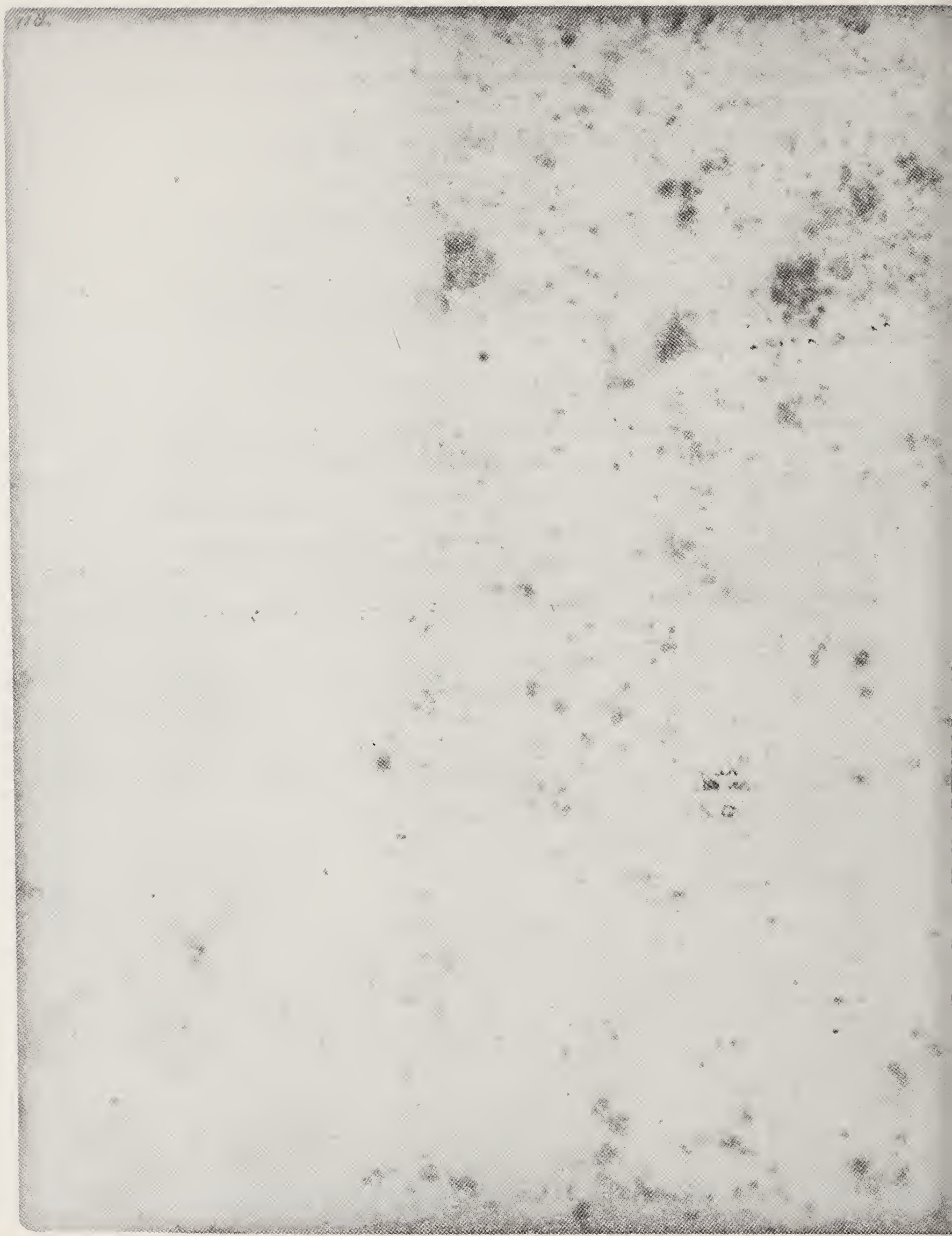
111-15-0

@ 3 lb of pearl ash from the bushel, instead of 5 lb, and @ 5 days to the week, we should have 500 lb instead of 1000 lb a week, which would be 13 ton a year @ £40. Virga currency

520-0-0

clearing 150 acres of land a year

[observed the ashes of an acre worth 40/- the cutting & burning worth 15/-]



XVII. Tenants.

Tie them up to some rotation of crops which shall include ameliorating years to counterbalance at least the exhausting ones.

reserve a right to enter the fields at all times to watch waste.

to have necessary roads thro' the land

let their lease take in only their inclosures, but allow them wood for fires, fences, repairs restrain their clearings in shape, quantity & place.

their quantity of stock, or hogs at least, which shall be allowed to go at large.

their power of assigning or underleasing without consent.

allow no cross fences.

a clause of distress or reentry on nonpayment of rent.

lease to commence Sep. 1.

corn pounds $7/6$ per acre, small grain $5/6$ peas or clover $2/6$. $5 \times 16 = 4/6$

stock rented at 5. per cent. principal to be returned. $4 \times 20 = 4/4$

always to keep stock equal to 2. years rent.

to declare in writing at a fixed time what is to be sowed in each field the ensuing year.

Tho'. Garth's estimate of what my fields would yield in corn. in 1797.

Shadwell. Upper field 4. Bar. Middle $2\frac{1}{2}$ Mountain $3\frac{1}{2}$ Chapel ridge 3. Eastfield 3. Southfield 3.

Westfield $3\frac{1}{2}$

Legg. Squarefield $3\frac{1}{2}$ Bar. Oblong. $3\frac{1}{2}$. Triangle 4. Doy $2\frac{1}{2}$ Culpeper 4.



Miscellaneous.

to bring the wheels of my Phactons & chains to an uniform measure, let the arms of the axles be always $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. between the shoulder & linch pin, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. diam. at the shoulder, & $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam. at the inside of the linch pin, or washer.

1810. Jan. 9. running the rafter level through a field to guide the ploughs horizontally, Thurston makes a step of the level (10 ft.) every minute, which is 600 ft. = 200 yds an hour.

Jan. 9. in terracing the new nursery in 4 ft. terraces 2 men do 50 yds in length a day.

1811. Apr. 20. we find that in blowing rock it takes 2 oz. of powder to a blast, taking one depth of hole with another.*

1812. Aug. 5. 2 bars of tin weighing $12\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ lb each have turned 18. stempans being over whole number. then it takes 1 lb to turn a dozen stempans.

Oct. 20. 3 men & 3. lads get 550 bolts of stave timber for flour barrels in a day. each bolt makes 6 staves or heading pieces, & 25 staves & heading pieces make a barrel.

* 1813. 1814 in blowing on the river road at the foot of Monticello, I found pretty accurately that each borer used $\frac{1}{2}$ lb powder a day, & bored 3 holes of 12 in. each a day. this gives $1\frac{1}{3}$ oz. to the blast.

1817. Aug. 2. Colclaser says that a man saws & rives the timber & dresses completely for setting up ~~staves for~~ 250 barrels a day, 17 staves to a barrel.

1809

Monticello farm

Divide it into 3 fields of 60 a. each. 1. for half corn, half oats, peas, or millet
one for wheat, 60 a. and one for clover 60 a. and aim at a 4. for clo-
-ver also as soon as we can.

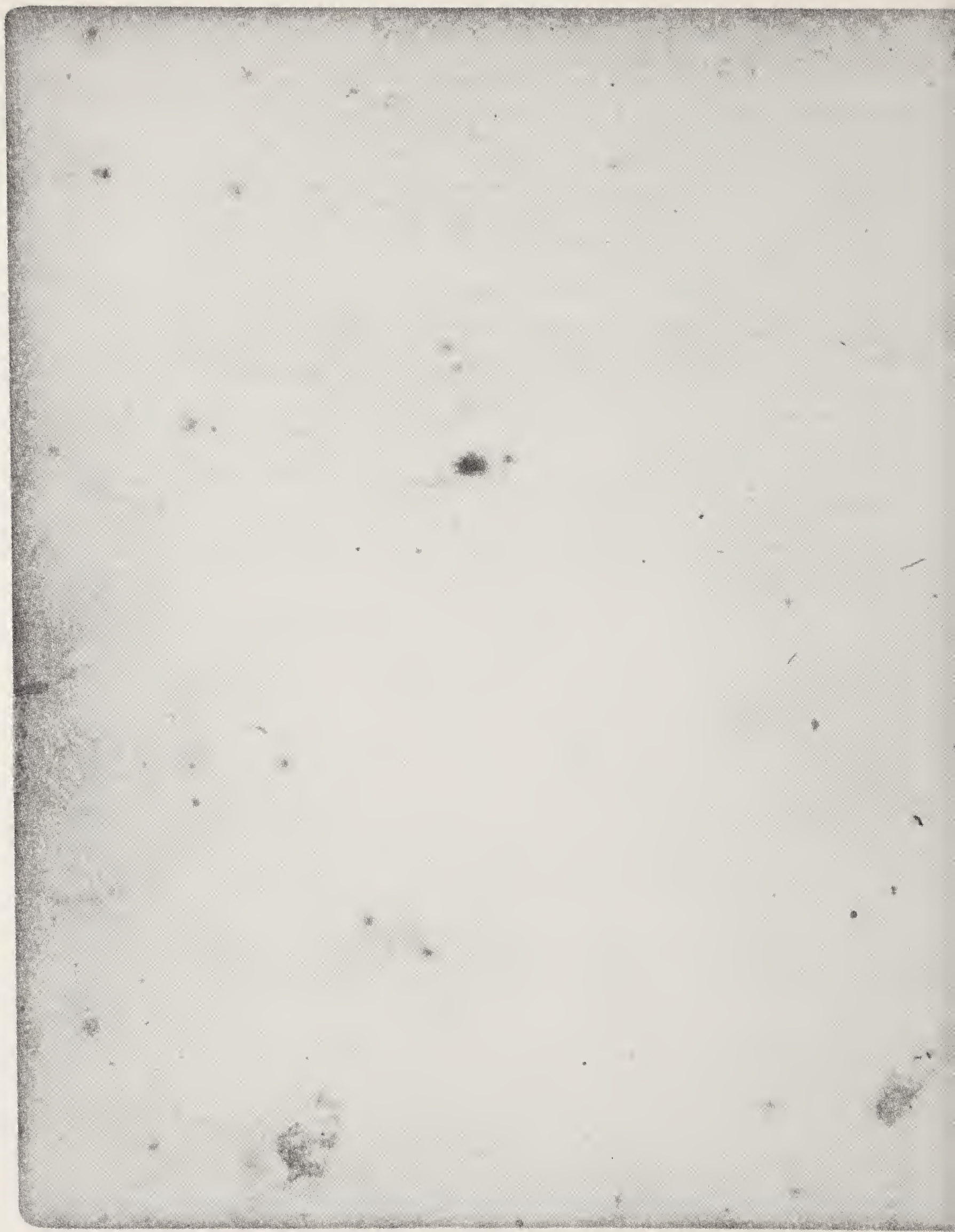
The North field, 60 a. N. of the road leading through the farm will be one.
the Riverfield, to wit, the field on the River & up, between the road & Park branch to Ragged br.
Belfield, to wit the grounds ~~between~~ South of the same road, & between that, the
N. & S. fence & the perpetual pasture, for a 3.

Lego

125

plan for the crop of 1810

- 1810 clear the low grounds on the W. side of Secretary's ford (ab' 12. or 15. 6') for ⁴ clover
 clean up the Square field for corn. 40. a²
 Triangle & Oblong. put into oats. 80. a²
 the better grounds, not in wheat, put into oats.
1811. clear adjoining the Belled grounds for clover
 clean up Hickman's field for corn.
 Square field. wheat
 Culpeper. enlarge to 80 a². & sow wheat
 [Hickman's] field wheat or oats & clover.
 aim, as soon as possible at getting 3. fields of 80. a². each for this rotation, to wit
 1. field, half in corn, half in peas, oats or millet. & in the next rotation change the halves
 1. in wheat 80. a².
 1. in clover 80. a². and
 a fourth field, as fast as we can, to be in clover also.
 the Δ and Dry field will be one.
 the Oblong & \square field another
 Hickman's. and the Belled field a third.
 Culpeper. etc. a 4th.



Land Roll 1810

127

- 1052 $\frac{3}{4}$ Monticello viz 1000 patented by Peter Jefferson 1775 July 19.
 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ rec'd in exchange by Th^o Jefferson from Nicholas Lewis } being part of a cove
 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ purchased by Th^o Jefferson from Richard Overton } part by Rich^d Overton
- 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ Monticello viz 470 $\frac{1}{2}$ part of 488 purchased by Th^o Jefferson from John Lewis } being part of 550 acres
 40 purchased by Th^o Jefferson from Thomas Wells } patented by John Lewis
 61 $\frac{1}{2}$ purchased by Th^o Jefferson from Benⁱ Brown } Sept 24 1780
 3. by exchange being the lot of the public road 30 f wide
 from Th^o Jefferson corner on it to it's survey of Moore's tract.
 patented by Peter Jefferson 1755 Sept 10
- 150 Tipton patented by Peter Jefferson 1745 Sept 16
- 150 Portobello patented by Peter Jefferson 1745 Sept 16
- 162 $\frac{1}{2}$ Milton viz 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ patented by
 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ patented by Bennet Henderson } purchased by Th^o Jefferson from the repre-
 1162 $\frac{1}{2}$ sentatives of Bennet Henderson
- 222 on Mt Gathie road 4 Henderson branch patented by Th^o Jefferson 1788 Apr 12
- 196 Ingraham's on the waters of Duck Island creek patented by Th^o Jefferson 1788 Apr 12
- 819 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lego purchased by Th^o Jefferson from Th^o Garth being Edwin Hickman's fourth part of 3277 $\frac{1}{2}$ patented by
 Smith, Hickman, Graves and Clarke 1734 May 25
- 485 on the Shadwell mountain patented by Th^o Jefferson 1789 July 23
- 400 Shadwell purchased by Peter Jefferson from Wm Randolph, part of 2500 $\frac{1}{2}$ pat^d by him 1735 July 1.
- 521 $\frac{1}{2}$ in one contiguous body
- 400 Pouncey's pat^d by Peter Jefferson, whereof 100 $\frac{1}{2}$ having been sold to Wm Spears was repurchased
 from his son John Spears by Th^o Jefferson
4. Limestone quarry on Plumtree branch purchased by Th^o Jefferson of Robert Sharpe being part of 400 acres
 patented by Wm Randolph
- 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ Limestone on the waters of Hardware, an undivided sixth of 400 $\frac{1}{2}$ pat^d by Philip Mayo 1740 Sep 1
- 5682 $\frac{1}{2}$ whereof 3574 $\frac{1}{2}$ are in S. Anne's parish.
 2108 $\frac{1}{2}$ are in the parish of Frederick's ville.
 5687 $\frac{1}{2}$

- 416 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres Poplar forest viz 2558 $\frac{1}{2}$ part of 4000 $\frac{1}{2}$ pat^d by William Smith Mar 5 1747 and
 Sep 10 1755 [1641 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ the residue thereof, with 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ adjoining patented by
 Th^o Jefferson Mar 27 1797 having been conveyed to Wm Randolph & Martha ex^l]
- 2558 $\frac{1}{2}$ on a branch of Buffalo creek patented by Th^o Jefferson May 23 1797
- 800 $\frac{1}{2}$ purchased of John Robertson by John Wayles
- 183 purchased of the same John Robertson by John Wayles, having been pat^d by Rich^d Callaway May 12 1759
- 380 purchased of Daniel Robertson by John Wayles by whom they were patented Aug. 1 1772
- 214 rec'd in exchange from Benj. Johnson for 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ of the preceding tract by deed of
- 29
- 4164 $\frac{1}{2}$

- 157 Natural bridge, in Rockbridge patented by Th^o Jefferson July 5 1774
- 10,004 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the whole

a. lots in Beverley town, Henr. Co viz No 57 at the foot of the hill, 107 & 108 on the
 public road, and 151 includes the ferry landing, being the uppermost lot
 of the town on the river.

a moiety of lot 55 in Richmond containing 825 square yards purchased by Th^o Jefferson
 of William Byrd sold to S. Higginbotham

Roll of Negroes. 1810. Feb. in Albemarle.

Monticello			Tufton	Legg
House S.	Tradesman	farm		
Burwell 83.	John Hemmings 75	John Beef 85.	Bagwell. 68.	Charles. d' 85
Edwin 93.	Lewis. ab' 60	Bartlett. 86.	Caesar. 87	Lewis 68.
Edy. 87.	Davy. 55.	Isaac. ab' 68.	Ben. 85.	Davy Beef 85.
Jamieson Jan. 7. 05	Shepherd. 82.	Isabel. prob' ab' 58	Phill Hill 86	Aggy. 89
Maria. Oct. 27. 07.	Abram. ab' 1740.	Thronson. 1800 June 22	Red. 86	Sally Lew. 92
Paddy. 10. May 11.	Joe. 80	Lovilo. 01. Oct. 27.	Dick. 90.	Scilla. red' 94
Fanny 88	Moses. 79.	Isabel. 1800 May	Gill. 92	7 James. 11. Sep
Ellen 93	Davy. 96. 8th. Sep.	Amey. John. prob' ab' 56.	Lansgo	
Samuel. 11. Nov.	Thruston. 95 July 5.	Jenny. red'. 64. 28. 25	Abram. 96.	
Emilia 59	Jamies. Lewis. 95 Apr.	Phil. 1800 Dec. 28.	Minerva. 71.	
Sally 73	Phill. 96. (Suck's).	Moses 03. Jul. 28	Virginia. 93	
Harriet. 31 May	Race. 96. Aug. Maria	Sucky 06. Dec 21	Esther. 95. Mar. 19	
Madison 05 Jan	Sanco. 97. Euc's.	Jenny. Lewis 68	Nanny. 00. Apr. 10	
Eston 08. Mar. 21.	Beverley. 98. Apr. 1.	Isabel 1800 May.	Willis 06 Jan. 6	
Betty Brown 59.	Jamieson 83.	Doll 57.	Archy 08 Feb. 3	
Robert. 99. Dec	Jerry. 77.	Holly 89.	Jordan. 18	
Mary. 01. Oct.	Jame 76	Thomp. Jerry. 76. 9. 13	Mary Bagwell. 88	
Peter Hemmings 70.	Barnaby. 83	Isalt. 1800 Dec. 31	Washington 05. Mar.	
Nance. 61.	Wormley 81.	Jerry. 02. Jan 14	Rachael. 76.	
Mary. prob' ab' 80.	John 53.	Jupiter 04. Jan. 15.	Eliza 05. Sep. 30	
William 01. Mar.	Red 60.	Isabel 1810	Ellen 08. Dec. 18	
Davy. 03. Feb.	Jamies (red?) 96. Jan. 22	Phill 1810	Nancy 91.	
Celia. 06.		Squire. 27. 8. 1810.	Thenia 93.	
Ursula. 87. 10. Apr.			Dolly 94.	
Joe. 05 Jan			Lilly 91.	
Anne 07 Feb.			S. Anderson ab July 30	
Dolly. 09. Feb.			Stannard. 09. Jun. 22	
Samuel. 11. Apr. 1.			26 Lucy. 11. Mar. 12	
Emilia. 76. 79				
John 1800.				
Ranick. 02.				
Henty 05.				
Milly 07.				
Lilburn 09.				
Sucky. Lewis. 96.				
Bac. Bagwell. 97				
Indicee 97. Mar. 30				
Evelina. Lewis. 97. Oct. 24				
Larania. Rach. 97. Mar. 27.				

Roll of Negroes in Bedford. Apr. 1810.

Poplar Forest.

Hal. Bess's. Smith. 67. Sep.
 + Hanah. Cate's. 70. Jan.
 Sally. 98
 Billy. 99.
 Janny. 05.
 Phill. 08
 Edmund. 09.
 + Nace. Cate's. 73.
 + Lucinda. Hanah's. 91. June
 Melinda. 09. Aug. 8.
 Will. Smith. ab. 53.
 + Abby. Judy's. ab. 53.
 + Dick. Will's. 81. Oct.
 + Austin. is. Betty's. 75. Aug.
 + Flora. Will's. 83.
 Gawon. 04. July.
 Alack. 06. Sep.
 Billy. 08. Oct.
 + Fanny. Will's. 88. Aug.
 Rachael. 07. Feb.
~~Dorcas. 09. May.~~
 Edy. Will's. 92. Apr.
 + Manuel. Will's. 94.
 Amy. Will's. 97. Jan.
 + Bess. Guinea Will's. ab. 47.
 + Caesar. Bess's. 74. Sep.
 + Suck. Bess's. 71. May.
 + Stephen. 94.
 Ambrose. 99.
 Prince. 06.
 Joe. 06. May.
 Shepherd. 09. Apr.
 + Cate. Suck's. 88. Mar.
 Davy. 06. June.
 + Betty. is. ab. 49.
 + Cate's Betty's. 88. Mar. 8.
 + Mary. Betty's. 92. Jan.
 + Hercules. Betty's. 94. Nov. 20.
 + Jesse. Ind. camp. 72. Nov.
 + Dick. Aggey's. 67.
 + Dinah. 66.
 + Moses. Dinah's. 92. Jan.
 + Evans. Dinah's. 94.
 Hanah. Dinah's. 96. Aug.
 Lucy. 98. 99.
 Janny. 98. or.
 Bryler. 05. Dec.

+ Aggy. Dinah's. 89. Mar.
 + Nanny. Phill's. 78. July.
 Maria. 98. Feb. 24.
 Phill. 01. Aug.
 Milly. 06. May.
 George Dennis. 08. May.
 + Lucy. Phill's. 83. July.
 Robin. 05.
 Sandy. 07. Nov. 25.

old Judy. ab. 1728.

Bear creek.

Janna Hubbard. ab. 43
 Cate. Sall's. ab. 47
 + Zomis head. Hubbard's. 71.
 + Janna. Nunt's. 72.
 + Rachael Cate's. 73. Oct.
 Cate. 97. Aug.
 Joe. 01.
 Lania. 03.
 Glogter. 07. Dec. 25.
 + Reuben. Hanah's. 93.
 + Solomon. Hanah's. 94.
 + Maria. Cate's. 76. Oct.
 Nussy. 99.
 Johnny. 04. Sep.
 Isaac. 09. Nov.
 + Eve. Cate's. 79.
 Jofsy. 06. July.
 Burrnell. 09. May.
 + Sally. Cate's. 88. Aug.
 Billy. 08. Mar.
 + Gawen. is. Betty's. 78. Aug.
 + Sal. Will's. 77. Nov.
 19. 8. ~~Phillip. 97. Mar.~~
 Betty. 01. Jan.
 Abby. 04. Nov.
 Edy. 06. Aug.
 Martin. 09. Jan. 31.
 + Daniel. Bess's. 90. Sep.

deaths since 1801.

1805. Nancy. Cate's. born 1791.
 07. Isabel. Sall's. 95.
 Polly. Nanny's. 03.
 Hercules.
 08. Burrnell. Rachael's. 96.
 09. Jupiter. Hercules's. 1800.
 Dick. Aggey's. 09.
 Janny. Cate's. 09.

Roll of the negroes according to their ages.
Albemarle.

1727 ~~Squire~~ 8 Mar 20, 1810
31. ~~Leah~~ 8 May 5, 1810
43 ~~John~~
44 ~~Phill~~ 8 Sep. 1810.
49 ~~Sam~~ 1810
Molly 8 Apr. 21, 1811
53. John
55. Daisy
56. Amy
57. Doll
58. ~~Leah~~ 8, 1819.
59. Betty Brown
60 Ned
Leura
61. Nance
64. Jenny Ned's
68 Isaac
Bagwell
Jenny Lewis's
69. Cilla
70. Peter Hemmings
71. Minerva
73. Sally
75. John Hemmings
76. James
Mary Jerry's 1813
77. Rachael
78. Cilla
79. ~~Isaac~~
80 Mary, Moses's
Joe
81. Wormley
82. Shepherd
83. ~~Phill~~
Barnaby
Dunwell
84. Davy. Isabel's
85. Charles
Ben.
John Belf?
Davy Belf?
86 ~~Phill~~ 1810
Bartlett
Ned &
87 Ursula.
Edy
88 Lewis
Mary Bagwell's
Fanny.
89 Aggy Charles's 1815
90 Dick.
Jesse July 16, 15.
abram.
91. Nanny. Rach's
Lilly
92 Gill.
Sally. Lewis's
Moses, Zina's 1818

1793 Edwin
Virginia Bagw's
Anne Tull
94 Scilla Ned
Dolly. Doll's
95 Thurston
James Lewis
Ether
96 Philip.
Nace
James Ned.
Sucky. Jerry's
97. Samco
Indridge
Evelina
Maria
Bee.
98. Beverly, mar. 22
Aggy Ned's
99 ~~Isaac~~
1800. ~~Isaac~~
Nanny Bagw
Isabel. Lewis
Thurston. Isabel's
Israel. Ned's
Isiah. Jerry's
01 William. Moses. B. J.
Harriet. Sally's mar. 22
Mary. Belf's
1816. ~~Isaac~~ 1816
02. Jerry Jerry's
Randall. Cretia's
03. Davy. Moses's
Moses Ned's
04. Ignitor. Jerry's
05 James. Edy's
Madison Sally's
Jos. Ursula's
Henry Cretia's 1821
Washington. Mary's
Eliza. Rachael's
Fanny. Bagw. Rachael's
06. ~~Isaac~~ Bagw.
Sally. Lewis
Anderson. Tully 8 Oct. 1811
Lelia. Moses's
Sucky. Ned's
07. Anne Ursula's
Milly. Cretia's
08. ~~Isaac~~ Mary's
08. Archy. Bagw's
Eston. Sally's
Ellen. Rach's Dec.
09 Dolly Ursula's
Stannard. Lilly's
Lilburn. Cretia's
Ellen. Fanny's
10. Tucker. Mary's Apr.
Patsy Edy May 11
Jordan. ~~Isaac~~ Sep
Polly. ~~Isaac~~ Rachael's
Washington. Rachael's
11. Lucy. Lilly's Mar. 12

1811. Apr. 1. Corne. Ursula's
Sep. Jamey. Scilla's
Dec. Jenny. Fanny's
Oct. Matilda. Cretia's
Dec. 26. Robert. Virginia's
1812. Oct. 27. Zacharias Moses's
Dec. 6. Betsy. Ann. Edy's
1813. Lanny. Lindsay. Esther's
Mar. Edmund. Rachael B.
Sep. ~~Jamey. Scilla's~~ 8 Mar 1816 } whoop
Sep. ~~Mary. Cretia's~~ 8 Mar. 1816 } cough
Oct. 1. Thomas. Ursula's
1814 May Marshall Maria's [i.e. Larania's]
June ~~Isaac~~
June ~~Moses. Fanny's~~
1815 June 5. Peter. Edy's
July. James Band. Cretia's
Aug. Patty. Moses's
Sep. Amanda. Virginia's
1816. Jan 21. Louisa. Ursula's
April. 15. Marlon. Mary's
July. ~~Isaac~~ Bee's
Miles. Scilla's
Jennet. Sally's
Lindsay Rachael's B
1817. July 11. Melinda. Fanny's
Aug. Foster. Mary's
1818. Jackson. Milly's
1818. Lucy. Scilla's
1819. Jan 7. Isabella. Edy's
Apr. 3. Indridge. Fanny's
Aug. Nancy. Cretia's
Oct. 15. Fontaine. Mary Moss
1820. Jan. 27. Cilla. Ursula's
Mar. Martha. Beck's
July. Amy. Isabel's
1821. Apr. Aggy Scilla's
May. Sally's
William Edy's
Nov. Virginia's
1822. Sep. Melinda. Fanny's
Dec. Lilly. Aggy's
1823. Martha. Maria's (Rachael's)
Manuel. Eve's
May. Isabella. Sally's Cha's wife
June. Virginia's
George. Ursula's
1824. Aug.

Roll of the negroes in Bedford, according to their ages.

131

728. Sunday. 8. 1811
 43. Jarne Hubbard
 47. Cate.
 Bass. Guinea Will's
 49. Betty. island.
 53. Will. Smith.
 Abby.
 66. Dinah.
 67. Dick
 Sep. Hal. Smith.
 70. Jan. Hannah. Cate's
 71. May. Such. Bass's 8. 11.
 Armistead. Hubbard's
 72. Jarne Hates's
 Nov. Jesse. Ind. camp Will's
 73. Oct. Rachael Cate's.
 Cate's.
 74. Sep. Caesar. Bass's.
 75. Austin. id. Betty's
 76. Oct. Maria. Cate's.
 77. Nov. Sal. Will's.
 78. July. Nanny. Phil's.
 Aug. Gerson. id. Betty's
 79. Aug. Cate's.
 81. Oct. Dick. Will's.
 82. Flora. Will's.
 July. Lucy. Phil's.
 83. Mar. 8. Cate. Betty's.
 Mar. Cate. Such's.
 Aug. Tanny. Will's.
 Aug. Sally. Cate's.
 89. Mar. Aggy. Dinah's.
 90. Sep. Daniel. Bass's.
 91. June. Lucinda. Hannah's.
 92. Jan. Moses. Dinah's.
 Jan. Mary. Id. Betty's.
 Apr. Edy. Will's.
 93. Raubon. Hannah's.
 94. Manueh. Will's.
 Stephen. Such's.
 Eunice. Dinah's.
 Edmon. Hannah's.
 95. Hercules. Hercules's.
 96. Aug. Hannah. Dinah's.
 97. Jan. Amy. Will's.
 Mar. Betty. Sally's.
 Aug. Cate. Rachael's.
 98. Feb. 26. Maria. Nanny's.
 Sally. Hannah's.
 99. Ambrose. Such's.
 Lucy. Dinah's.
 Billy. Hannah's.
 Mary. Maria's.
 1801. Jan. Betty. Sally's.
 Joe. Rachael's.
 Aug. Phill. Nanny's.
 1802. Jan. 1. Dinah's.
 04. Prince. Such's.
 July. Gerson. Flora's.
 Sep. Johnny. Maria's.
 Nov. Abby. Sall's.
 05. Robin. Lucy's.
 Lania. Rachael's.
 Aug. Tanny. Hannah's.
 Dec. Bonley. Dinah's.
 06. May. Joe. Such's.
 May. Milly. Nanny's.
 June. Davy. Such's. Cate's.
 July. Jossey. Eve's.
 Aug. Edy. Sall's.
 Sep. Alex. Flora's.
 07. Feb. Rachael. Tanny's.
 Nov. Sandy. Lucy's.
 Dec. 25. Glosier. Rachael's.
 08. Mar. Billy. Sally's.
 May. George. Dinah. Nanny's.
 July. Phill. Hannah's.
 Oct. Billy. Flora's.
 09. Jan. 31. Martin. Sall's.
 Apr. Shepherd. Such's.
 May. Dorcas. Tanny's.
 May. Burnwell. Eve's.
 Aug. 8. Melinda. Lucinda's.
 Oct. Edmund. Hannah's.
 Nov. Isaac. Maria's.
 10. Apr. 14. Anderson. Sally's.
 May 26. Washington. Rachael's.
 June 20. Barnaby. Edy's 19. 10.
 Aug. Anderson. Nanny's.
 11. Apr. 11. Moses. Will's. Sally's.
 June 1. John. Such's. Cate's.
 July. Rhody. Tanny's.
 Dec. 1. Boston. Flora's.
 12. Feb. 15. Nancy. Edy's.
 May 12. George. Wad. Hannah's.
 June 8. Janetta. Nanny's.
 Oct. 26. Dolly. Maria's.
 Nov. 2. Rebecca. Lucinda's.
 17. Mary. Anne. Will's. Sal.
 17. Henry. Cate's. Sally's.
 Dec. 14. Sally's. Aggy's.
 13. Apr. Zacharias. Nanny's.
 July 21. Sandy. Milly's.
 14. Apr. Solomon. Cate's. Such's.
 Aug. Ellen. Nanny's.
 Sep. Gabriel. Mary's. Betty's.
 Dec. 16. Wilkison. Durbin. Flora's.
 15. Jan. 1. Harriet. Sall's. [Will's].
 18. Anne. Amy's.
 Aug. 2. Dick. Hannah's.
 Sep. 28. James. Washington. N.
 16. June 2. Martha. Anne. T.
 26. Jane. Milly's.
 Aug. 2. Nelly. Lucinda's.
 Sept. 1. Mahala. Amy's.
 17. Apr. 6. Emily. Cate's. Such's.

1818 Jan. 16. Madison. Amy's.

Feb. 8. Francis. Flora's.

18. Alfred. Grason. Sal. [Will's].

May 2. Nancy. Sal. Hubbard's.

July 16. James. Hubbard. Maria's. [Nanny's].

Dec. 14. Matilda. Betty's.

19. Jan. 11. Harry. Anne. Niece's.

Mar. 10. Thimston. Edy's.

20. Amy. Hubbard's.

21. Apr. Aggy. Sally's.

May. Sally's.

June. William. Edy's.

July. William's.

1819. Beverly. Such's. Cate's.

Eliza. Anne. Nanny's.

20. Davy. Lewis. Amy's. 1. Q in 21.

21. Feb. George. Nidy's.

Dolly. Sally's. Will's.

Mar. Grandison. Betty's. Sally's.

May. William. Nanny's.

Mahala. Tanny's.

July. William. Maria's. Nanny's.

Oct. Burnwell. Flora's.

22. Sophia. Lucinda's.

Judy. Amy's.

Milney. Abby's. Sally's.

Frederic. May's.

	1809, 10	11, 12	12, 13	13, 14	14, 15	15, 16	16, 17	17, 18	18, 19	20, 21	21, 22	22, 23
work horses	2.	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1			
mules	10	10	13	11	8	9	11	9	6			
breeding mares		1	2									
colts	1.	1	3	1	1	1						
shears & butts		2.5	2	2	2	2	2+1	4	6			
cows	6	8	7	8	9	13	11	12	12			
cattle 3 y. old male				1								
female		1		4	2			3				
2 y. o. male				1			3					
female				2	1							
yearlings	3.		4	4		3			4			
calves		1	1	1				2	1			
ewes above 6 y. old wethers	16	2 ram	4	4	4+11	13	14+11	14+7				
ewes from 1. to 6 y. o.	11		40	29	27	27	24	42	63			
lambs of last year	8		20	20	20	11	27					
sows & boars	9.	4+1	4+1	5	6	6+2	8	10				
sheats	42	16	11	10	37	46+16	42	35	97			
pigs	9	18		20	38	44	53	65				
bacon hogs killed	40.	34	14	13	29	66	62	70	84			
beavers killed	22+8	19	2				3	3				
work horses	8.	9	10	9	8	6+3	7					
mules						1	2					
breeding mares												
colts												
shears & butts	9.	4+1	4+1	6+1	8	10	8					
cows above 3 y. o.	9.	14	10	10	12	11	9					
cattle 3 y. o. male		2	2	0		1	1					
female	5	4			2							
2 y. o. male	4		2	9		1	1					
female			5		4	4						
yearlings			8	3	3	9	6					
calves	2	7	2		8		1					
ewes ab 6 wethers rams		7+2+1	11	11.8		14						
ewes from 1. to 6	14.	50	55	41	46	31	40					
lambs of last year			10	24	12	19	11					
sows & boars	8.	10	7	4	8	9	8					
sheats	8.	46	18	33	29	44	39					
pigs	42.	16		37	40	24	38					
bacon hogs killed	13.	62	20	29	29	49	33					
beavers killed		4	3		3	2						
work horses	3		4	4	4	4	3					
mules			2	1	2	2	2					
breeding mares												
colts												
shears & butts			5+1	4+1	4	4	5					
cows above 3 y. old			7	6	6	5	5					
cattle 3 y. o. male			1	1	2							
female				2			2					
2 y. o. male			2	2	2	6	2					
female			2		2	4	2					
yearlings			2	5	4	3	5					
calves			3		2	2						
ewes ab 6 wethers rams			7	7.5	6+1	4						
ewes from 1. to 6 y. o.			10	3	16	13	16					
lambs of last year				8	7	8	5					
sows & boars			5+1	4	5	5	4					
sheats			21	17		16	17					
pigs					15	16						
bacon hogs killed			15	14	16	10	18					
beavers killed			1		2	2						

Poplar Forest
Bear Creek

	09.10	10.11	11.12	12.13	13.14	14.15	15.16	16.17	17.18	18.19	19.20
work horses	7	6		6	5	5	5	6	8	8	6
mules											
breeding mares					7+1			1	1	1	1
colts											
sheeps & bulls	6+1	4+1	11	8+1		4+2	3	4	8	11+1	8
cows	25	8	21	8	9	7	8		7	7	8
cattle 3 y.o. male	3										2
female	6		21	10	4	2	1		3	2	3
2 y.o. male	5			4							1
female	6						4				4
yearlings	2				2	3	4		3	3	
calves	9	1	5	5	5	4	3		5	5	4
ewes ab. 6 wethers, rams	16	4	2 rams		6 1/2	8+6	21	11	16	18	23
ewes from 1. to 6 y.o.	17	27	37	26	30	12		21	38	32	48
lambs of this year	13			26	18	3	16	23	21	21	21
sows & boars	11	10+2	81	11+1	9+1	5	8	11		84	9
shoots	84	45		50	50	7		58		45	72
pigs	10	59				28	45			34	21
bacon hogs killed	32	50	47	40	43+	21	20	47		43	38
beaver killed	7	3	4	2	1	2	1				
work horses	4	4		8	6	5	4	6		8	8
mules											
breeding mares	1	1									
colts	1	1				2	2				1
sheeps & bulls	3+2	4+1		6	4	2	2	4		63.1	4+1
cows	5	7+8	5	5	8	7	5			8	9
cattle 3 y.o. male		6									2
female	3	4		7		2	3			1	3
2 y.o. male		5									
female		2		2							4
yearlings	4	8			4	2				4	
calves	5		5	4	3	4	3			5	7
ewes ab. 6 wethers, rams		10	26 we thens	8	2+1	7	24	8		11	15
ewes from 1. to 6 y.o.				14	11	18		13		19	9
lambs of last year		15			4	3	6	8		11	4
sows & boars	9	8+2	64	9+1	10+1	6	5	10		8.1	8
shoots	55	37		25	35	13	18	29		57	36
pigs	25	13		5		16	26	34		37	22
bacon hogs killed	18	34	28	32	32+	34	6	35		46	37
beaver killed				2	2			1			

sows and boars . . . 6.
shoots . . . 31.
pigs . . . 8.
bacon hogs killed

Bread List Feb. 1810.

Monkicello House	Farm	Tuflon	Iego
Burwell & fam. 6	James	Baquet	Charles
Edy	Cretia	Minerva	Aggy } $2\frac{1}{2}$
James	John	Virginia	Isaac } $1\frac{1}{2}$
Maria	Randal	Esther	Davy Brod } $1\frac{1}{2}$
Lovilo	Henry	Nanny	Lewis } $1\frac{1}{2}$
Amey	Milly	Willis	Sally Lewis } 1
Thurston	Jerry	Archy	Scilla Red } 1
Davy	Mary	Mary Baquet	Nancy } $2\frac{3}{4}$
Fanny	Suckey	Washington	child } $2\frac{3}{4}$
Ellen	Isaiah	Caesar	Israel
Aggy	Jerry	Ben	Tom Buck } $1\frac{1}{2}$
John Hemmings	Jupiter	Phyll Hubbard	Goodman } 6
et ux	Squire	Ned	<u>10</u>
Cartha	Bee	Dick	
Sally	Davy	Gill	
Beverly	Isabel	Jesse	
Harriet	Indridge	Abram	
Madison	Thrimson	Rachael	
Eston	Thrimson	Nanny	
Betty Bram	Jenny Red's	Eliza	
Edwin	James	Ellen	
Robert	Moses	Thenia	
Mary	Suckey	Dolly	
Wormley	Senny Lewis	Lilly	
Ursula	Evelina	Anderson	
Joe	James	Stannard	
Anne	Isabel		
Dolly	Goliath		
the dogs	Amy John's		
Peter Hem. & fam. 7	Abram		
Moses	Doll		
Mary	Lazaria		
William	Shepherd		
Davy	Phyll		
Celia	Molly		
Nance	Barlett		
Joe	John Brod		
John	James Hubb		
Leard	Barnaby		
Tilla	Philip		
2 shoemakers	Nace		
house	Sancho		
	Tom		
	Edmund		
	Frederic		
	Tom Lee		
	Mr Bacon		
	Mr Starke		
	60 $\frac{3}{4}$		

1810.

June 25. began the wheat harvest at Monticello.

Nov. 9. 10. there fell in the course of 48. hours about $4\frac{3}{4}$ of rain. it raised the river to the brim of the bank between the mill dam & ford on this side and carried away the middle of the dam, & tore very much to pieces the Eastern $\frac{1}{2}$. it barely entered the lowest part of the low ground there & at Milton. the water was about 4. f. deep in the lowest floor of the manufacturing mill.

July. 11. recd. from Pop Forest as follows

Hogs killed Dec. 1810.

Bacon } 58
mell }
Mc Gehee 32 90.
Bedford 85.
175.

68. hams
81. shoulders
75 middlings
224
26. pieces beef
248
224. pieces equivalent to 375 lb
252 lb have come from the hogs
252

	Overseen	Negroes	House	
Bacon	4			
Mc Gehee	5			
Goodman	5			
Carson	3			
Starke	5			
Negroes		36		
Mont. House			32	
Pop. For H			36	90
Infant	10.		10	
Roberts	4.			
Negroes		25		85
	36	61	78	175

in the distribution 4. children count as 1. grown person

the spinning girls count as $\frac{1}{2}$

the nails boys count as 1.

once a month to the House list

* changed to 42.84

Bacon's 116 26
Mc Gehee 100 23
Goodman's 50 11
400 90

136 vs. 30 ration

Monticello.

House	Farm	Tafton	Lego.
Burwell } 2 + 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Edwin } 1 Joe } 2 + 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Edy } Davy } 2 + 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Fanny } Amy } 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cilla } 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Sally } 2 + 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bet } 1 + 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pet. Hem. } 2 + 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Nance } 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Moses } 2 + 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Mary } Wormley } 2 + 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Ursula } John Hem } 2. Lewis } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ James } 1. John Gard } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Red } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ 134	James } 2 + 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cretha } Suckey } Bee } Indridge } 2 Evelina } Larania } L's Jenny } 1 + 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Davy } 2 + 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Isabel } Shepherd } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Abram } 2. Doll } Thurston } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ L's Jane } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Phillip } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Nace } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Samco } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Jenny } 2 + 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Mary } John Bed } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Barlett } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Isaac } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Amy } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ N's Jenny } 1 + 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Molly } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Tom } 23 + 15	Bagwell } 3 + 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Minerva } Caesar } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Ben } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Phill. Hub } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Red } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Dick } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Gill } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Jesse } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Abram } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Virginia } 1. Esther } 1. Mary } 1 + 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rachael } 1 + 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Nanny } 1 + 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Thenia } 1. Dolly } 1. Lilly } 1 + 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 100	Charles } 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Aggy } 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lewis } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Davy Bed } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Solomon } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Moses } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Sally } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Scilla } 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Eve } 1 + 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lucy } 1 + 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 50
25 + 25	23 + 15	19 + 11	10 + 4

1810. Dec.										1810										1811. June 10									
name	age	sex	color	hair	eyes	teeth	ears	nose	mouth	name	age	sex	color	hair	eyes	teeth	ears	nose	mouth	name	age	sex	color	hair	eyes	teeth	ears	nose	mouth
Barnaby	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Barnaby	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Mr. James	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lilly	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Lilly	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Bro. J. J.	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Joe	7	5 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Anderson	2	1 3/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	great con	2	1 3/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Edy	7	5 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Stannard	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1811. June 10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
James	05	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	John	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Summer cloth	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mania	07	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Army	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Joe	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Davy	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ned	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Davy J.	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Fanny	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Jenny	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Moses	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ellen	09	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Aggy	98	4 3/4	3 3/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	Wormley	98	4 3/4	3 3/4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Army	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Israel	00	4	3 1/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	James	00	4	3 1/4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Grilla	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Moses	03	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	John Henr.	03	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sally	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Sucky	06	2	1 3/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	Lewis	06	2	1 3/4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Beverly	98	4 3/4	2	1 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	Molly	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Davy	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Harriet	01	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Bagwell	7	5 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Shepherd	01	5 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Madison	05	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Minerva	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Abraham	05	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Eden	08	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Bec.	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Thomson	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Betty Brown	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Nanny	08	4	3 1/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	Philips	08	4	3 1/4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Robert	99	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Willis	06	2	1 3/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	Nace	06	2	1 3/4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mary	01	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Archy	08	1 1/3	1 1/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	Samco	01	1 1/3	1 1/4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Peter Hemmings	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	many	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Beverly	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nance	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Washington	05	2 1/2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	James B.	05	2 1/2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Moses	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Virginia	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Barnaby	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mary	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ethier	95	5 3/3	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	John Sam	95	5 3/3	2	3	1	1	1	1	1
William	01	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Caesar	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ned	01	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Davy	03	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ben	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Bagwell	03	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Elia	06	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Phil Hub	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Caesar	06	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Worms	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ned	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ben	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ursula	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Dick	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Phil Hub	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Joe	09	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Gill	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ned J.	09	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Anne	07	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Jesse	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Dick	07	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dolly	09	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Abram	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Gill	09	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
James	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Rachael	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Jesse	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
John	00	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Lazaria	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Abraham J.	00	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Randal	02	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Elisa	05	2 1/3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Isaac	02	2 1/3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Henry	03	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ellen	08	1 1/3	1 1/4	1	1	1	1	1	1	Charles	03	1 1/3	1 1/4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Milly	07	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Nancy	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Lewis J.	07	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lilburn	09	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Thenia	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Davy Bud	09	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
John Hemmings	7	5 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Dolly	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	John Bud	7	5 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lewis	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Isaac	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Barlet	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jenny	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Charles	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	James Bud	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
James	95	5 2/3	2 1/2	2	1	1	1	1	1	Aggy	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Tom	95	5 2/3	2 1/2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Eulima	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Lewis	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2 1/2 H. south	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Isabel	00	4	3 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Sally	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Tommy L.	00	4	3 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Davy	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Scilla	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Isabel	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Isabel	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Davy Bud	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Doll	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Indridge	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	John Bud	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Lilly	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thrimston	99	4 3/3	3 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Barlet	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Army	99	4 3/3	3 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lovilo	01	3 2/3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	James Bud	98	8	4 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Jenny R.	01	3 2/3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Shepherd	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	James Hubert	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Minerva	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Abraham	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	kind	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Mary Bag	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Doll	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Tom	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Virginia	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thruston	98	5 2/3	2 1/2	2	1	1	1	1	1	Tom Buck	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Ethier	98	5 2/3	2 1/2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Philip	96	5 1/3	2 1/4	2	1	1	1	1	1	Tom Lee	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Rachael	96	5 1/3	2 1/4	2	1	1	1	1	1
Nace	96	5 1/3	2 1/4	2	1	1	1	1	1	Fredenic	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	Nancy	96	5 1/3	2 1/4	2	1	1	1	1	1
Samco	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Nancy	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	Thenia	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jerry	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	child	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Doll	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mary	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1											Aggy	7	3	2 1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sucky	96	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											Sally	96	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Isiah	00	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											Scilla	00	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jerry	02	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											3 1/2 H. east	02	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Supiter	04	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1											Eve	04	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
																				Lucy									
																									</				

1811. Apr. 28. gave proto to Eve, Lucy & Scilla at Lego. also to Sally Lewis;
May 28. gave a sifter & a proto to Bedford John and his wife Virginia. also a bed.

June 26. acc^t. of the sales of my flour sent to Richmond, viz
from Alb. 370
Bedf. 231

601. of which 56 sold @ $9\frac{3}{8}$

~~339~~ 339 @ $9\frac{1}{2}$

152 @ 9

547 5113.50

54 estimated 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ 495.

601 5608.50

averaging p. Bar. 9.27

roll, storage, cooperage, inspection, fines, commⁿ. 296.11

freight averaging $3\frac{1}{2}$ = .62 $\frac{1}{2}$

375.50

Nett

4941.39

nett - 8.16

June 27. began harvest at Tipton. red headed sheet.

July 11. finished sheet harvest.

16. finished oat do.

1808	1809	1810.	1808	1809	1810.
Edy	Burnwell	Peter Hem		Molly	Jerry
	James	Nance		Barthel	Mary
Davy, J. & Co.	Maria	John Hem			(Sarah
	Fanny				Jerry
	Army				Supiler
	Grilla		Ned.	Scilla	(Israel
Sally.	Harnist		Jenny	Gill	Moses
	Madison		Ned. J.		Sucky
	Eston	Betty Brown.	Dick		
	Robert		Bagwell	Minerva	Manny
	Mam	James Ned's	Marion	Virginia	Willis
Mary	William		Charles	Esther.	Archy
Mary	Davy		Barnaby	Aggy.	Mary Baggs
	Celia.			Lilly	(Anderson
Wormley	Ursula.		Caesar	Grace	Stannard
	(Joe	Davy	James Hubbard	Phil Hubbard	Ben
	Anne	Isabel	Davy Bedf ^d	Thurston	Sucky
	Dolly	(Thurston	John Bedf ^d	Philip	Indridge
James	(Milly	(Lorlo.		Nace	Larana
Gratia	Lilburne			Sanes	Bae.
John	Army.	John.		Beverly	Evelina
Randal			Beds. 1809	1810.	
Henry			Edy	Isabel	
Lewis.	Jenny L's	Isabel L's	Fanny	Doll	
Lewis. young.	Jesse	James L's	Sally	Rachael	
	Sally.		Mary Moss	Nancy	
	Shepherd	Abram	Ursula	Molly	
	Thonia	Doll	Nance	Aggy	
Rachael	Dolly.	(Eliza	Grilla	Mary Lewis	
		Ellen	Betty Brown	Lilly	
	Nance		Army		

Estimate of corn necessary for Monticello from Jan. 15. to Nov. 1. 1812.

bread. 100. pecks = 25 bushels a week for 40. weeks Bar.
200
from 1st Sat. of Jan. to last Sat. of Oct. 40. weeks
 to be drawn from the rent of the tollmill @ 5. Bar. a week 200.

The Stable. suppose 7. horses @ 2 gall. a day is 2 1/2 bar. a week 25. weeks 62 1/2
 to be drawn at a wagon load of 7 1/2 Bar. ~~25~~ weeks from Tufton 62

Stock. 3 horses @ 6. gall. & 10. mules @ 1 1/2. gall. a day for 90. days }
 the same at half allowance after grass comes 90. days more } 65.
 a mare & colt @ 2. gall. between them 90. days 4 1/2
 23. grown hogs @ 1. ear a piece a day 75. days 4 1/2
 60. sheep @ 1/2 pint of meal a day 75. days 7
 2. beeves @ 1 1/2 gallon a day each for 30. days 2 1/2
 2. do 75. 5 1/2
 heretofore recd from Tufton 27 Bar 89
 to be still brought from thence 33
 to be bought 29 89

3 milch cows @ 1. peck of bran a day. pr. week 21. pecks
 2 oxen @ 1. peck of bran a day besides chaff 14
 3. other cows 35
21 = 8.3

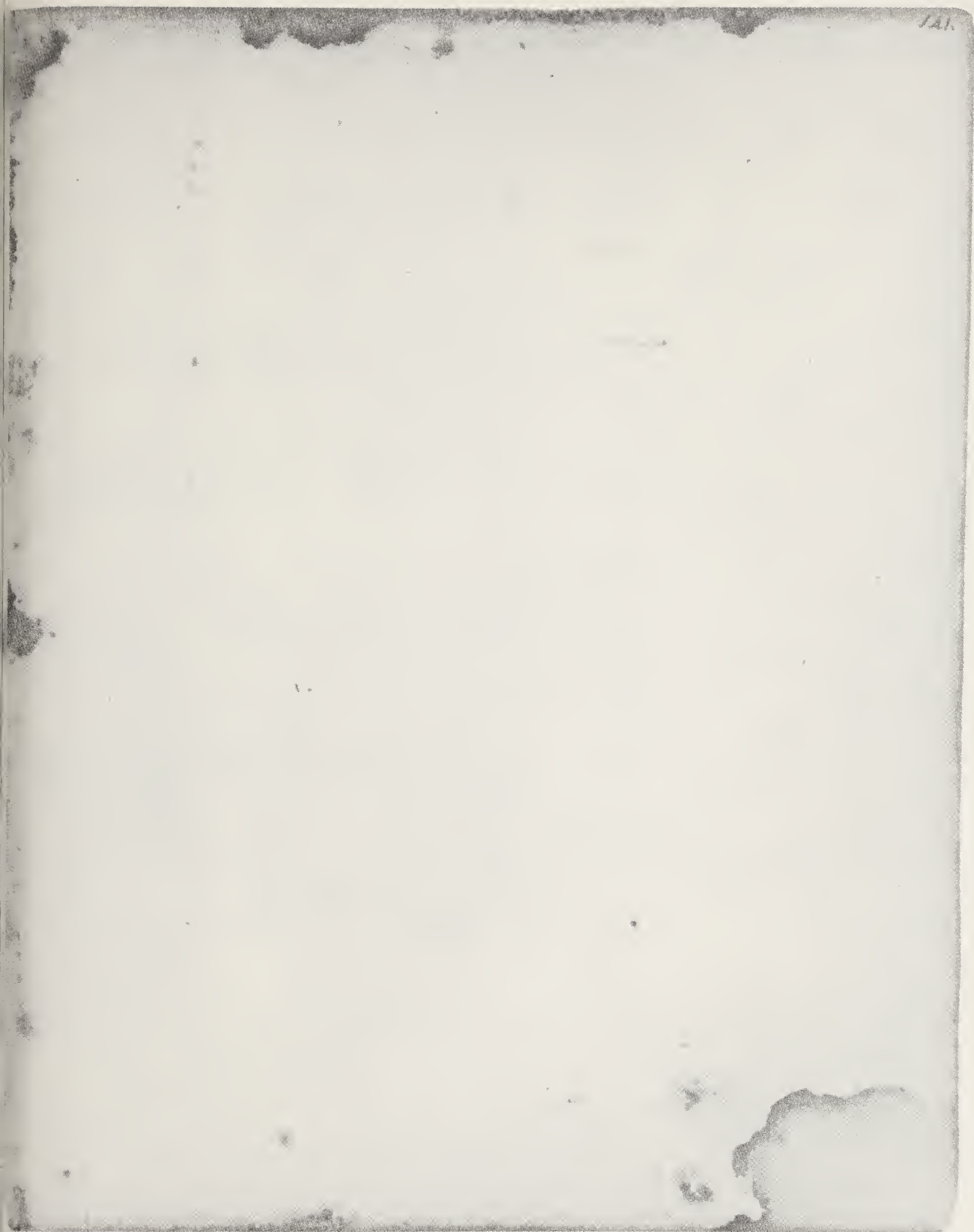
Estimate for Tufton
 bread @ 31. pecks a week. 40. w. B
62
 9 horses. at the above rates 60
 56. hogs as above 10 1/2
 3. beeves as above at 50. day 5 1/2
 60. sheep as above 75. days 7
145.
 the gage of the corn in the barn 125
 deficiency to be economised 20
 7. milch cows at the above rates 147.6
 4. oxen at 10. both for 12 weeks 84
231.

of the 95. (in a B.) to 27 B. from Tufton
 33. to be sent to E. Bacon
 62. for the stable
95

Estimate for Lego.
 bread. 27. pecks a week for 40. weeks B
54.
 2 horses & 2. mules as above 22 1/2
 35 hogs as above 6 1/2
 3. beeves as above for 60. days 6 3/4
 16. sheep as above 2.
91 3/4
 the corn gaged at 69.
 deficiency to be economised 22 3/4
 2. milch cows 42
 2. oxen 42
84

112. Dec				line	hand	bed	note	gift	line	hand	bed	note	gift	Summer clothes
Barnwell.									Jerry					✓ Joe 139
Davin									Mary					✓ Mary
Joe.		7	5 1/2		1	-	1		Sucky	96	6 1/2	5		✓ Moses.
Edy.		7	5 1/2		1	-	1		Isaiath	00	5	4		✓ Wormly
James	05	7	5		-	1			Jerry	02	4-1	3-2		✓ James
Maria.	07	3 1/3	2 3/4						Jupiter	04	3-2	3-		✓ James
Patsy.	10	2 3/4	2 1/4						Barnaby		7	5 1/2		✓ John Hem.
Betsy.	12	1 1/4	1 1/2						Lilly		7	5		✓ Lilly Bedd.
Davy		1	1						Stanard	09	2	1-3		✓ Lewis
Tranny		7	5 1/2						Lucy	11	1-1	1-1		✓ Davy
Ellen	09	7	5		1	1			John		7	5 1/2		✓ Shepherd
Jenny	11	2	1 3/4						Amy		7	5		✓ Abram
Trilla.		1 1/2	1 1/4						Ned		7	5 1/2		✓ Philip
Sally.		7	5		1	1			Jenny		7	5		✓ Nace
Barnaby	98	7	5						Aggy	98	5 1/2	4 1/2		✓ Sance
Harriet.	01	5 2/3	4 1/2						Isaac	00	5	4		✓ James L.
Mariam.	05	4 2/3	3 1/2		1				Moses	03	4	3-1		✓ Jerry
Esten.	08	3 1/2	2 3/4						Sucky	06	3	2-2		✓ Barnaby
Betty Brown		2 1/2	2						Bazwell		14	14		✓ John G.
Robert	99	7	5						Minerva		7	5		✓ Ned.
Mary	01	5 1/3	4						Ann	07	6	4 3/4		✓ Baywell
Peter Hem		4 2/3	3 3/4						Flanny	00	5	4-		✓ John B.
Lance		7	5 1/2						W. Ellis	06	3	2-2		✓ Caesar
Moses.		7	5						Archy	08	2-1	2-		✓ Ben
Mary		7	5 1/2						Jordan	11	1-1	1-1		✓ Dick B.
William	01	7	5						Mary		7	5		✓ Charles
Davy.	03	4 2/3	3 3/4						Washington	05	3-1	2-3		✓ Dick B.
Celia.	06	4	3 1/4						John Bedd.		7	5 1/2		✓ Ned J.
Tucker	10	3	2 1/2						Virginia		7	5		✓ Dick H.
Zacharia.	12	1 1/2	1 1/2						Robert	11	1-1	1-1		✓ Gill
Wormly		1	1						Eother.	98	7	5		✓ Jesse
Theresa.		7	5 1/2						Caesar		7	5		✓ Abram
Joe.	05	7	5						Ben.		7	5		✓ Isaac
Anne	07	3 1/3	2 3/4						Dick Bedd.		7	5 1/2		✓ Charles
Dolly	09	2 3/4	2 1/4						Ned J.		7	5 1/2		✓ Davy B.
Cornelius.	11	2	1 3/4						Dick Ned.		7	5 1/2		✓ Bartel
James.		1 1/2	1 1/4						Gill		7	5 1/2		✓ James H.
Frederica.		7	5 1/2						Jesse.		7	5 1/2		✓ James B.
John	00	7	5						Abram		7	5 1/2		✓ Moses
Randal.	02	5	4						Nathaniel		7	5		✓ Solomon
Henry	05	4-1	3-2						Lanaria	97	7	5		✓ Beverly
Milly	07	3-1	2-3						Elisa	08	3-1	2-3		✓ Thirionston
Lilburn	09	2-2	2-1						Ellen	08	2-1	2		✓ Lovilo
Matilda.	11	2	1-3						Mommy		7	5		✓ S. Ball.
John Hem.		1-1	1-1						Therise		7	5		✓ Jenny L.
Lewis.		7	5						Isaac.		7	5 1/2		✓ Habel
Jenny		7	5 1/2						Charles		7	5		✓ Indridge
James	95	7	5						Aggy		7	5		✓ Doll
Evelina	97	6 2/3	5						Polley	10	1-2	1-2		✓ Mary
Daniel	00	5	4						Ann		7	5		✓ Sucky
Davy.		7	5 1/2						Lilly		7	5		✓ Lilly
Isabel.		7	5						S. Ball		7	5		✓ Amy
Thirionston	99	5-1	4-1						James	11	1-1	1-1		✓ Jenny H.
Lovilo	01	4-2	3-3						Davy Bedd.		7	5 1/2		✓ Minerva
Indridge	97	7	5						Davidet		7	5 1/2		✓ Mary
Shepherd		7	5 1/2						James Bedd.	16	6 1/2	5		✓ Virginia
Abram		7	5 1/2						Nathaniel		7	5		✓ Eother
Doll.		7	5						Joe	01	4-2	3-3		✓ Michael
Thurston.	95	7	5						Lania.	05	3-1	2-3		✓ Michael
Philip.	96	6 1/2	5						Gloria.	07	2-2	2-1		✓ Mary
Nace.	96	6 1/2	5						Washington	10	1-2	1-2		✓ Aggy
Sance.	97	6 1/2	5						Eve		7	5		✓ Sully
									Jossy.	06	3	2-2		✓ Rachael B.
									Barnwell	00	2	1-2		✓ Sully

	Am		West	East				
Lucy	7	5						
Robin os.	2-1	2-3						
Sandy. 07	2-2	2-1						
Moses.	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$						
Solomon	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$						
Tom [hind]	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1					



Dec. 1811. 14. 17	1812. 15. 18	1813. 16. 19	1814. 14. 17	1815. 15. 18	1816. 16. 19
Burnell Edy. Edy. Rory j ^r Sally Robert gg. no th 11 (Mary 01 X Moses Smith Mary Wormley James Cretia. X John 00 X Brandal 02 Davy Lewis. Lewis j^r Sally L. X Rachael. Ned Jonny X Ned j ^r 06 X Dick 90. X Scilla. 94 X Larry. 11 X Rachael. X Gordon 11 X John Bedf ^r	Joe X (James) 05 (Mary) 07 Fanny Cretia. Harriet 01. (Madison 05 Eston 08 Devery 98. William 01. (Davy 03 Ursula (Joe 05 (Anne 07 (Henry 03 (Milly 07. Thomson 93 Amy. Jonny L. Lasse. Shepherd X Thoma Dolly X Nancy X Abram j ^r X Bartlet X Aggy 98 Gill 92 X Emma.	Peter Hemmings John Hemmings (Patsy 10) 11 (Patsy 12) 11 (Ellen 09 (Jonny 11 Nance. Billy 11. Betty Brown. B. Bedf. (Celia 06. (Jucker 10 (Dolly 09 (Cornelius 11 (Lilburn 09. (Matilda 11 Isabel Thomson 99 Lanta 01 Indridge. 97 John. Isabel L's 00 James L. 95 X Euclina. 97 Abram Doll (Eliza 05. X (Ellen 08. X Lazzara. 97. Jonny Thom X Isaac 00 X (Jonny 02 Jupiter 04 Israel 00 (Moses 03 (Suckey 06 M. James. 96 (Nanny 00 (Willis 06 X Mary Bager Dec. 97.	X Charles Barnaby. Caesar X Davy. Bedf ^r X (Jon. 01. (Larry 05. X (Gloria 07. (Washington. 10. X (Jossey. 06 (Burnwell 09. X (Robin. 05 (Sandy 07. X Lick. Bedf ^r Phill. Bedford. Beds 1811. 14. 17 X Minerva (Jonny. Ned. Amy John. Jonny L's Sally L's X Scilla Ursula X Rachael Bedf ^r X Virginia. Indridge Isabel	Aggy Polly. 10. X Little Isaac. X Philip 96 Nace 96 Sanco. 97. X Rachael Bedf ^r X (Jon. 01. (Larry 05. X (Gloria 07. (Washington. 10. X (Jossey. 06 (Burnwell 09. X (Robin. 05 (Sandy 07. X Lick. Bedf ^r Phill. Bedford. 1812. 15. 18 Edy Fanny Sally Mary. Mosu. Nance. Cretia Cretia Betty Brown X Esther X Suckey	1813. 16. 19 (Stannard. 09. X Lucy 11. X Ben. X Suckey. 96. X James Bedf ^r X Eve. X Lucy. X Moses B. 92 X Solomon 94. 1816. 16. 19 Isabel Doll X Rachael Thoma Aggy Mary. Jonny. X Lilla. X Eve X Lucy X Mary Bager. X Maria. X Milly

1810
Davy, David
Moses
Wormley
James, New
Lewis
Red
Dagwell
Charles
Barnaby
Caesar
Davy Belf
John Belf
Robert
Joe
Isaac
John Hem
Davy
John
Abram
Jenny
Don
Jenny Red
Minnie
Billy B.
Johnny
Dolly
Nancy
Virginia
Esther
Lilly
Mary Bap
Jama, L's
Indie
Larson
1811
Dick
Nady
Buckey Tom
Shepherd
Abram
Barthel
Gill
Evelina
Philip
Nace
Sanco
Beverly
Isaiah
William
Rachael
Jenny
Jenny Lewis
Isabel
Doll
Scilla
Nancy Bap
Isabel
Nancy
Dick Belf
Moses Belf
Solomon
Damon Belf
Rachael Belf
Joe

1810
Nance
John Hem
Jenny L
Isabel
Lilly
Jenny
Jenny M.
Minnie
Rachael
Aggy
Sally L
1811
Virginia
Burmwell
Cilla
Sally
Betty Bap
Pet. Heming
Mary Mose
Ursula
Celia
John Hem
Doll
Mary Sem
Mary Bap
Caesar
Isaac
Scilla
Rachael
Eve
Lucy
Dick Dick
1813
Caesar

1812. June 29. began the wheat harvest
July 10. finished it, to wit in 11. days.
quantity. Tuffon 150 + Lego 50 + Monticello 55 = 255 ^{acres} 11 = 23
15 cradles employed, cut 23. a day, or a little over 1 1/2 a piece

distribution of people. 15. cradlers
15. binders
4. stackers
16. gatherers
2. cooks
3. water carriers
55

July 11. began to cut rye
Dec. 29. delivered 20. new bags to Mr Burnley. of 2. yds of thickness
42 bushels each

1813. Feb. 1. gave S. Bacon order on the mill for 20.
bushels of bran a week from this day, of my own offal.

June 28. harvest begins at	Tuffon	Lego	Mont ^o
Nov. 18. wheat corn. threshed	256		52 1/2
hogs pick up to fatten	31		14.

Corn bought Nov. Dec 1813			
	B	S	P
+ Craven Payton	84-0-0	@ 20/ =	280 payable Mar. 1.
+ Rd. B. Shreshly	69.	@ 20/ =	230. May. 10.
+ Richard Bruce	20.	@ 17/ =	56.67 Jan. 3. +
+ Joshua Key.	40-1-1	@ 18/ =	120.75 Apr. 4
+ William Stevens	30-	@ 18/ =	90. Apr. 4
+ John Rothwell	14-	@ 18/ =	42. Mar. 7.
William Stevens	35	@ 18/ =	105 June 6
Daniel T. Carr	80	@ 18/ =	240 June 11.
			1761

of the above corn 54-1-1 deliv^d to Mr Ham.

1813. Dec. Hogs killed Bacon. 8. to the house. 5. to himself
Tuffon 20. - - - - 5.
Lego 8 - - - - 5

Continuation of hat list			
1816		1817	
Robert	99	Isaiah	00
Billy B		Billy Mose	01
Thomson	00	Joe Bap	
Johnny W's			

1813 Dec																			
Abram old	7	3	2 1/2	1						Israel	2	5	2 1/2	1 1/2	1				gr. coal
Doll	7	2	3	1	1	1				James Is	7	3	2 1/2						?
Abram junr	7	3	2 1/2		1					Cretio	7	3	5						
Aggy. red. 98	5 3/4		4 1/2							John	0	5		4					
Bagwell	10	6	6		1					Randal	2	4 1/2		3 1/2					
Minerva	7	2	3							Henry	5	3 1/2		2 1/2					
Willis 6	3		2 1/2							Millie	7	2 1/2		2 1/2					
Archy 8	2 1/2		3							Lilburn	9	2		1 1/2					
Jordan 11	1 1/2		1 1/2							Mahilda	11	1 1/2		1 1/2					
Barnaby	7	3	2 1/2							Mary	13								
Bartlet	7	3	2 1/2		1					James Bedf.	7	3	2 1/2	1	1				
Ben	7	3	2 1/2	1	1					Rachael	11	7	2	3					1
Betty Brown	7		5	1						Joe		4 1/2		3 1/2					
Robert 99	5 1/2		4 1/2							Lania		3 1/2		2 1/2					
Mary 01	4 3/4		3 3/4							Gloster	17	2 1/2		2 1/2					
Beverly	7	3	2 1/2		1					Washington	20	1 1/2		1 1/2					
Billy Bedf. 99	5 1/2	2 1/2	2		1					Edmund 13									
Burnell										James Lewis	7	3	2 1/2	1					gr. coal
Caesar	7	3	2 1/2							James Red.	7	3	2 1/2	1					gr. coal
Charles	7	3	2 1/2							Jerry	7	3	2 1/2	1					
Aggy (Babich)	7	2	3		1	1				Isaiah	0	5		6					
Polly 10	12 1/2		1 1/2							Jerry	2	4 1/2		3 1/2	1				
Critta	7		5							Jupiter	4	3 1/2		3					
Dampier	7	3	2 1/2							Jesse	7	3	2 1/2						1
Deabel	7	2	3	1	1	1				Joe	7	3	2 1/2						
Davy junr	7	3	2 1/2							John Bedf.	7	3	2 1/2						
Fanny	7		5							Virginia	7	2	3						baby cl
Ellen 9	2		1 1/2							Robert	11	1 1/2		1 1/2					
Jenny 1 1/2	1 1/2		1 1/2							John Garden	7	3	2 1/2	1					
Davy Bedf.	7	3	2 1/2							Army	7	2	3						1
Dick Bedf.	7	3	2 1/2		1					John Hemings	7	3	2 1/2	1					
Dick. red.	7	3	2 1/2		1					Lararia	7	2	3	1	1				baby cl
Dolly 94	7		5							Lewis	7	3	2 1/2						
Edwin	7		5 1/2							Jenny	7	2	3						1
Edy	7		5							Isabel	0	5		4	1				
James 5	3 1/2		2 3/4							Lilly	7	2	3						1
Maria 7	2 1/2		2 1/2							Stannard 9	2		1 1/2						
Patsy 10	1 1/2		1 1/2							Lucy	11	1 1/2		1 1/2					1
Patsy 12	1		1							Lovilo	1	4 3/4	2	3 1/4	1				
Esther	7	2	3							Lucy	7	2	3	1	1	1			
Lindsay 10										Robin	5	3 1/2		2 1/2					
Eve	7	2	3	1	1	1				Sandy	7	2 1/2		2 1/2					
Joshua			2 1/2							Mary Bagh	7	2	3	1					1
Burns			1 1/2							Washington	5	3 1/2		2 1/2					
Evelina 99	7		5	1						Moses Smith	7	3	2 1/2						
Gill	7	3	2 1/2		1					Mary	7		5						
Indridge	7	2	3	1	1					William	1	4 1/2		3 3/4					
Isaac	7	3	2 1/2							Davy	3	4		3 1/2					
										Callie	6	3		2 1/2					
										Tucker	10	1 1/2		2 1/2					
										Zacharia 12	1			1					
										Moses Bedf.	7	3	2 1/2		1				

	Head	Neck	Waist	Length	Feet	Shoes	Shirting all Cotton	double cloth wool & cotton	single cloth wool & cotton	shirting Cotton & Thread
all	7	3	2 1/2	1						
will	7		5	1	1		41 men	287.48	226.48	
ancy	7	2	3				32 women	224	160	
anny, Bagu	5		4	1			61 children			137.48 180.48
ed	7	3	2 1/2				134	511	386	137 100 = 1214
Janey	7	2	3							
Moses	3	4	3 1/2							
Sucky	6	3	2 1/2							
ed jun	7	3	2 1/2	1			511 yds, all cotton	256		
ter Hennings	7		5 1/2	1			386 cotton & wool dble	103	206	
hilip	7	3	2 1/2	1			137 do single	36	54	
achael	7	2	3	1	1		180 cotton & thread	45		45
Eliza	5	3 1/2	2 3/4							
Ellen	8	2 1/2	2					440	260	45
lly	7		5				Summer clothes, all cotton			
Harriet	1	4 1/2	3 1/2				42 men @ 2 1/2 yds = 105			
Madison	5	3 1/2	2 3/4				27 women @ 3 yds = 81			
Eston	8	2 1/2	2				168 yds require 84 cotton			
mo	7	3	2 1/2	1						
illa	7	2	3	1						
Janny	11	1 1/2	1 1/2							
Tanny	13									
epherd	7	3	2 1/2	1						
omon	7	3	2 1/2	1	1					
cky	7	2	3	1	1					
henia	93	7	2	3						
rimston	99	5 1/2	2 1/2	2	1					
ormly	7	3	2 1/2							
Ursula	7		5							
Joe	5	3 1/2	2 3/4							
Anne	7	2 1/2	2 1/2							
Dolly	9	2	1 3/4							
Cornelius	11	1 1/2	1 1/2							
Thomas	13									
hired										
cur. Bacon	7	3	2 1/2	1						
Peter	7	3	2 1/2	1						

1814. Feb 5. a kiln of 27 cords yields 605 = 22 1/2 to 1/4 cord.
Feb 5 ordered distribution of 167.6 shipstuffs & 252.6 bran now
see me at the mill as follows
m Ballard 9 + 12
Ham 7. 10
Bacon 8 8 for the plantation } weekly
Jerry 2. for the house
the bran will then last 10 weeks
the shipstuffs 5 weeks, by which time we shall
have a screw to crush & grind corn & cobs together.
wheat sowed autumn 13 260 109 50 419. wheat
oats spring 14 40 50 20 110 oats
rye same 27 began wheat harvest
July 15. finish it
21 finished rye & oats

1814. Dec. 16

Offal allowed at the mill this year is 2 bush bran
 $\frac{1}{2}$ bush shipstuffs } for every barrel of flour

gave orders for Duffton 1.6 bush bran + 4. bush shipstuffs weekly

Monday 13

3

Tuesday 11

3

making 40

+ 10 which continued 15 weeks will be

600 bush bran

150 bush shipstuffs

1814. Dec.	shirts	wool	flannel	beds	trousers	hats	shoes	socks	gloves	other
Abram	7	5 1/2			1					
Doll	6	5			1					
Abram junr	7	5 1/2			1					
Aggy. Ned's 98	6	5 1/2			1					
Baquet	7	6	1		1					
Minerva	6	5			1	1				
Willis 6	3 1/2	2 1/2								
Archy 8	2 1/2	2 1/2								
Jordan 11	1 1/2	1 1/2	1							
Barnaby	7	5 1/2	1		1	1				
Barlett	7	5 1/2			1					
Ben	7	5 1/2			1					
Betty Brown	6	5			1					
Robert 99	5 1/2	4 1/2			1	1				
Mary 04	5	4	1		1					
Bevorly	7	5 1/2			1					
Billy. Red 99	5 1/2	4 1/2			1					
Burwell	7	5	1		1					
Caesar	7	5 1/2	1		1					
Charles	7	5 1/2	1		1	1				
Aggy (Isb)	6	5			1					
Polly	10	2	1 1/2							
Gritha	6	5			1	1				
Davy. 100. 100	6	5	1		1	1				
Davy 8	6	5	1		1	1				
Fanny	6	5			1					
Ellen	9	2 1/2	2							
Jenny	11	1 1/2	1 1/2							
Moses	14									
Davy B.	7	5 1/2	1		1	1				
Dick B.	7	5 1/2	1		1					
Dick. Ned's	7	5 1/2	1		1					
Dolly	6	5			1					
Edwin	7	5 1/2	1		1					
Edy	6	5	1		1					
James	5	3 1/2	3							
Maria	7	3	2 1/2							
Patsy	10	2	1 1/2							
Betsy	12	1 1/2	1 1/2							
Esther	6	5			1	1				
Lindsay	13	1	1							
Eve	7	5 1/2			1					
Joshua	6	3 1/2	2 1/2		1					
Burwell	9	2 1/2	2							
Evelina	97	6	5							
Gill	7	5 1/2			1					
Indridge	8	5			1					
Isaac	7	5 1/2			1	1				
Israel	0	5 1/2	4 1/2		1					
James foreman	7	5 1/2	1		1	1				
Cretia	6	5	1		1					
John	0	5 1/2	4 1/2		1					
Randal	2	4 1/2	3 1/2		1					
Henry	5	3 1/2	3							
Milly	7	3	2 1/2							
Lilburne	9	2 1/2	2							
Matilda	11	1 1/2	1 1/2							
James B.	7	5 1/2			1					
Rachael	7	5 1/2			1	1				
Joe	1	5	4		1					
Lania	5	3 1/2	3		1					
Gloster	7	3	2 1/2		1					
Washington	10	2	1 1/2		1					
Edmund	13	1	1							
James Lewis	7	5 1/2			1	1				
James Red's	7	5 1/2			1					
Serry	7	5 1/2			1	1				
Naiah	0	5 1/2	4 1/2		1					
Serry	2	4 1/2	3 1/2							
Jupiter	4	4	3 1/2							
Jesse	7	5 1/2			1					
Joe	7	5 1/2			1	1				
John B.	7	5 1/2	1		1	1				
Virginia	6	5			1	1				
Robert	11	1 1/2	1 1/2							
John garden	7	5 1/2			1	1				
Amey	6	5			1	1				

														147
	shirts	wool	blank	beds	hose	hats		shirts	wool	blank	beds	hose	hats	
Ann Hemmings	7	5 1/2			1	1	Thirionston	0	5 1/2	4 1/4		1	1	
ewis	7	5 1/2	1		1	1	Wormley	7	5 1/2	1		1	1	
my	6	5		1	1		Wrsula	6	5		1	1		
Wabel	0	5 1/2	4 1/2		1		Joc	5	3 3/4	3				
Lilly	6	5			1	1	Anne	7	3	2 1/2				
Stannard	9	2 1/3	2				Dolly	9	2 1/3	2				
Lucy	11	1 3/4	1 1/2				Cornelius	11	1 3/4	1 1/2				
ails	1	5	4		1	1	Thomas	13	1	1				
Lucy	6	5			1		hired. Lewis. Bad	7	5 1/2			1	1	
Robm.	5	3 3/4	3				Peter	7	5 1/2			1	1	
Sandy	7	3	2 1/2	1										
Molly	12													
Maria [Karana]	6	5			1									
Marshall	14													
Mary Bager	6	5			1	1								
Washington	5	3 3/4	3											
Roses Smith	7	5 1/2	1		1	1								
Nary	6	5	1		1									
William	1	5	4		1									
Davy	3	4 1/3	3 1/2											
Celia	6	3 1/3	2 3/4											
Tucker	10	2	1 3/4											
Zacharia	12	1 1/3	1 1/4											
Loses B.	7	5 1/2			1									
lace	7	5 1/2			1									
Nance	6	5			1									
Nancy	6	5			1	1								
Nanny Bagio	5 1/2	4 1/4			1									
ed.	7	5 1/2	1		1	1								
any	6	5	1	1	1	1								
Moses	3	4 1/3	3 1/2											
Sucky	6	3 1/3	2 3/4											
ed. J.	7	5 1/2	1		1									
Peter Hemmings	7	5 1/2			1									
Philip	7	5 1/2			1									
Rachael	6	5	1		1									
Eliza	5	3 3/4	3											
Ellen	8	2 3/4	2 1/4											
ally	6	5	1		1									
Harriet	1	5	4		1									
Madison	5	3 3/4	3											
Eston	8	2 3/4	2 1/4											
anco	7	5 1/2			1									
cilla	8	5	1	1	1									
Jamy	11	1 3/4	1 1/2											
Tranay														
hepherd	7	5 1/2			1									
olomon	7	5 1/2			1									
Sucky	6	5			1									
Themia	6	5	10		1	1								

Estimated of corn from Jan 17 to Aug 1 1815

	28 weeks	To Aug 1	60	Jan	Jan	Jan	Jan	Jan	Jan
Bread									
workhorses	@ 1 1/2 b. a week	15 weeks	To May 1						
	@ 3 puds a week	10 weeks	more to July 10						
mules	@ 1 b. a week	15 weeks	To May 1						
	@ 1/2 b. a week	10 weeks	more to July 10						
other horses									
sheep	@ 1/2 pint a day	8 weeks	To May 15						
breedary sows	@ 1 pint a day	15 weeks	To May 1						
shoots	@ 1/2 pint a day	10 weeks	more to July 10						
pigs	@ 1/2 pint a day	20 w	from Dec 5 to July 10						
bees	@ 1 gallon a day								
the stable	@ 2 b. a day	deducting my absence to July 10							
sheep	cont'd other cattle to be fed on sheeps, tops, chaff, bran & straw								
Jan. 17. 1815.	more govt used to this day	13							
	made at Monteville	30							
	received from Juffon	102							
	from Juffon								
from Jan. 15 to Aug 1.	to be received from Juffon	36							
	extra from Juffon	10							
	from milk to Aug 1.	56							
	to be bought	185							
		287							

Period ends for 1861				Crop of 1861		Crop of 1861	
Monticello	Farm	Tufton	Lego	Monticello	Lego	Tufton	
Betty Brown	Abram	Bagwell	Charles	190	137	corn furnish ^d Monticello	138
Edurn	Doll	Minerva	Aggy	185	92	used at Tufton to Jan. 17	125
Robert	Shepherd	Willis	Polly	185	84	left there for use	122
Mary	Darnaby	Archie	James B.	184	84	the whole made	395
Sally	Stannard	Jordan	Rachael	176	76		
Beverly	Bartlet	Mary	Joe	165	76		
Harriet	Dary sent	Washington	Lania	165	71		
Madison	Isabel	John B.	Gloster	156	71		
Eston	Madridge	Virginia	Washington	153	70		
Billy B.	Thimilton	Robert	Edmund	133	67		
Durwell	Lovile	Esther	Eue	125	65		
Caesar	Jonny L.	Lindsay	Joshua	123	65		
Critia	James L.	Rachael	Burnell	120	65		
Davy J.	Philip	Eliza	Lucy	120	62		
Fanny	Jonny M.	Ellen	Robin	120	62		
Ellen	Mous	Nancy	Sandy	117	60		
Jonny	Sucky	Abram J.	[Molly]	113	16/120/75%		
Moses	Gill	Maria	Scilla	112	Bedford	Lego	Ben
Ned	Isaac	[Marshall]	Janny	112	corn used at Lego to Jan. 17	60	60
James	Jerry	Lilly	Davy B.	110	left there for use	65	125
Israel	Isaiah	Lucy	Moses B.	106	the whole made	6	
Aggy	Jerry	Sucky	Solomon	103	wheat eaten to Jan. 17	20	
Thenia	Jupiter	Dick B.		102	left to be eaten	50	
Dolly	Arms	Dick Ned		101	furn ^d Tufton used	9	
Joe	Nace	Ned J.		100	soured at Lego	80	
Eds	Samco	Jesse		94	deliv ^d at mill	540	
James	Leurs	Don		92		599	
Maria	Peter			90	rye eaten 58.6		
Patsy				29/3752	soured 19.6		
Patsy				average 130	made 70		
James foreman				Tufton	for the plant ⁿ from Jan. 17 to Aug. 1		
Critia				9/1069/119	corn left on hand	65 Barrels	
John					wheat 10	10	
Randal					oats to be used	10	
Henry						85 Barrels	
Milly							
Lilburn							
Matilda							
John Gordon							
John Heming							
Lewis							
Evelina							
Isabel							
Moses							
Mary							
William							
Davy							
Cassia							
Tucker							
Isabella							
Nancy							
Marion							
John H.							
William							
Isabel							
John							
Isabel							
Thomas							
59	28	26	21				

1815. June 26. wheat harvest begins.

Mr. Bacon's wheat 60. a.	cradler 3.	assistants 6.
Ham's 120.	6	12
Ballard's 200	10	20
	<u>19</u>	<u>38</u>

wheat sowed in autumn 1814.

Monticello	50
Legs	80
Tufton	290
	<u>420</u>

for 19. cradlers & their assistants provide 19 mutton.
to wit 3. muttons for Mr Bacon's people } $\frac{1}{2}$ a mutton a day between them.
6. Ham's
 $\frac{10}{19}$ Ballard's. $\frac{1}{2}$ a mutton a day.

for 19. cradlers & their assistants provide 38. gall. Whiskey. or 2 gall. every cradler & assist.
to wit 6. gall. for Mr Bacon. about $2\frac{1}{2}$ pints a day
12. Ham 5. pints
20. Ballard 1. gall. a day.

Monticello.	Legs	Tufton
James Shepherd Barthol. Lewis B's Thrimston Isabel Jenny N. Jenny L. Indrider. Doll Amy 11. in all.	Charles James B. Davy B. Moses B. Solomon Moses Smith. Beverly Wormly Robert. 19. in all	Rachael B. Eve Lucy Scilla. Billy B Billy mor. Johnny Lorile Peter. Joe. 30. in all
Dick. B. Ben. John B. Abram J. Dick N. Barnaby Nace James L. Sanco Davy J. Lewis Ned. Gill Ned J. Israel Isiah Wath? Minerva Mary Virginia. Esther. Rachael Nancy Maria Lilly Sucky Evelina Isabel Aggy Nanny 30. in all.		

The corn at Tufton being now (June 29/15) entirely out, I give an order on the mill as follows.
for bread, 8 bushels middling @ .50 = 4. a week
8. horses @ $1\frac{1}{2}$ gall. a day. 12. Shipstuff @ .20 = 2.80
for the hogs @ 1 bush. a day. Bran @ .10 = 1. a week
7.8 a week

Tufton.	6	D
8. bush. a week for bread for 14. weeks to Sep. 30. is 112. middling @ .50	=	56.
$1\frac{1}{2}$ gall. a day for 8. horses is $1\frac{1}{2}$ bush. a day to 8.	140. shipstuff @ .20	= 28. D
3. bush. a day for hogs	300. bran @ .10	= 30 114
Legs.	100. shipstuff	20
$1\frac{1}{2}$ gall a day for 4. horses & 1. gal. for 2 mule to Oct. 8	100. bran	10 30
1. bush. bran for hogs, a day	To 8.	144. D

Corn bought for 1815	D	Oats 5	6	D	587.75
J. J. Randolph 49. B. @ 15'	122.5	Drury Wood 180. 2/	60.		229.04
C. L. Bankhead 13. 8'	32.5	David Carr 105. 2/3	39.37		816.79
Drury Wood 28 18'	84.	Th. J. Randolph 125 2/	41.67		
C. L. Bankhead 37. 15'	92.5	Shipstuff.	141.04		
Shadwell mill 200. 15'	200.	Shad. mill 240. 6 @ .20	48.		
		bran. 400. 6 @ .10	40.		
			<u>229</u>		

1815. Dec.	Wool	Shirts	Socks	Blanket	Bed			Wool	Shirts	Socks	Blanket	Bed
Abram	5 1/2	7						Maria 7	3	3 2/3	✓	
Doll	5	7						Patry 10	2 1/4	2 2/3		
Abram	5 1/2	7		1				Betsy 12	1 3/4	2		
Aggert 98-8	5 1/4	6 2/3						Peter 15				
Bagwell	6	10						Esther	5	7	1	1
Minerva	5	7		1				Lindsay 13	1 1/2	1 2/3		
Willis 6	3 1/4	4						Eve	5	7		
Archy 8	2 3/4	2 1/3						Joshua 6	3 1/4	4		
Jordan 11	2	2 1/3						Burwell 9	2 1/2	3		
Barnaby	5 1/2	7						Evelina	5	7		
Bartlet	5 1/2	7		1				Gill	5 1/2	7	1	
Ben	5 1/2	7						Indridge	5	7		
Betty Brown	5	7			1			Isaac	5 1/2	7	1	
Robert 99	5	6 1/3						Israel	0	4 3/4	6	
Mary 01	4 1/2	5 2/3						James Foreman	5 1/2	7		
Beverly	5 1/2	7		1				Cretia	5	7		1
Billy Bedf 99	5	6 1/3						John 0	4 3/4	6		
Burwell								Randal 2	4 1/4	5 1/3		
Caesar	5 1/2	7						Henry 5	3 1/2	4 1/3		
Charles	5 1/2	7						Milly 7	3	3 2/3	1	
Polly 10	2 1/4	2 2/3						Lilburne 9	2 1/2	3		
Critta	5	7		1	1			Matilda 11	2	2 1/3		
Davy	5 1/2	7						James Band 15				
Isabel	5	7						James Bedf	5 1/2	7		
Davy J	5 1/2	7						Rachael	5	7	1	
Fanny	5	7		1	1			Joe 1	4 1/2	5 2/3		
Ellen 9	2 1/2	3						Lania 5	3 1/2	4 1/3		
Jenny 11	2	2 1/3						Glover 7	3	3 2/3		
Moses 14	1 1/4	1 1/3						Washington 10	2 1/4	2 2/3		
Davy B	5 1/2	7						Edmund 13	1 1/2	1 2/3		
Dick B	5 1/2	7						Lindsay 13				
Dick Ned	5 1/2	7						James Lew	5 1/2	7		
Dolly	5	7		1				James Ned	5 1/2	7		
Edwin	5 1/2	7						Jerry	5 1/2	7		
Edy	5	7			1			Isiah 0	4 3/4	6		
James 5	3 1/2	4 1/3						Jerry 2	4 1/4	5 1/3		
								Jupiter 4	3 3/4	4 2/3		
									135	172 1/2		2

	woolen	shirts	socks	blank	beds
Joe	5½	7		1	
John B	5½	7			
Virginia	5	7		1	
Robert 11	2	2½			
Amanda 15					
John gardener	5½	7			
Emy	5	7		1	
John Hemmings	5½	7			
Lewis	5½	7			
Jenny	5	7		1	
Isabel	4¾	6			
Lilly	5	7		1	
Stannard 9	2½	3			
Lucy 11	2	2½			
Lovila 01	4½	5¾			
Lucy	5	7			
Robin 5	3½	4½			
Sandy 7	3	3¾			
Molly 14	1½	1½			
<small>Melinda July 16</small> Mama	5	7			
<small>Mary Ann Apr 15, 16</small> Marshall 14	1½	1½			
Mary Baggs	5	7			
Washington 5	3½	4½			
Moses Smith	5½	7			
Mary	5	7		1	1
William 1	4½	5¾			
Davy 3	4	5			
Celia 6	3¼	4			
Tucker 10	2½	2¾			
Zachariah 12	1¾	2			
Patsy 15					
Moses Bedd	5½	7			
Nace	5½	7		1	
Nance	5	7			1
Nancy	5	7		1	
Nanny Baggs 0	4¾	6			
5	142¾	186		9	1

	woolen	shirts	socks	blank	beds
Ned	5½	7			
Jenny	5	7			
Moses 3	4	5			
Sucky 6	3½	4			
Ned J	5½	7			
Peter Hem	5½	7			
Philip	5½	7		1	
Rachael	5	7			
Eliza 5	3½	4½			
Ellen 8	2¾	3½			
Sally	5	7			1
Harriet 1	4½	5¾		1	
Madison 5	3½	4½			
Eston 8	2¾	3½			1
Sanco	5½	7		1	
Scilla	5	7			
Jenny 11	2	2½			
<small>Miles July 16</small> Shepherd	5½	7		1	
Solomon	5½	7			
Sucky	5	7			
Thenia	5	7		1	
Thrimston	4¾	6			
Wormly	5½	7			
Ursula	5	7		1	
Joe	5	3½	4½		
Anne	7	3	3¾		1
Dolly	9	2½	3		
Cornelius 11	2	2½			
Thomas 13	1½	1¾			
29. Louisa born 21. 16					
Lewis Bacon	5½	7		1	
Peter	5½	2		1	
	133½	172½		2	7
	162½	212½		8	14
	135	172½		5	2
	142½	186		9	1
	573½	743½		32	28

Monticello	Tufton	Lego	Tradesmen	factory
James Doll	Baswell Minerva	Charles Rachael B.	John Hem. Abram	Cretia. spin cotton
Bartlet Isabel	John B. Mary	James B. Eve	Lewis Barnaby	Harriet wool
Shepherd Jemmy N's	Dick B. Virginia	Davy B. Lucy	Billy B. Nace	aggy } hemp
Davy J. Jemmy L's	Dick Ned's Esther	Moses B. Scilla	Lavilo. Beverly	Isabel
Gill Amy	Ben Rachael	Solomon. Evelina	Johnny	Randal } carders
Robert Indridge	Abram J. Nancy		Davy Joe	Isaiah
Lewis Ursula	Philip Maria		Samco mosses	Israel
Peter	Ned J. Lilly		James L. John	Dolly } weavers
Isaac	Sucky		Thrimston Wormly	Eliza. quiller
Billy moss. 01	Jemmy J. 02.	Joe. 01.	James Red	Kitty
			Israel	

we require annually 600 yds of woollen Yeston. viz. 300 wool + 150 cotton
 800 yds of linen. viz. 400. hemp.

300 wool may be spun by 1. spinner in a year.

150. cotton by 1. spinner in 3. months. remain 9. months for fine cotton.

400. hemp by 3. spinners in 26. weeks. remains half the year.

300. wool } should employ 2. carders but 6. months. remains $\frac{1}{2}$ time for interruption
 150 cotton }

1400. yds of cloth @ 40 yds a week would employ 2. weavers 6. mo. the rest for fine work.

1816	17	18	19	20	21	22	1816	17	18	19	20	21	22
Tufton							Poplar Forest						
Meadowfield wh.	cl.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	Tomahawk wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.
Poggio p.o.	wh.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	Forke cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.
Barn *	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	Ridge cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.
Indian *	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	Belled corn.	p.o.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.
Morgan wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	Early's wh.	corn.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.
Hilton corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	M. Daniel's p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.
Lego							Bear creek						
Mountain p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	Holloway, corn.	p.o.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.
Culpeper wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	Halband wh.	corn.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.
△	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	△	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.
Oblong cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	Upper wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.
Barn corn.	p.o.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	Middle cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.
Hickman wh.	corn.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	Lower cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.
Monticello							carding, spinning, weaving per day						
Ragged p.o.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	hour	spind	spin	weave			
Meadow wh.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	Jan.	9.	10.05.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	Dec.	
Cooper's corn.	wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	Feb.	10.	12.	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Nov.	
Knob wh.	cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	Mar.	11.	14.	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	Oct.	
North cl.	cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	Apr.	12.	16.	2.	6	Sep.	
Belfield cl.	wh.	corn.	p.o.	wh.	cl.	cl.	May.	13.	18.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	Aug.	
							June.	14.	20.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	July.	

Crop of 1816.		Tufton	Legs	mont.	Sown at
wheat made	- -	998	713½		
rye	- -	278			
oats					
706°					
wheat sown		248	130½		
rye					
oats					
wheat deliv ^d at mill		709-32	583		

1816		1816		1816		1816		1816		1816		1816		1816		1816	
1816		1816		1816		1816		1816		1816		1816		1816		1816	
Abram	5½	7	7	1	1	Isaac	5½	7	3½	1	1	Isaac	5½	7	3½	1	1
Doll	5	7	7	1	1	Sucky	5	7	3½	1	1	Sucky	5	7	3½	1	1
Abramj	5½	7	3½			Israel		8½		1		Israel		8½		1	
Eggy. n. d.	5	7	6½			James fore	5½	7	3½			James fore	5½	7	3½		
Bagwell	7	10½	7		1	Cretia	5	7	7			Cretia	5	7	7		
Minerva	5	7	3½		1	Johnny. o	5	6½	3			Johnny. o	5	6½	3		
Willis 6	3½	4½	4			Randal 2	4½	5½	2½			Randal 2	4½	5½	2½		
Archy 8	3	3½	3½			Henry 5	3½	4½	4½			Henry 5	3½	4½	4½		
Jordan 11	2½	2½	2½			Milly	3½	4	3½			Milly	3½	4	3½		
Barnaby	5½	7			1	Lithum	2½	3½	3			Lithum	2½	3½	3		
Bartled	5½	7	3½			Matilda	2½	2½	2½		1	Matilda	2½	2½	2½		1
Ben	5½	7	3½	1	1	Bond	1½	1½				Bond	1½	1½			
Bally Brown	5	7	7	1		James B.	5½	7	3½	1		James B.	5½	7	3½	1	
Beverly	5½	7	3½			Rachael	5½	7	3½			Rachael	5½	7	3½		
Billy B.	5½	7	3½	1	1	Joe	1 4¾	6	5½			Joe	1 4¾	6	5½		
Burwell						Lania 5	3½	4½	4½			Lania 5	3½	4½	4½		
Caesar	5½	7	3½		1	Gloster 7	3½	4	3½			Gloster 7	3½	4	3½		
Charles	5½	7	3½		1	Washingt. 10	2½	3	2½			Washingt. 10	2½	3	2½		
Polly 10	2½	3	2½			Edmund 13	1¾	2	1¾			Edmund 13	1¾	2	1¾		
Critto						Lindsey 16						Lindsey 16					
Davy	5½	7	7		1	James L.	5½	7	3½	1		James L.	5½	7	3½	1	
Isabel	5	7	7	1	1	James W.	5½	7	3½	1		James W.	5½	7	3½	1	
Davyj	5½	7	3½			Jerry	5½	7	3½	1		Jerry	5½	7	3½	1	
Fanny						Isabel	5	7	6	1		Isabel	5	7	6	1	
Ellong						Isiah. o	5	6½	3	1		Isiah. o	5	6½	3	1	
Jenny 11					1	Jerry 2	4½	5½	2½			Jerry 2	4½	5½	2½		
Davy B.	5½	7	3½		1	Jupiter 4	4	5	2½		1	Jupiter 4	4	5	2½		1
Dick B.	5½	7	3½			Joe	5½	7	3½			Joe	5½	7	3½		
Dick. Red.	5½	7	3½			Eds						Eds					
Dolly	5	7	7			James S.						James S.					
Edwin	5½	7	3½		1	Maria 7						Maria 7					
Eve	5½	7	3½	1	1	Patsy 10						Patsy 10					
Joshua 6	3½	4½	4			Betsy 12						Betsy 12					
Burwell	2½	3½	3			Peter 15						Peter 15					
Evelina	5	7	3½	1		John D.	5½	7	3½			John D.	5½	7	3½		
Gill		7	3½			Virginia	5	7	3½			Virginia	5	7	3½		
Esther	5	7	3½			Robert 11	2½	2½	2½			Robert 11	2½	2½	2½		
Lindsays	1½	2	1¾			Amanda 15	1½	1½				Amanda 15	1½	1½			
38	154½	209	136	9	3	13	38	125	167½	98½	0	38	125	167½	98½	0	

Monticello	The farm	Tuflon	Lezo
Betty Brown.	Nancy	Abram junr.	Barrel
Mary.	Peter Hemings	Doll.	Charles
Billy B.	Sally	Barnaby	Barrel
Burnwell	Beverly	Stannard	Davy B.
Caesar.	Harnel	Davy	Eve.
Critta	Madison	Isabel	Joshua
Davy junr.	Edson.	Thrimston.	Burwell
Fanny.	Wormly	Polly. Charles.	Evelina.
Ellen	Ursula & Louisa	Isaac.	James B.
Lenny.	Joe	James	Rachad & Linda
Ned	Anne	Critta	Joe
Gill	Dolly	Johnny	Lama.
Israel	Cornelius	Randal	Gloster
Dolly	Thomas.	Henry	Washington
Joe		Miller	Edmund
Edy.		Lithume	Lucy & Melinda
James		Matilda.	Robin
Maria.		Dand	Sandy
Patsy		James Lewis.	Molly.
Betsy		James. Ned.	Milly & James
Peter.		Jerry	Sandy.
John Hemings		Isabel	Moses B.
John gardener		Jupiter.	Nanny Bagw.
Lewis.		Arney.	Robert
Moses.		Jenny L's	Scilla & Miles
Mary		Jenny. Ned.	Jamy.
William		Moses	Solomon.
Davy		Sucky	29.
Caelia		Nace.	
Tucker		Sanco.	
Zacharia		Shepherd	
Patsy		Indridge	
		Sally. Mrs. Mark's	
		Fennil. 6.	
		Nancy 9.	
		Charlotte 15	
		35.	

a woman suckling a child has 1 1/2 peck
a man having neither wife nor mother 1 1/2
all others a peck.

1817. Dec. & Jan. 1818. hogs killed

Monticello.

Tufts.

Bedford.

16. hogs = 2000 or 125 average

- 210
- 209
- 133
- 125
- 133
- 140
- 105
- 133
- 129
- 148
- 112
- 153
- 175
- 191
- 140
- 107
- 150
- 135
- 103
- 128
- 143
- 133
- 149
- 116
- 125
- 100
- 170
- 102
- 123
- 175
- 110
- 113
- 158
- 131
- 130
- 105
- 146
- 97
- 101
- 170

- 220.
- 133
- 167
- 188
- 167
- 185
- 172
- 175
- 135
- 156
- 133
- 171
- 91
- 67
- 84
- 109
- 117
- 104
- 118
- 147
- 168
- 132
- 169
- 143
- 153
- 123
- 100
- 183

25/2409/96

Lego.

- 106
- 114
- 108
- 124
- 132
- 120
- 80
- 132
- 60
- 90
- 102

11/1188/108

9263
2409
1188
2000
14860

127

5823
600. Pown
5223

1817.	Worth	Shortly	Months	beds	note
Abram	5 1/2	7			
Doll	5	7			1
Abram J.	5 1/2	7			1
Bazwell	7	10 1/2	1		
Minerva	5	7		1	
Willis 6	3 3/4	4 2/3			
Archy 8	3 1/4	4			
Jordan 11	2 1/2	3			
Barnaly	5 1/2	7	1		
Milly	5	7			
Sandy 13	2	2 1/3			
Bartlet	5 1/2	7			1
Ben	5 1/2	7			
Lilly	5	7			
Stannard	3	3 2/3			
Lucey 11	2 1/2	3			
Betty Bram	5	7			
Beverly	5 1/2	7			1
Billy B.	5 1/2	7			
Burnwell			1		
Cassar	5 1/2	7	1		
Charles	5 1/2	7	1		
Polly 10	2 3/4	3 1/3			
Eritta					
Davy	5 1/2	7	1		
Isabel	5	7			1
Davy J.	5 1/2	7	1		
Fanny					
Ellen 9					
Jamy 11					
Melinda 17					
Davy B.	5 1/2	7	1		
Dick B.	5 1/2	7	1		1
Dick Red.	5 1/2	7	1		1
Dolly	5	7			
Eve	5 1/2	7			1
Joshua 6	3 3/4	4 2/3			
Burnwell 9	3	3 2/3			
Evelina	5	7			1

	Worth	Shortly	Months	beds	note
Gill	-	7			
Esther	5	7			
Lindsay 13	2	2 1/3			
Isaac	5 1/2	7			
Sucky	5	7			1
Israel		7			
James forem	5 1/2	7	1		
Gretha	5	7	1		
Johnny 0.	5 1/4	6 2/3	1		
Randal 2	4 3/4	6	1		
Henry 5	4	5			
Milly 7	3 1/2	4 1/3			
Lilburn 9	3	3 2/3			
Matilda 11	2 1/2	3			
Dand 15	1 1/2	1 2/3			
James B.	5 1/2	7			1
Rachael	5 1/2	7		1	1
Joe 1	5	6 1/3			1
Lania 5	4	5			
Gloster 7	3 1/2	4 1/3			
Washington 10	2 3/4	3 1/3			
Edmund 13	2	2 1/3			
Lindsay 16	1 1/4	1 1/3			
James Lewis	5 1/2	7			
James Red.	5 1/2	7			
Jerry	5 1/2	7			
Isabel	5	7		1	1
Isabel	0.	5 1/4	6 2/3		1
Jerry 2	4 3/4	6			
Jupiter 4	4 1/4	5 1/3			
Joe	5 1/2	7			
Edy				1	
Maria 7					
Patry 10					
Betsy 12					
Peter 15					
John B.	5 1/2	7	1		
Virginia	5	7		1	
Robert 11	2 1/2	3			
Amanda 15	1 1/2	1 2/3			

negroes leased to Mr. Randolph		Negroes retained	
Bagwell		Abraham	James L's
Minerva		Doll. 57	James N's
Willis 06.	Barthet	Barnaby 82.	Jerry
Archy 18.	Charles	Stannard 09	Isabel
Jordan 11.	Daisy B.	Betty Brown	Jupiter 04.
Bon	Eve	Beverly	Joe
Lilly	Joshua 06.	Burwell	Edy
Lucy 11	Burwell 09.	Caesar	Maria 7.
Dick. Ned	Evelina.	Polly. Charles. 10.	Patsy 10.
Dick. B.	James B.	Critta.	Betsy 12.
Dick. Ned.	Rachael	Davy.	Peter 15.
James. Ned's	Joe 01.	Isabel 8. 19.	John. Gardner
Abraham	Lania 05.	Davy J.	Army
Esther.	Gloster 07.	Fanny	John Hemings
Lindsay 13.	Washington 10.	Ellen 9.	Lewis.
Sucky	Edmund 13.	Jenny 11.	Jenny
Isaiah 1800	Lindsay 16.	Melinda 17.	Mary. B. 1.
Jerry J. 02.	* Sally 92		Moses. Smith
John. B.	Robin 16		Mary
Virginia.	Sandy 18	Dolly	William 1.
Robert 11.	Molly 97	Gill	Davy 3.
Amanda 15.	Melvin 18	Isaac	Caelia 6.
Maria.	Melvin 19.	Israel. 00.	Tucker 10.
Marshall 14	Sandy 13.	James	Zacharia 12
Martin 16	Moses. B.	Critta	Patsy 15.
Mary. Bag's	Nanny. Bag's	Johnny 0.	Fosset 17.
Washington 05	Robert	Randal 2.	Nace
Nancy	Silla.	Henry 5.	Nance
Ned J.	Jenny 11	Milly 7.	
Philip	Miles. 16	Lilburn 9.	
Rachael	Solomon	Matilda 11.	
Elira 05.		Band 15	
Ellen 08.	29 + 31 = 60	30	
			28
			30 + 28 + 22 = 80

- 17.18
- summer clothes
- Abraham
- Doll h
- Barnaby
- Beverly h
- Caesar
- Davy
- Isabel
- Davy
- Isaac
- James
- Johnny
- Randal
- Henry
- James L.
- James M.
- Jerry
- Jupiter
- Joe
- John Gordon
- Arny h
- John Hem.
- Lewis
- Jonny h
- Moses
- William h
- Davy
- Nace h
- Ned
- Jonny
- Moses h
- Phill
- Madison
- Sancho h
- Shepherd h
- Indrilee
- Thrimston
- Wormley
- Ursula h
- Joe
- Mary Bet.

Note 1. $\frac{1}{4}$ spun cotton 5 yds to 1 lb $\frac{1}{4}$ will make 5 yds able woollen cloth.
or $\frac{1}{5}$ th raw cotton
and 1. $\frac{1}{4}$ spun cotton will make 5 yds of shirting mixed with hemp.
1818. Oct. 80 people little & big require 300 outer clothing, require 60 spun cotton
400 inner do. require $\frac{80}{140}$ $\frac{80}{140}$ $\frac{80}{140}$

Pork. Dec. 1818.

Monticello.
sold to Craven Peyton 11 weighing 1283 @ $\frac{8}{10}$ = 109.05 $\frac{1}{2}$
Larkin Powers 4 - - 618 - - - 52.53
Ja. Dinsmore 4 - - 500 - - - 42.50
Sam. O. Minor 10 - - 1067 - - - 90.69 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mary Bacon 2 - - 250 = 3718 $\frac{21.25}{316.03}$
furnished E. Bacon 5 - - 600
Yoven Larden 2. 255 855
the House 46. - - 7292
 $\frac{84 \times 141 \frac{1}{2}}{11865}$
from Th. R. sold him 450 - - - 38.25
furnished him 400
to the house 35 hogs 38.65 money 102.
3965

hogs from Bedford Jan. 1809.

	Tomahawk	Bear creek	Total
Overseer	2	2	4
people	10 + 9	10	20 + 9
my wife there	6	6	12
Monticello	25	27	52
	43 + 9	45	88 + 9
	3762 +	4584	8346

Note that on the 9th of April 1820 I gave to Th. Randolph
Lucy and her children, Robin, Sandy, Molly, Melinda, and Nicholas
in exchange for Sally & her 3. childre Cary-Anne, Jennet, and Lorenzo
and Beck and her two children Fleming and Lilburne.

1818-19	Worship	Shirking	Worship	beds	Worship	Shirking	Worship	beds	Worship	Shirking	Worship	beds	Worship	Shirking	Worship	beds
Barnaby	5 1/2	7	-	-	1	2 1/2	r	Mary Beti	5	7	-	-	3	0		
Stamandg	3 1/4	4						Moses	5 1/2	7			3	0		
Belly Brown	5	7		1		3	0	Mary	5	7		1	3	0		
Beverly	5 1/2	7	1			2 1/2	r	Phil	1	5 1/2	7	1	2 1/2	r		
Burnwell								Davy	3	4 3/4	6		1	2 1/2	r	
Caesar	5 1/2	7				2 1/2	r	Caelia	6	4	5	1	3			
Polly Charles	7	3 3/4						Tucker	10	3	3 3/4					
Orilla	5	7	1	1		3	0	Zacharias	12	2 1/2	3					
Davy sent	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	r	Patsy	15	1 3/4	2					
Davy jun	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	r	Tosset	17	1 1/4	1 1/3					
Fanny	5	7	1	1		3	0	Nace	5 1/2	7	1		2 1/2	r		
Ellen	9	3 1/4	4					Nance	5	7		1	3	0		
Jenny	11	2 3/4	3 1/3					Mad	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	0	
Melinda	17	1 1/4	1 1/4					Jonny	5	7			1	3	r	
Doll	5	7				3	r	Moses	3	4 3/4	6			2 1/2	r	
Dolly	5	7	1			3	0	Sucker	6	4	5			3		
Gill	5	7	1					Peter Hom	5 1/2	7			2 1/2	0		
Isaac	5 1/2	7	1		1	2 1/2	r	Phill B	1	5 1/2	7	1.3	1	2 1/2	r	
Israel		7						Sally Hom	5	7		1	3	0		
James	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	r	Harnet	5	7	1		3	0		
Cratia	5	7		1		3	0	Madison	5	4 1/4	5 1/3		2 1/2	0		
Barnaby	5 1/2	7						Eston	8	3 1/2	4 1/3	1	2 1/2	r		
Randal	2	5	6 1/3		1	2 1/2	r	Sancho	5 1/2	7	1		2 1/2	r		
Henry	5	4 1/4	5 1/3		1	2 1/2	r	Shepherd	5 1/2	7	1		2 1/2	r		
Milly	7	3 3/4	4 3/3	1		3	r	Indridge	5	7			1	3	r	
Lilburn	9	3 1/4	4					Thimston	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	r	
Maheda	11	2 3/4	3 1/3					Wormly	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	0	
Banda	15	1 3/4	2					Ursula	5	7	1		3	r		
James L's	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	r	Joe	5	4 1/4	5 1/3	1	1	2 1/2	r	
James N's	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	r	Anne	7	3 3/4	4 3/3		3			
Jerry	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	r	Dolly	9	3 1/4	4					
Isabel	5	7			1	3	r	Cornelius	11	2 3/4	3 1/3					
Jupiter	4	4 1/2	5 1/3		1	2 1/2	r	Thomas	13	2 1/4	2 2/3					
Joe	5 1/2	7	1		1	2 1/2	0	Louisa	16	1 1/2	1 1/3					
Edy	5	7		1		3	0	Caroline	18							
Maria	7	3 3/4	4 2/3	1		3	r									
Patsy	10	3	3 2/3													
Betsy	12	2 1/2	3													
Peter	15	1 3/4	2													
John gard	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	0									
Amey	5	7	1			3	r	Mr Marks								
John Hom	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	0	Sally	5	7			3	r		
Louis	5 1/2	7			1	2 1/2	r	Fernil	10	2 3/4	3 1/3					
Jenny	5	7	1			3		Nancy	12	2 1/4	2 2/3					
								Charlotte	16	1 1/4	1 1/3					
44	182 1/4	250	11													

1859 - 20	Wages	shirting	Washed	beds	net	Summer clothes		Wages	shirting	Washed	beds	net	Summer clothes
Barnaby	5 1/2	7.						John Gardner	5 1/2	7.	1.		
Stannard	3 1/4	4						Amy	5.	7.			
Betty Brown	5	7	1					John Hem.	5 1/2	7	1.		
Beverly	5 1/2	7						Lewis	5 1/2	7.			
Burwell								Jonny	5	7			
Caesar	5 1/2	7.						Mary. Petti	5	7.			
Polly Chas 10	3.	2 1/3						Mary. Mose	5.	7.		1.	
Chick	5	7						Dary	5 1/2	7.			
Dary sent.	5 1/2	7.						Caelia 6	4	5			
Dary J.	5 1/2	7.						Tucker 10	3	3 1/3	1.		
Fanny	5	7						Zacharia 12	2 1/2	3			
Ellen 9	3 1/4	4.						Patsy. 15	1 1/4	2.			
Jonny 11	2 3/4	3 1/3	1					Forrest 17	1 1/4	1 1/3			
Melinda 17	1 1/4	1 1/3	1					Fontaine 19					
Indriden 19	5	7	1.					Nancy	5 1/2	7			
Doll	5	7	1.					Nancy	5.	7.	1.		
Dolly	5.	7.						Ned	5 1/2	7.			
Gill	5 1/2	7.						Jonny	5	7 1/6			
Isaac	5 1/2	7.						Moses 3	4 3/4	6	1		
Israel	5 1/2	7.	1.					Sucky 6	4.	5			
James	5 1/2	7.						Peter Hem.	5 1/2	7.	1.		
Ortie	5	7.						Phil Bedf.	5 1/2	7.			
Randolph 2	5.	6 1/3						Sally Hem.	5.	7.			
Henry 5	4 1/4	5 1/3						Harriet.	5	7.			
Milly 7	3 3/4	4 1/3						Madisons	4 1/4	5 1/3			
Lilburn 9	3 1/4	4.						Eston. 8	3 1/2	4 1/3			
Matilda 11	2 3/4	3 1/3	1					Sancho	5 1/2	7.			
Band 15	1 3/4	2.						Shepherd	5 1/2	7.			
Lovila 18	1.	1.						Indridge	5	7	1.		
Nancy 19								Thrimston	5 1/2	7.	1.		
James L.	5 1/2	7.	1.					Wormly	5 1/2	7.			
James Mose	5 1/2	7.	1.					Ursula	5	7			
Jonny	5 1/2	7.	1.					Joe 5	4 1/4	5 1/3			
Isabel	5	7.	1.					Anne 7	3 3/4	4 1/3			
Upiton 4.	4 1/2	5 1/3						Dolly 9	3 1/4	4			
Joe	5 1/2	7.						Cornelius 11	2 3/4	3 1/3	1		
Eddy	5.	7.						Thomas 13	2 1/4	2 1/3			
Mama	7.	3 3/4	4 1/3					Louisa 16	1 1/2	1 1/3			
Patsy 10	3.	3 1/3	1					Caroline 18	1.	1.			
Patsy 12	2 1/2	3	1					Sally 37	5	7			
Peter 15	1 3/4	2						Fernil 10	3.	3 1/3			
Isabella 19	167 3/4	215	12					Nancy 12	2 1/2	3.			
								Charlde 16	1 1/2	1 1/3			
									170 1/2	220 3/4	9		
									167 3/4	215	12		
									33 1/2	42 1/3	40		

[illegible]

Tornahawk 19	wooden	shirts	blankets	beds		Tornahawk 19	wooden	shirts	blankets	beds	
Hannah	5	7		1		Edy	5	7			
Billy 99	5 1/2	7				Nancy 12	2 1/2	3			
Jenny 5	4 1/4	5 1/3	1			Thimston 19	baby clothes				
Phill 8	3 1/2	4 1/3				Gawen.	5 1/2	7			
Edman 9	3 1/4	4				Sal. Will's	5	7	1	1	
George Delia 12	2 1/2	3				Betty	5	7			
Lucinda	5	7				Melinda 18	1	1			
Melinda 9	3 1/4	4				Abby 4	4 1/2	5 2/3	1		
Rebecca 12	2 1/2	3				Edy 6	4	5			
Nelly 16	1 1/2	1 2/3				Martin 9	3 1/4	4			
Sally Hannah	5	7				Moses 11	2 3/4	3 1/3			
Maria Nancy	5	7				Mary Ann 12	2 1/2	3	1		
James H. 18	1	1				Harnet 15	1 3/4	2			
Nace	5 1/2	7	1			Alfred Graston	1	1			
Hannah Dinah	5	7	1			Dick	5 1/2	7			
Dick 15	1 3/4	2				Dinah	5	7			
Abby	5	7	1	1		Lucy	5	7	1		
Will	5 1/2	7	1			Jenny 2	5	6 1/3			
Manuel	5 1/2	7				Billy 5	4 1/4	5 1/3			
Emily	5	7				Evans	5 1/2	7			
Anne 15	1 3/4	2				Prince	5 1/2	7	1		
Mehala 16	1 1/2	1 2/3				Betty	5	7			
Madison 18	1	1				Hercules	5 1/2	7			
23	8 3/4	110	5	2		Jesse	5 1/2	7			
						24	9 1/2	123 3/8	5	1	

near cr. 1819	woolen	shirting	blankets	beds			Bear cr. 1819	woolen	shirting	blankets	beds		
Anna Hubbard	5 1/2	7					Fanny	5.	7.				
Isa	5	7					Rachael	7	3 3/4	4 2/3			
Ormslead	5 1/2	7					Roddy	11	2 3/4	3 1/3			
Eggy Dick's	5.	7	1.				Zechariah	13	2 1/4	2 2/3			
Sally	12	2 1/2	3.				Martha Anne	16	1 1/2	1 2/3			
ste. Rachael	5.	7					Joe	6	4 1/2	5			
Laria Cate	5	7		1.			Shepherd	9	3 1/2	4			
Johnny	4.	4 1/2	5 2/3				Cate Suck's	5.	7				
Isaac	9	3 1/4	4.				Dary	6	4.	5			
Isy	5.	7.	1				John	11	2 3/4	3 1/3			
Jamies Wash	15	1 3/4	2.				Solomon	14	2.	2 1/3			
Harry Anne	19	baby clothes					Elmsly	17	1 1/4	1 1/3			
My. Cate	5.	7.	1.				Daniel		5 1/2	7			
Billy	8	3 1/2	4 1/3				Hanny	5.	7.		1.		
Anderson	10	3.	3 2/3				Milly	6	4.	5			
Henry	12	2 1/2	3.				Georg Donni	8	3 1/2	4 1/3			
Nancy	10.	1	1				Janetta	12	2 1/2	3.			
uben		5 1/2	7.				Ellen	14	2.	2 1/3			
Justin		5 1/2	7.				Stephen		5 1/2	7			
Flora	5.	7.		1			Cate Betty's	5	7.				
Gaven	4.	4 1/2	5 2/3				Mary Betty's	5.	7.		1		
Aleck	6	4.	5.				Gabriel	14	2.	2 1/3			
Billy	8	3 1/2	4 1/3				22.	78	99 1/3	4	2.		
William Burdett	1 1/4	2.					what. eaten	558	bush				
Francis	18	1	1				sowed	324.					
20	92 3/4	121 2/3	7		2.								

5 yds double cloth, wool & cotton, weigh 4 lb
 30 yds require 8 lb cotton & 16 lb wool.
 30 yds cotton shirting weigh 15 lb
 30 yds cotton & hemp weigh 15 lb
 30 yds require 6 lb cotton & 9 lb hemp.

wool 16 men at 5 1/2 yds 88 210, 16 lb cloth wool 5 lb 116 1/2
 26 women 5 130 130 sample 20 56
 52 children 294 32 172
 101 265

Distribution of Blankets at Poplar Forest.

1819.	1820.	1821.															
<p>Larry 5.) Hanah', Phill. 8.)</p> <p>Nissy.</p> <p>James Washington 13)</p> <p>Harry-Anne 13)</p> <p>Sal. Will'. Abby. 4.) Eddy. 6.) Mary-Anne 12.) Harriet. 15.) Alfred. 18.)</p> <p>Sal. Cate'. Billy 8.) Anderson 10.) Henry. 12.) Nancy 18.)</p> <p>Nace</p> <p>Will.</p> <p>Abby.</p> <p>Gawen 4.) Flora's Alack 6.)</p> <p>Rachael 7.) Fanny's Rody 11.)</p> <p>Aggy</p> <p>Hanah. Dinah',</p> <p>Lucy. Dinah',</p> <p>Prince.</p> <p>Dany 6.) John 11.) Solomon 14.) Elisly 12.)</p> <p>Janetta 12.) Nanny's Ellen 14.)</p>	<p>Jame Hubbard. Edmund 9.) Hanah' George Welch 12)</p> <p>Cate. Rachael', Johnny. 4.) Isaac. 9.)</p> <p>Lucinda. Hanah', Reuben. Hanah', Billy. Hanah', Betty. Sal's Marlin 9.)</p> <p>Moses 11.) Sal' Bridget. 8.) William 10.) Flo. Francis 18.) ra' Zachariah. 13.) Fan Martha Ann 16.) my'</p> <p>Amey Will',</p> <p>Manuel.</p> <p>Evans.</p> <p>Jenny. 27.) Dinah', Polly 5.)</p> <p>Cate Suck's</p> <p>Daniel. Suck's,</p> <p>Stephen. Suck's,</p> <p>Mary. Betty's,</p> <p>Hercules. Betty's,</p> <p>Nanny.</p>	<p>Cate.</p> <p>Hanah.</p> <p>Sally. Hannah', Armstead.</p> <p>Maria. Cate's Melinda 9.) Rebecca 12.) Lucin- Nelly. 16.) da',</p> <p>Gawen.</p> <p>Austin</p> <p>Flora. Will',</p> <p>Fanny. Will', Anne 15.) Mehala 16.) Amy's Madison. 18.)</p> <p>Eddy. Will'. Nancy 12.) Thimston 19.)</p> <p>Dick.</p> <p>Dinah.</p> <p>Betty</p> <p>Cate. Betty's Joe. 6.) Shepherd. 9.)</p> <p>Jesse</p> <p>Maria. Nanny's Milly George Dennis 8.) Nanny's</p>	<p>The Men require</p> <p>Women.</p> <p>Young under 17.</p> <p>On hand</p> <p>To be bought.</p> <table> <tr> <td>88</td><td>125</td><td>129</td><td>352</td><td>200</td><td>142</td></tr> <tr> <td>112</td><td>175</td><td>153 3/4</td><td>440 3/4</td><td>100</td><td>340</td></tr> </table>			88	125	129	352	200	142	112	175	153 3/4	440 3/4	100	340
88	125	129	352	200	142												
112	175	153 3/4	440 3/4	100	340												
Distribution of beds at P. F.			1819	1820.	1821.												
			Hanah.	Sal. Cate's	Cate.												
			Abby.	Fanny	Lucinda												
			Maria. Cate's	Cate. Suck's	Eddy.												
			Sal. Will'	Hanah. Dinah	Dinah.												
			Flora	Amy Will'	Betty												
			Nanny	Nissy.	Aggy												
			Mary. Betty's		Maria. Nanny's												
Hogs. 1819. P. F.			People. 20.														
Mtl. at P. F. 12.			Overseers. Geo. O.														
Monticello 35 75																	

1822. Dec. 1825.

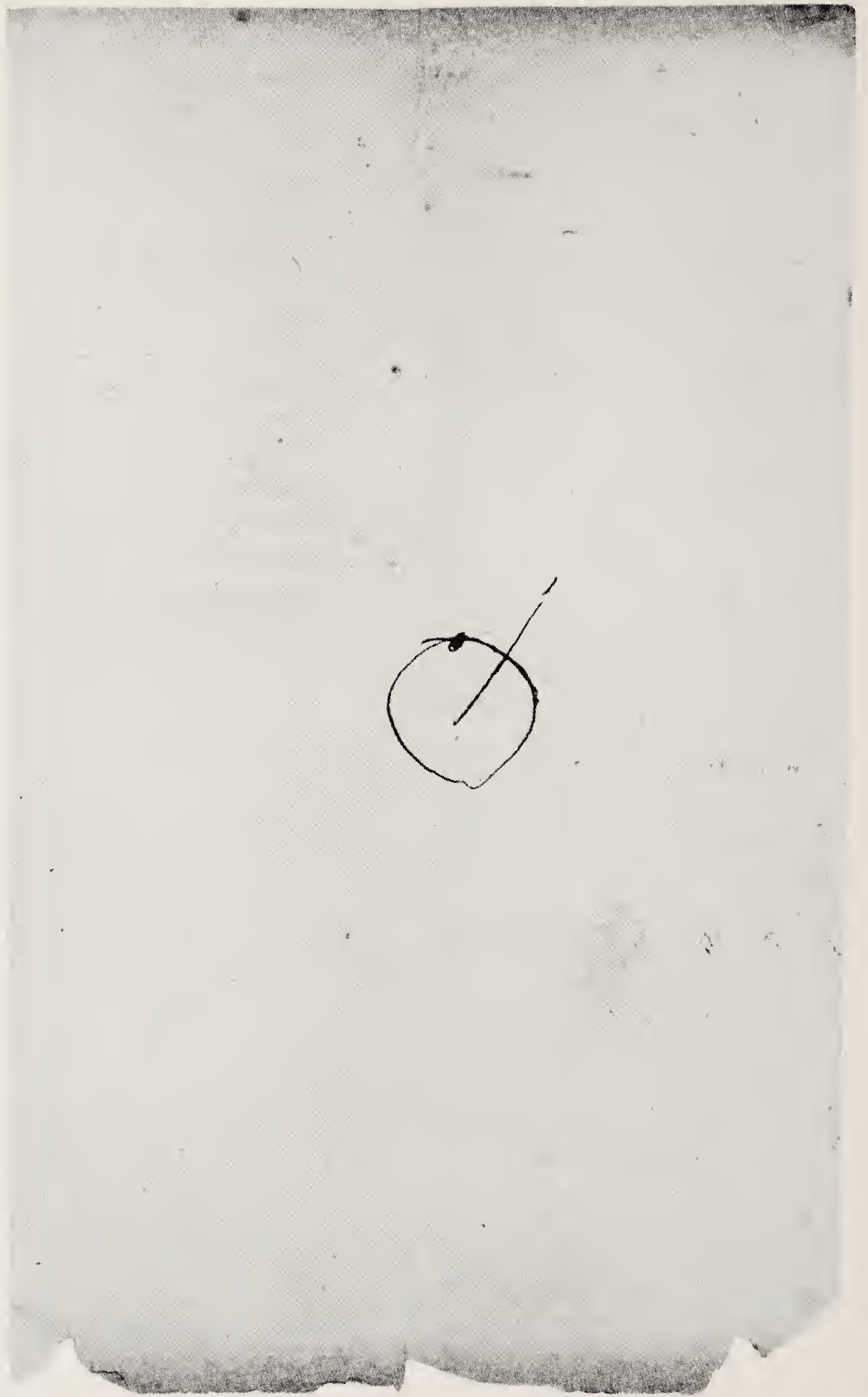
Celia.
 Tucker
 Nance
 Moses
 Pet. Hem.
 Indridge.
 Thrimston
 Dolly
 Cornelius
 Thomas)
 Betty Brown.
 Ellen)
 Jenny)
 Doll
 Israel
 Lichum
 Matilda
 James Carr.
 Jerry.
 Maria)
 Patsy)
 Betsy)
 Peter)
 John.
 John Hem.

1823. Dec. 1826

Barnaby
 Burwell
 Davy son
 Davy J.
 James
 Celia
 Jupiter
 Edy
 Isabella)
 William)
 Mary Bet.
 Mary Moss
 Zachano.
 Ned
 Jenny
 Suckey
 Polly
 Randel
 Sally Hem.
 Wormley
 Thomas)
 Louisa)
 Caroline)
 Critta)
 Nancy)
 Charlotte)

1824. Dec. 1827

Stannard
 Critty.
 Davy Moss
 Tanny
 Gilt
 Israel
 Joe
 Amy
 Nace
 Jenny
 Madison
 Eston
 Shepherd.
 Ursula.
 Anne
 Sally Marks.



outer clothing. 24. Men. 132 168
 19. women 95 133
 42. children 130 1/4 160
 357 1/4 461.
 woollen shirting.
 made 115. yds able cloth for outer
 nothing else.

26. blankets
 8. beds. = 54. yds

Estimate of corn from Jan. 21. 1821.
 86. persons @ 5. B. a week. 27. weeks to July 30. - - - - - Bar.
 fattening hogs - - - - - 135.
 9. breeding sows @ 1. pint a day each to Mar. 10. 70. days - - - - - 3.50
 44. shoats @ 1/2 pint a day - - - - - 2.
 70. pigs @ 1/2 pint a day - - - - - 70. days 1.80
 2. beavers 3. gall. a day to July 10. 190. days - - - - - 36.
 to Mar. 10. 70. days 20.
 Stable 6. horses & a mule 14. gall. a day to July 1. 150. days 52.50
 Planton 1. horse & 6. mules @ 1 1/2 bush. a day to July 1. 180. days - - - - - 54.
 92. sheep. @ 1/2 pint a day - - - - - to Mar. 15. 74. days - - - - - 10.60
 5. oxen @ 1. bushel a day - - - - - to May 15. 120. days - - - - - 24.
 342.40

Resources.

Jan. 1. due of rent - - - - - 170.
 Mill [to Sep. 30. w^d 6. 150. B. but] to July 1.
 350. B. flour. [700. bush. bran +] 175. b. shipstuffs 22.
 60. Jo. of Monticello [120. b. bran +] 30. b. shipstuffs 6
 250. b. oats rent - - - - - 50

Person	Mr House	Person	Mr House
Barnaby	Betty Br	Peter Hen	50 persons
Stannard	Mary	Phil B.	2 p. Hen
Davy son	Burnell	Sally Hen	52 p. 13 1/2
Doll	Critta	Beverly	
James	Davy	Hannet	
James	Fanny	Madison	
Erilia	Ellen	Eston	
Henry	Sunny	Thurston	
Milly	Wendy	Wormy	
Lilburne	Indridge	Ursula	
Makilla	Dolly	Joe	
Bond	Gill	Anne	
Laila	Israel	Betty	
Nancy	Joe	Corvulin	
James L's	Edy	Thomas	
Tony	Mania	Louisa	
Isabel	Patsy	Caroline	
Supitor	Betty	Critta	
Amey	Peter		
Amey	Isabella		
Polly Cha.	John Hen		
Jonny L's	John Gaud		
Jonny M's	Leary		
Moses	Mary Mor		
Sucky	Davy		
Nace	Celia		
Shophen	Tucker		
Indridge	Zacharia		
Sally Mack	Patsy		
Fennel	Forrest		
Nancy	Fontain		
Charlotte	Nancy		
	Ned		

1821.2	woolen	shirting	blankets	beds	hats	1821.2	woolen	shirting	blankets	beds	hats
Darnaby	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Mary Bot.	5	7	1	1	1
Stannard 9	3 3/4	4 2/3	1	1	1	Mary Mos.	5	7	1	1	1
Betty Brown	5	7	1	1	1	Davy	3	5 1/4	6 2/3	1	1
Burwell	5	7	1	1	1	Celia	6	4 1/2	5 2/3	1	1
Grilla	5	7	1	1	1	Tucker	10	3 1/2	4 1/3	1	1
Davy senr.	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Zachariah	12	3	3 2/3	1	1
Davy J.	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Patsy	15	2 1/2	2 2/3	1	1
Fanny	5	7	1	1	1	Fossat	17	1 3/4	2	1	1
Ellen	9	3 3/4	4 2/3	1	1	Fortaine	19	1 1/4	1 1/3	1	1
Jenny	11	3 1/4	4	1	1	Nance	5 1/2	7	1	1	1
Indridge 19	1 1/4	1 1/3	1	1	1	Nance	5	7	1	1	1
Doll	5	7	1	1	1	Ned	5 1/2	7	1	1	1
Dolly	5	7	1	1	1	Jenny	5	7	1	1	1
Gill	5	7	1	1	1	Moses	3	5 1/4	6 2/3	1	1
Isaac	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Sucky	6	4 1/2	5 2/3	1	1
Israel	5	7	1	1	1	Peter Hem.	5 1/2	7	1	1	1
James	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Phil B.	5 1/2	7	1	1	1
Cretha	5	7	1	1	1	Polly Cha.	10	3 1/2	4 1/3	1	1
Milly 7	4 1/4	5 1/3	1	1	1	Sally Hem.	5	7	1	1	1
Lilburne 9	3 3/4	4 2/3	1	1	1	Madison	5	4 3/4	6	1	1
Matilda 11	3 1/4	4	1	1	1	Eston	8	4	5	1	1
Band 15	2 1/4	2 2/3	1	1	1	Shepherd	5	7	1	1	1
Lorila 18	1 1/2	1 2/3	1	1	1	Indridge	5	7	1	1	1
Nancy 19	1 1/4	1 1/3	1	1	1	Thimston	5 1/2	7	1	1	1
James L.	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Wormly	5 1/2	7	1	1	1
Jerry	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Ursula	5	7	1	1	1
Isabel & 22	5	7	1	1	1	Joe	5	4 3/4	6	1	1
Jupiter 4	5	6 1/3	1	1	1	Anne	7	4 1/4	5 1/3	1	1
Army 20	1	1	1	1	1	Dolly	9	3 3/4	4 2/3	1	1
Joe	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Cornelius	11	3 1/4	4	1	1
Edy	5	7	1	1	1	Thomas	13	2 3/4	3 1/3	1	1
Maria 7	4 1/4	5 1/3	1	1	1	Louisa	16	2	2 1/3	1	1
Patsy 10	3 1/2	4 1/3	1	1	1	Caroline	18	1 1/2	1 2/3	1	1
Betsy 12	3	3 2/3	1	1	1	Grilla	19	1 1/4	1 1/3	1	1
Peter 15	2 1/4	2 2/3	1	1	1	34					
Isabella 19	1 1/4	1 1/3	1	1	1	Sally M.	5	7	1	1	1
William 21	6 1/2	7 1/3	1	1	1	Nancy 12	3	3 2/3	1	1	1
John G.	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	Charlotte 16	2	2 1/3	1	1	1
Ann	5	7	1	1	1						
John Hem.	5	7	1	1	1	men	93 1/2	259	20	5	
Lewis	5 1/2	7	1	1	1	women	95				
Jenny	5	7	1	1	1	children	120 1/2	147 2/3			
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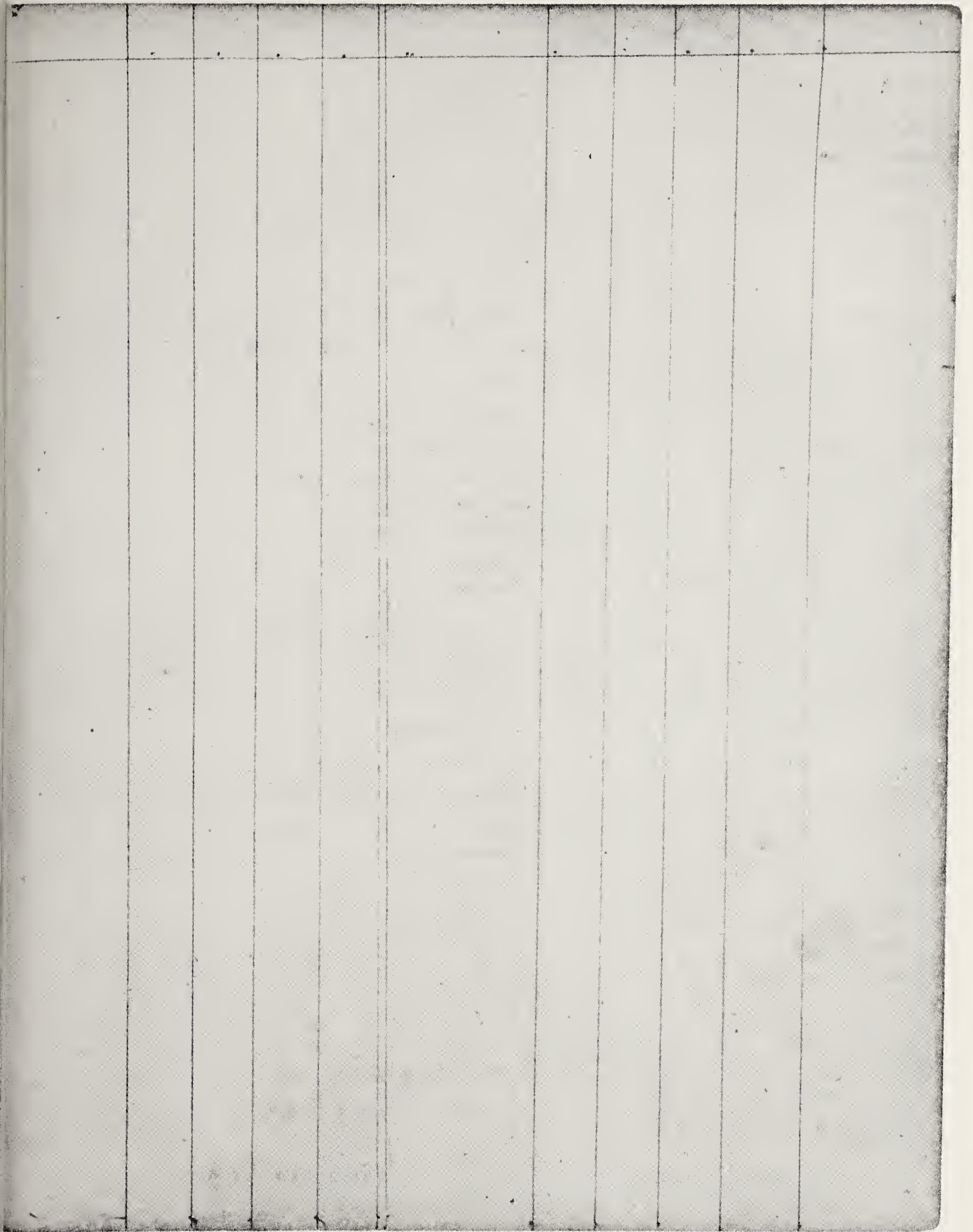
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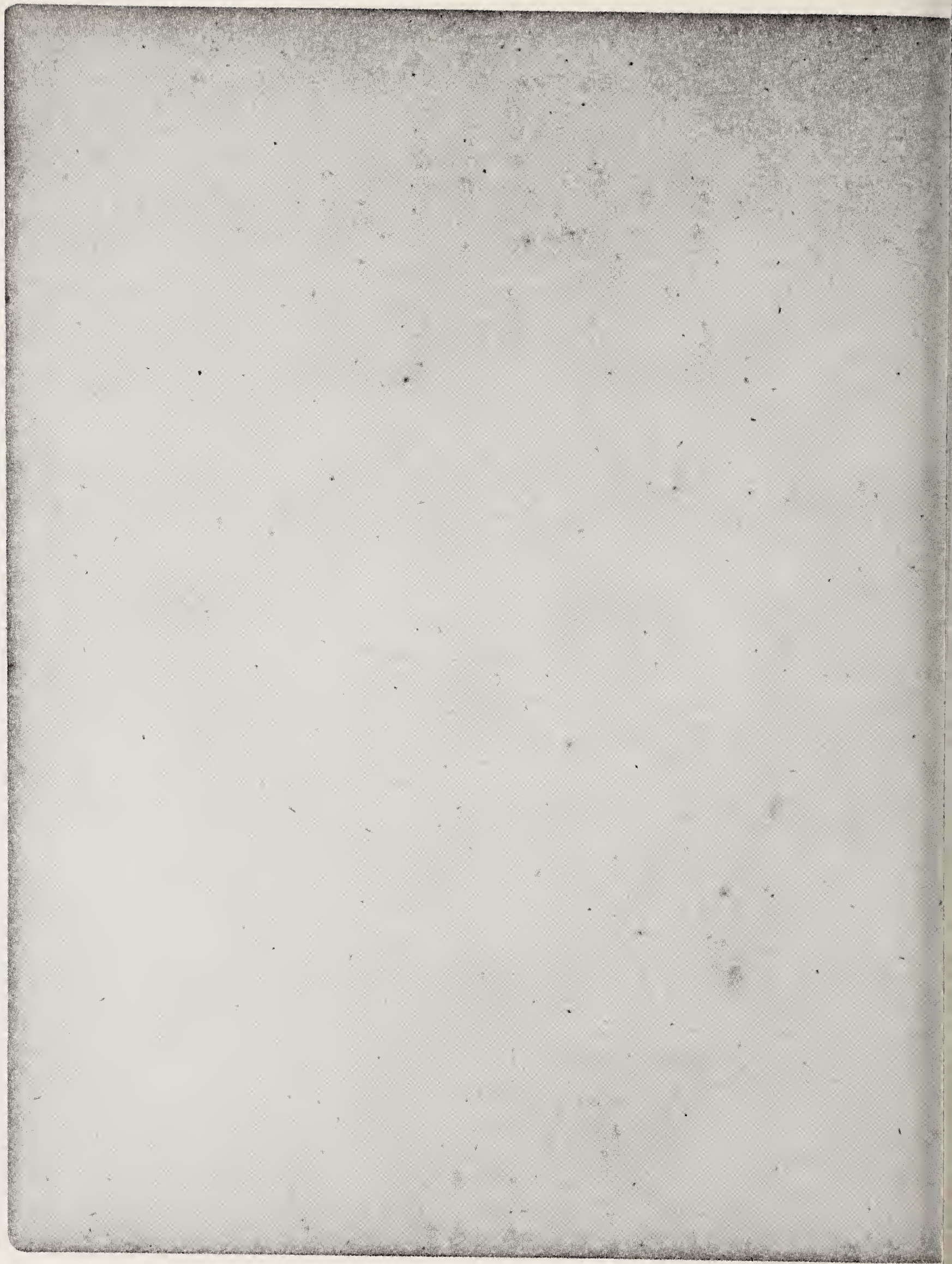
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1822	woollen	shirting	blanket	bed		woollen	shirting	blanket	bed
Barnaby	5 1/2	7			Mary Bel's	5	7		
Stannard 9	4 1/4	5 2/3			Mary Mos'	5	7		1
Betty Brown	5	7	1		Davy	5 1/2	7		
[Burnwell					Celia	6	5	6 2/3	1
Critta	5	7			Tucker	10	4	5 1/3	1
Davy senr.	5 1/2	7			Zachoma	12	3 1/2	4 2/3	
Davy j.	5 1/2	7			Patsy	15	2 3/4	3 2/3	
Fanny	5	7			Fosset	17	2 1/4	3	
Ellen	9	4 1/4	5 2/3	1	Fontaine	19	1 3/4	2 1/3	
Jenny	11	3 3/4	5		Nace		5 1/2	7	
Indridge 14	1 3/4	2 1/3			Nance		5	7	
Doll	5	7	1	1	Ned		5 1/2	7	
Dolly	5	7		1	Jenny		5	7	
Gill	5 1/2	7			Moses		5 1/2	7	1
Isaac	5 1/2	7			Sucky	6	5	6 2/3	
Israel	5 1/2	7	1		Peter Hem	5 1/2	7		1
Jamas	5 1/2	7			Polly Cha	10	4	5 1/2	
Critta	5	7	1	1	Randal	5 1/2	7		
Milly	7	4 3/4	6 1/3		Sally Hem	5	7		
Lilburn	9	4 1/4	5 2/3	1	Madison	5 1/2	7		
Mahilda	11	3 3/4	5	1	Eston	8	4 1/2	6	
Band	15	2 3/4	3 2/3		Shepherd	5 1/2	7		
Lovils	18	2	2 2/3		Indridge	5	7		1
Nancy	19	1 3/4	2 1/3		Thornston	5 1/2	7		1
Jarnes L's	5 1/2	7	1		Wormley	5 1/2	7		
Jerry	5 1/2	7	1		Ursula	5	7		
Jupiter	5 1/2	7			Joe	5 1/2	7		
Amy	20	1 1/2	2		Anne	7	4 3/4	6 1/3	
Joe	5 1/2	7			Dolly	9	4 1/4	5 1/3	1
Ealy	5	7		1	Cornelius	11	3 3/4	5	
Mama	7	4 3/4	6 1/3		Thomas	13	3 1/4	4 1/3	1
Patsy	10	4	5 1/3	1	Louisa	16	2 1/2	3 1/3	
Betsy	12	3 1/2	4 2/3		Caroline	18	2	2 2/3	
Peter	15	2 3/4	3 2/3	1	Critta	19	1 3/4	2 1/3	
Isabella	19	1 3/4	2 1/3		3A				
William	21	1 1/4	1 2/3		Sally M	5	7		
John Gardner	5 1/2	7	1		Nancy	12	3 1/2	4 2/3	
Amy	5	7			Charlotte	16	2 1/2	3 1/3	
John Hem	5 1/2	7	1		3				
Louisa	5 1/2	7	1	June 19.		16 1/2	21 1/3	9	1
Jenny	5	7				17 1/2	23 1/3	12	4
41	17 1/2	23 1/3	12	4		33 6 1/2	44 5 2/3	21	5

1823. Decemb.	woolen	shirting	blanket	bed		woolen	shirting	blanket	bed
Barnaby	5 1/2	7	1		Mary Beti	5	7	1	
Stannard 9	4 1/2	6			B Mary Moses	5	7	1	
Betty Brown	5	7			Davy	5 1/2	7		
Burnwell			1		B Celia	6 5	7		
Crilla	5	7			B Tucker	10 4 1/4	5 2/3		
Davy sent	5 1/2	7	1		Zacharia	12 3 3/4	5	1	
Davy j	5 1/2	7	1		B Patsy	15 3	4		
Fanny	5	7			B Fossil	17 2 1/2	3 1/3		
Ellen 9	4 1/2	6			B Fontaine	19 2	2 2/3		
Jenny 11	4	5 1/3			John	5 1/2	7		
Inolridge 19	2	2 2/3			Ranee	5	7		
Melinda 22	1 1/4	1 2/3			Ned	5 1/2	7	1	
Doll	5	7			Jenny	5	7	1	1
Dolly sold	5	7			Moses	5 1/2	7		
Bill		7			B Suckey	6 5	7	1	
Isaac	5 1/2	7			Peter Hem	5 1/2	7		
Israel		7			Polly Cha's	10 4 1/4	5 2/3	1	
B James	5 1/2	7	1		B Randal	5 1/2	7	1	
Crilla	5	7	1		Sally Hem	5	7	1	
Milly 7	5	6 2/3			Madison	5 1/2	7		
Lilburn 9	4 1/2	6			Eston	5 1/2	7		
Matilda 11	4	5 1/3			Shepherd	5 1/2	7		
Band 15	3	4			Indridge	5	7		1
Louila 18	2 1/4	3			Thrimston	5 1/2	7		
Nancy 19	2	2 2/3			Wormly	5 1/2	7	1	
Mary James 21	5 1/2	7			Ursula	5	7		1
Jerry	5 1/2	7			B Joe	5 1/2	7		
Jupiter	5 1/2	7	1		Anne	7 5	6 2/3		
Amey 20	1 3/4	2 1/3			Dolly	9 4 1/2	6		
Joe	5 1/2	7			Cornelius 11	4	5 1/3		
Edy	5	7	1		Thomas 13	3 1/2	4 2/3	1	
mana 7	5	6 2/3			Louisa 16	2 3/4	3 2/3		
Patsy 10	4 1/4	5 2/3			Caroline 18	2 1/4	3		
Betsy 12	3 3/4	5			Crilla 19	2	2 2/3		
Peter 15	3	4			George 23				
Isabella 19	2	2 2/3			3d infant 24				
William 21	1 1/2	2			Sally M	5	7		1
John	5 1/2	7			Nancy 12	3 3/4	5		
Amey	5	7		1	Charlotte 16	2 3/4	3 2/3	1	
John H									
Jenny L	5	7		1					
41.	158 1/4	210 2/3	9	2					
						166 1/4	235	13	4
						158 1/4	210 2/3	9	2
						324 1/2	445 2/3	22	6

1824. Dec.	woollen	shirting	blankets	beds		woollen	shirting	blankets	beds	
Barnaby	5 1/2	7				Moses	5 1/2	7		
Stannard	9 4 3/4	6 1/3	1			Nare	5 1/2	7	1	
Betty Brown	5	7		1		Nance	5	7		1
Burwell						Ned	5 1/2	7		
Critty	5	7	1	1		Jenny	5	7	1	
Davy senr.	5 1/2	7				Peter Hem.	5 1/2	7		
Davy junr.	5 1/2	7				Polly Cha.	10 4 1/2	6		
Davy Mose's	5 1/2	7	1			Sally Hem	5	7		1
Fanny	5	7	1	1		Madison	5 1/2	7	1	
Ellen	9 4 3/4	6 1/3				Eston	5 1/2	7	1	
Jenny	11 4 1/4	5 2/3				Shepherd	5 1/2	7	1	
Indridge	19 2 1/4	3				Indridge	5	7		
Melinda	1 1/2	2				Thrimston	5 1/2	7		
Doll	5	7				Wormley	5 1/2	7		
Gill	5 1/2	7	1			Ursula	5	7	1	
Israel	5 1/2	7	1			Anna	5	7	1	
Isaac	5 1/2	7				Dolly	9 5	6 2/3		
James	5 1/2	7				Cornelius	11 4 1/4	5 2/3		
Jerry	5 1/2	7				Thomas	13 3 3/4	5		
Amy	20 2	2 2/3				Louisa	16 3	4		
Jupiter	5 1/2	7				Caroline	18 2 1/2	3 1/3		
Joe	5 1/2	7	1			Critta	19 2 1/4	3		
Edy	5	7				George	23 1 1/4	1 2/3		
Maria	5	7				.....	1	1 1/3		
Patsy	10 4 1/2	6				Zacharia	12	8		
Betsy	12 4	5 1/3								
Peter	15 3 1/4	4 1/3				Sally Marks	5	7	1	
Isabella	19 2 1/4	3				Nancy	12 4	5 1/3		
William	21 1 3/4	2 1/3				Charlotte	3	4		
John	5 1/2	7								
Aray	5	7	1							
John Hem						23. children	68 3/4	101		
Jenny L's	5	7				21. men	115 1/2	147		
Mary Bet's	5	7				16. women	80	112		
						60.	264 1/4	360	16	5
						Burwell				
						J. Hem.				





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and Relevant Extracts from
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Slaves and Slavery

SLAVES were the backbone of Jefferson's plantations, and although he was in favor of their abolition, he was never able to eliminate them from his economy, because to have done so would have destroyed the chief support of all the activities of his plantations. He then agreed to slavery as he did to the cultivation of tobacco and corn: they were necessary evils to be put up with in the environment in which he was living.

Writing on the emancipation of slaves, to Edward Coles, on August 25, 1814, from Monticello, after a long life of working for their freedom and of using all the weapons at his command to bring it about, he remarked, "it shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man. . . . my opinion has ever been that, until more can be done for them, we should endeavor, with those whom fortune has thrown on our hands, to feed and clothe them well, protect them from all ill usage, require such reasonable labor only as is performed voluntarily by freemen, & be led by no repugnancies to abdicate them, and our duties to them. . . ."

Jefferson held to the opinion given above and never exploited his slaves. He was vitally interested in every phase of their welfare. In fact, he was often overindulgent to their wishes. This indulgence of his "people" or "servants," as he, like so many Southern slaveholders, often called his slaves, made them devoted and faithful to him, ever solicitous for his comfort and happiness.

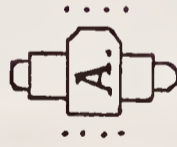
By the will of his father, Jefferson inherited about twenty slaves. To these were added the slaves he received from his mother; those by the patrimony of John Wayles to his daughter, Jefferson's wife; and those by natural increase. By 1774 Jefferson owned one hundred and eighty-seven slaves. The number was increased or decreased from year to year by birth, death, sale, and by purchase. Jefferson rarely bought slaves, but he was often compelled to sell them in order to meet his debts.

Jefferson's slave quarters were located at convenient places over his plantations. The houses were built of logs and they were grouped together so that "the fewer nurses may serve & that the children may be more easily attended to by the superannuated women." But some of the houses were separated from the general groups, and at Monticello the cooks and house-servants lived in rooms along the Southeast Offices of the mansion house, and in log

The foregoing valuation sworn to in due form before me, a magistrate for the said county—of Albemarle—
Given under my hand this day of in the year 1796

[illegible]

Jefferson's drawing, 1796, to show the location of the mansion house, and the outhouses on Mulberry Row, which were just above the vegetable garden, at Monticello. These outhouses are often mentioned in the *Farm Book*. (*Jefferson Papers*, M.H.S. and used by permission)



Plat of the buildings referred to in the above Declaration of Thomas Jefferson.

A. is the dwelling house 90. feet long 40. f. broad in the middle exclusive of porticos, two story high except the two bows at the ends, the walls entirely built of stone and brick, the floors above ground & the roof of wood.

B. is an Outchamber, with a kitchen below ground 142 feet from the dwelling house one story high, the walls of brick, the floor above ground & roof of wood. 20. f. square.

c. is a joiner's shop, 57. feet by 18. feet, the underpinning and chimney of stone, the walls and roof of wood.

D. is a smith and nailer's shop 37. by 18. f. the walls & roof of wood.

E. is a stone outhouse 34. by 17. f. the floor of brick, the walls & chimney of stone, the roof of wood, one story high.

F. is a stable 105. feet long and 12. f. wide. one story high. all of wood.

the following houses are not included in the insurance, but as they are in a line with those insured, and in their neighborhood they are described as follows.

g. g. are 2 coal sheds of wood 20. by 15 f. and 22 f. apart, and it is proposed to build 4. others g. g. about 25. f. apart for coal also. they are to contain about 8000. bushels of charcoal. from the nearest of them is 7 poles 15 links to

h. a saw pit where a considerable quantity of timber usually lies. from the pit is 47. feet to

i. a house 30 by 18½ f. all of wood, the floor of earth, in which is stored plank & such things, it is used at times as a carpenter's shop, and sometimes a little fire is made on the floor. from this house is 56. feet to

C. the joiner's shop before mentioned, one of the ensured buildings, from C. is 98 f. to
D. the smith and nailers shop before mentioned, one of the ensured buildings.

j. is to be added to D. 50. feet by 18. f. for the nailers, to be built immediately, and

making one building with D. it is included in the valuation of D. as if it were already built, & is a part of the ensured property. this addition will extend to within 3. or 4. feet of k, a necessary house of wood 8. feet square. from k. it is 67. feet to

l. a house 16. by 10½ feet, of wood, used as a storehouse for nailrod & other iron. from l. it is 8. feet to

m. a house 43½ f. by 16. f. of wood, the floors of earth, used as a smoke house for meat, and a dairv. from m. it is 24. f. to

n. a wash house 16½ f. square of wood, the chimney also wood, the floor earth. from
n. it is 38.f. to

o. a servant's house 20½ f. by 12 f. of wood, with a wooden chimney, & earth floor. from o. it is 103. feet to

E. the stone out house before described, being part of the ensured property. from E. it is 7. feet to

p. a shed 25 f. by 12½ f. of wood, the floor of brick, used as a stone house for joiner's work. from p. it is 3. f. to

q. a servant's house 14. f. by 17. f. of wood, with a wooden chimney, the floor of earth. from q. it is 75. feet to

r. which as well as s. and t. are servants houses of wood with wooden chimnies, & earth floors, 12. by 14. feet, each and 27. feet apart from one another. from t. it is 85. feet to

F. the stable before described, being one of the ensured buildings. this line of buildings from g. to F. is a strait one, & in it's nearest parts to A. & B. passes 227. feet from A. and 142. feet from B. the whole line i. to F. is shortly to be connected by a row of paling either touching or passing very near to every house between those points in the said line.

houses built for them on Mulberry Row. (See page 6.) The houses appear to have been well built and comfortable.

Little is known about the furnishings of the houses. When two of Jefferson's slaves married he always gave them "a pot, and a bed, which I always promise them when they take husbands at home. . . ." Beds, blankets, pots, sifters for flour and meal, hats, stockings, and shoes were issued to them at intervals at all of his plantations; while cloths and clothes were distributed usually at the beginning of the summer and the winter seasons. Each received his supply of provisions.

Most of the work on the plantations was done by the slaves. The work consisted of farming, gardening, manufacturing of nails, coopering, carpentry, masonry, shoemaking, spinning and weaving, housework, and a multitude of other services that belonged to a large plantation. To each was assigned a special task, depending on his age and talents. Jefferson allotted the work as follows: "children till 10. years old to serve as nurses. from 10. to 16. the boys make nails, the girls spin. at 16. go into the ground or learn trades." Jefferson often found it necessary to hire slaves because his slaves were not sufficient to do all of the plantation work. Occasionally he was able to lease some of his slaves to other owners.

Although Jefferson's memoranda and letters dealing with his slaves indicate that their physical and bodily needs were well supplied (for instance, he used Jenner's vaccine for smallpox on his slaves almost as early as did the medical profession in England), none of them record the part that education and religion played in their lives. This seems unusual, for these two subjects were uppermost in his thoughts. A few letters written by John Hemings, and one written by Hanah, of Poplar Forest, reveal that at least some of the slaves knew how to write and spell; and Hanah's admonition to Jefferson in her letter, ". . . I hope as you have been so blessed in this that you considered it was God that done it and no other one we all ought to be thankful for what he has done for us we ought to serve and obey his commandments that you may set to win the prize and after glory run . . ." shows some familiarity with the Bible.

Life for the slaves on Jefferson's plantations was probably a happy one. They were free from work on Sundays and on Christmas Day, and no doubt on other days. But what they did with their leisure time is not often given in the record. We know that they sang folk songs and told folk tales. Eugène A. Vail, a Frenchman, relates, in his book, *De la littérature et des hommes de lettres des*

États-unis d'Amérique,* that Martha Jefferson sang and told him a number of the songs and tales that the Negroes enjoyed. He records several of them in his book. During their spare time they also tended their gardens, but they were not allowed to raise such crops as tobacco, because it was a money crop for the plantation.

A considerable portion of the *Farm Book* records the names of Jefferson's slaves, their births and deaths, and many other details relative to them. This record, with the following letters, indentures, and memoranda, and with the many references to slaves and related subjects in the *Garden Book*, gives a detailed picture of Jefferson's slaves.

From Account Book, 1773

Jan. 21. bot Ursula, and her sons George and Bagwell of Fleming's estate for £ 210. 12. month's credit.

Jan. 29. sold Sandy to Colo Chas Lewis for £ 100. paiable in June. from which deduct £ 9-4-8 my present debt with him, leaves £ 90-15-4. to be recd.

Jane Jefferson's slaves deeded to Thomas Jefferson,

September 29, 1773

Whereas Peter Jefferson did by his last will and testament bequeath to Jane Jefferson his wife part of all his slaves during her life, with power by deed or will to appoint the same to any of his children as she should think proper, & on his death partition having been made, the several slaves hereafter named with divers others were allotted to the sd Jane: and whereas Thomas Jefferson one of the children of the sd Peter hath paid and assumed to pay for the sd Jane divers large sums of money, which she the sd Jane hath no means or prospect of repaying to him, and is also indebted to him other monies on her own proper account; and it is just that the sd Jane should make to him the only recompense which it is in her power to make; Now this indenture made on the twenty ninth day of September in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy three between the sd Jane and the sd Thomas witnesseth that the sd Jane in pursuance of the sd power and authority by the sd will of her husband to her given doth by these presents, appoint, give and convey unto the sd Thomas & his heirs the following negro slaves to wit, Caesar, Val, Simon, Lucinda, Charlotte, Squire, Belinda, and her children not before named, Sall the elder

* Paris, 1841. This book was called to my attention by Professor Gilbert Chinard.

and her children not before named, Sall the younger and her children not before named, Minerva, Sarah, Cyrus

and the future issue of all the said slaves some of which sd slaves are in possession of the sd Thomas by virtue of a lease of the same with the Shadwell plantation made to the sd Thomas by the sd Jane for her life, and others thereof are in the possession of the sd Jane.

Provided nevertheless that nothing in this deed contained shall bar or restrain the sd Jane from having and demanding during her life the hire for such of the sd slaves as are in the sd lease conveyed, nor from keeping during her life possession of such others as, being not under lease, are in her possession.

Provided also that it shall be lawful for the sd Jane by her last will & testament duly executed in writing to appoint any of the sd slaves to any other of her children, such appointee, or any other person paying to the sd Thomas within one year after her death all sums of money which shall then be due to the sd Thomas from the sd Jane and all sums for which the sd Thomas shall stand engaged for her. in witness whereof the sd Jane shall hereto put her hand and seal the day & year above-written.

Signed sealed and delivered in presence of also the words 'within one year after her death?	} the words 'Jane Jefferson his wife' being first interlined	} Thos. Garth Josa. Huckstep
(MHi)		Jane Jefferson

From Account Book, 1774

Mar. 14 recd from the Forest 4 Doz. 10. bott. of Jamaica rum (note I shall keep a tally of these as we use them by making a mark in the margin in order to try the fidelity of Martin.

From Account Book, 1776

1776. Mar. 31. By 11. slaves appointed to me by my mother to endemnify me for monies paid for her. worth 550/0/0. (Fee Book)

To Reverend Richard Price

Paris Aug. 7. 1785.

Your favor of July 2. came duly to hand. the concern you therein express as to the effect of your pamphlet in America, induces me to trouble you with some observations on that subject. from my acquaintance with that country I think I am able to judge with some degree of certainty of the manner in which it will have been received.

Southward of the Chesapeake it will find but few readers concurring with it in sentiment on the subject of slavery. from the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find a respectable minority ready to adopt it in practice, a minority which for weight & worth of character preponderates against the greater number, who have not the courage to divest their families of a property which however keeps their consciences inquiet. Northward of the Chesapeake you may find here & there an apponent to your doctrine as you may find here and there a robber & a murderer, but in no greater number. in that part of America, there being but few slaves, they can easily disencumber themselves of them, and emancipation is put into such a train that in a few years there will be no slaves Northward of Maryland. in Maryland I do not find such a disposition to begin the redress of this enormity as in Virginia. this is the next state to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice & oppresion: a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining daily recruits from the influx into office of young men grown & growing up. these have sucked in the principles of liberty as it were with their mother's milk, and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of this question. be not therefore discouraged. what you have written will do a great deal of good: and could you still trouble yourself with our welfare, no man is more able to give aid to the labouring side. . . . our country is getting into a ferment against yours, or rather have caught it from yours: god knows how this will end: but assuredly in one extreme or the other. there can be no medium between those who have loved so much. I think the decision is in your power as yet, but will not be so long. . . . (DLC)

To Alexander McCaul

Paris Jan. 4. 1787.

. . . A number of slaves have been sold, & I have lately received information from Messrs. Eppes & Lewis that the proceeds of that sale with the profits of the estate to the end of 1786 would pay off the whole of the secondary debts. . . . (DLC)

To Dr. Edward Bancroft

Paris Jan. 26. 1788.

. . . a man's moral sense must be unusually strong, if slavery does not make him a thief. he who is permitted by law to have no property of his own, can with difficulty conceive that property is founded in anything but force. . . . (DLC)

To Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville

Paris Feb. 11. 1788.

I am very sensible of the honour you propose to me of becoming a member of the society for the abolition of the slave trade. you know that nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition not only of the trade but of the condition of slavery: and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object. . . . (DLC)

To Benjamin Banneker

Philadelphia Aug. 30. 1791.

I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 19th. instant and for the Almanac it contained. no body wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren, talents equal to those of the other colours of man, & that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa & America. I can add with truth that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body & mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecillity of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit. . . . (DLC)

To M. J. A. N. C. Marquis de Condorcet

Philadelphia Aug. 30. 1791.

. . . I am happy to be able to inform you that we have now in the United States a negro, the son of a black man born in Africa, and of a black woman born in the United States, who is a very respectable Mathematician. I procured him to be employed under one of our chief directors in laying out the new federal city on the Potowmac, & in the intervals of his leisure, while on that work, he made an almanac for the next year, which he sent me in his own hand-writing, & which I inclose to you. I have seen very elegant solutions of Geometrical problems by him. add to this that he is a very worthy & respectable member of society. he is a free man. I shall be delighted to see these instances of moral eminence so multiplied as to prove that the want of talents observed in them is merely the effect of their degraded condition, and not proceeding from any difference in the structure of the parts on which intellect depends. . . . (DLC)

To Mr. Hylton

Philadelphia Feb. 5. 1792.

My letters to you are always letters of trouble . . . having occasion for a servant boy, who can shave, dress & follow me on horseback, &

none such being to be had here, I have thought of a small French boy, Joseph, who came from Europe with mr Skipwith. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Feb. 13. 1792.

. . . My former letters will have mentioned to you my anxiety to get a statement of the sale of my negroes, mentioning names, prices, purchasers, & what ready money was received, also whether they are getting my wheat to market from Monticello, & to hasten my tobo. from Bedford. the illiterate character of Clarkson obliges me to trouble you for information on these subjects, & to let me know from time to time the proceedings & prospects of the current year. . . . (DLC)

From Benjamin Rush

Walnut Street [Philadelphia] 26th: March. 1792

The bearer John Hall, a freeman has been encouraged to apply to you to dispose of one of your female slaves to whom he was married while he resided in Virginia. The man bears a good Character, and from the number of worthy people in our city who have taken an interest in his happiness, I have no doubt but he will faithfully comply with any engagement he may enter into, to pay the full price for his wife. I am sure you will rejoice in this opportunity of doing homage to your own principles, as well as in conferring a high degree of happiness upon a worthy, but unfortunate individual. (DLC)

To Nicholas Lewis

Philadelphia Apr. 12. 1792.

. . . I am not certain whether I gave you power to dispose of Mary according to her desire to Colo. Bell, with such of her younger children as she chose. if I did not, I now do it, and will thank you to settle the price as you think best. the 1st. day of July in every year, being near my days of payment, his might be fixed to that day of the present year or the next, just as you can agree. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Apr. 19. 1792.

. . . Your account of Clarkson's conduct gives me great pleasure. my first wish is that the labourers may be well treated, the second that they may enable me to have that treatment continued by making as much as will admit it. the man who can effect both objects is

rarely to be found. I wish you would take occasion to express to him the satisfaction I recieve from this communication. . . . (DLC)

To Bowling Clarke

Monticello Sep. 21. 1792.

The following are the slaves which I have concluded to sell from Bedford. to wit.

Sam, Dilcey (daughter of Bess) born in 1769. Ambrose, born in 1785. Hannah born in 1789. and Dinah born in 1791. forming one family. York & Jame boy sons of old Will & Judy. the purchaser will [*illegible*] be willing to receive the two old people for nothing should they chuse to go with their sons. this, as they please. Judy (Abbey's daughter) and Amy.

Frank, Lunda's. Will, the one which has no wife in the estate. these being only 11. in number are not sufficient to make a sale by themselves, and indeed I do not (while in public life) like to have my name annexed in the public papers to the sale of property. on consultation with mr Winston and mr Clay, we conclude it will be best to carry them to some other sale of slaves in that part of the country to be sold. Sam's family to be sold in one lot, the credit to be one year for half, & 2 years for the other half, with interest from the date. but if paid at the day of paiment the interest to be given up, for ready money allow 5. per cent discount. if the purchaser is substantial, take one substantial security with him in each bond. if he is not substantial himself require two good securities in each bond, to be bound *jointly & severally*. . . . (DLC)

[Enclosure]

Sep. 21. 1792

I Thomas Jefferson of Albemarle in Virginia do hereby constitute Edmund Winston and Charles Clay esquires and Bowling Clarke my attornies for the special purpose of selling, and conveying the following slaves to wit, Sam, Dilcey, Ambrose, Hanah, & Dinah of one family, York, Jameboy, Judy, Amy, Will & Frank, and taking paiment or obligations of paiment for the same: and I hereby ratify and confirm whatever acts relative to the premises shall be done by them, or by myself, in witness whereof I have hereto set my hand & seal this twenty first day of September 1792.

Witness

P. DeRieux

(MHi)

To Randolph Jefferson

Monticello Sep. 25. 1792.

Finding it necessary to sell a few more slaves to accomplish the debt of mr Wayles to Farrell & Jones, I have thought of disposing of Dinah & her family. as her husband lives with you I should chuse to sell her in your neighborhood so as to unite her with him. if you can find any body therefore within a convenient distance of you, who would be a good master, & who wishes to make such a purchase, I will let her & her children go on a valuation by honest men either there or here, one half of the money to be paid within a year, the other within two years, & if not paid at the day interest is to run from the date of the bond. good security would be required. Dinah is 31 years old and two children are to go with her, to wti Sally 12. years old and Lucey whose age I do not know. Dinah is a fine house wench of the best disposition in the world, and tho' she has worked out ever since I went to Europe, she would still suit any person for house business. if you can find a purchaser write me a line & send it to mr Randolph & he will convey it to me immediately & an answer & proper orders shall be sent. . . . (DLC)

Memorandum

Memm.

1792. Sep. 23.

£

Necessaries. viz. negro clothes for 82. @ 18/7 averg. . . .	76-3-10
blankets 32. @ 10/	16-
iron 200. lb @ 4 ^d	3-6-8
salt. 4 sacks	2-8
	<hr/>
	97-18-6

(ViU)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Oct. 12. 1792.

. . . I therefore, while at home, sent orders to Bedford to sell a dozen negroes from thence taking the opportunity of some sale in the neighborhood to carry them to. In Albemarle I have concluded to sell Dinah & her younger children, & wrote to my brother to find a purchaser in his neighborhood, so as to unite her to her husband, the circumstances which determine me to fix on her. I am sorry I did not know your wish, as I would have arranged my matters otherwise, so as to have sold the two you mention, & especially Caesar, notorious for his rogueries. on the contrary they are now engaged with the overseers for the crop. Would it not be

practicable for you to sell their families at private sale in the neighborhood? mr E. Carter sold a great number in this way, & advantageously. . . . (ViU)

Freeing of James Hemings

Having been at great expence in having James Hemings taught the art of cookery, disiring to befriend him, and to require from him as little in return as possible, I do hereby promise & declare, that if the said James shall go with me to Monticello in the course of the ensuing winter, when I go to reside there myself, and shall there continue until he shall have taught such person as I shall place under him for the purpose to be a good cook, this previous condition being performed, he shall be thereupon made free, and I will thereupon execute all proper instruments to make him free. Given under my hand and seal in the county of Philadelphia and state of Pennsylvania this 15th. day of September one thousand seven hundred and ninety three.

Th: Jefferson.

Witness

Adrian Petit

(MHi)

Freeing of Robert Hemings

Dec. 24. 1794.

This indenture witnesseth that I Thomas Jefferson of the county of Albemarle have manumitted and made free Robert Hemings, son of Betty Hemmings: so that in future he shall be free & of free condition, with all his good & chattels and shall be discharged of all obligations of bondage or servitude whatsoever: and that neither myself, my heirs, executors or administrators shall have any right to exact from him hereafter any services or duties whatsoever. in witness whereof I have put my seal to this present deed of manumission. Given in Albemarle one thousand seven hundred and ninety four. . . . (MHi)

James Hemings, Freed

1796, Feb. 5.

This indenture made at Monticello in the county of Albemarle & commonwealth of Virginia on the fifth day of February one thousand seven hundred and ninety six witnesseth that I Thomas Jefferson of Monticello aforesaid do emancipate manumit & make free James Hemings, son of Betty Hemings, which said James is now of the age of thirty years so that in future he shall be free and of free

condition, & discharged of all duties & claims of servitude whatsoever, & shall have all the rights and privileges of a freedman. In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand & seal on the day & year above written, and have made these presents double of the same date, tenor & indenture one whereof is lodged in the court of Albemarle aforesaid to be recorded, & the other is delivered by me to the said James Hemings to be produced when & where it may be necessary.

Th: Jefferson

Signed, sealed & delivered

in presence of

John Carr

Francis Anderson

Albemarle County Court House, Phot. (ViU)

From Account Book, 1796

Feb. 26. gave James Hemings on his emancipation to bear exp. to Phila 30. D.

From Account Book, 1797

Jan. 3. agreed with William Wood to keep James, Dick, Patrick & Moses another year @ 16 £-10. I shall give Lucy Wood the same for James.

Sep. 20. Colo. Coles & mr Cocke have valued the two boys I bought from Rand. Jefferson (Carey & Ben) at £ 155.

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Dunginess Nov. 6: 97

. . . the negro clothing cannot be had cheaper on any credit in Richmond than 110-100 for cash. plainer laid in at 18 to 19½ D. Sterling Cotton—22 to 27 the price of 20 yd. good German Orna-
burgh may be had at 23. D. the Ell on a credit at Gamble & Temp-
ler: the Brittish is abundant at ½. everywhere. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia June 14. 98.

. . . in the meantime I thank you for putting an end to the cultivation of tobacco as the peculium of the negroes. I have ever found it necessary to confine them to such articles as are not raised on the farm. there is no other way of drawing a line between what is theirs & mine. . . . (DLC)

SLAVES AND SLAVERY

From Account Book, 1799

Mar. 18. borrowed of Jupiter 1. D. paid for cupping John 1. D.

To Thomas Mann Randolph

[Philadelphia] Feb. 4. 1800.

. . . By a letter recieved to-day also from mr Richardson I learn the death of Jupiter. he has fallen a victim to an imprudent perseverance in journeying. I was extremely against his coming to Fredsbg with me & had engaged Davy Bowles, but Jupiter was so much disturbed at this that I yielded. at the end of the second day's journey I saw how much he was worsted, & pressed him to wait at Hyde's a very excellent house till the horses should return, & I got the promise of a servant from thence. but he would not hear of it. at Fredericksburg again I engaged the tavernkeeper to take care of him till he should be quite well enough to proceed. and it seems that immediately on his arrival at home, he took another journey to my brother's where he died. I am sorry for him as well as sensible he leaves a void in my administration which I cannot fill up. I must get Martha or yourself to give orders for bottling the cyder in the proper season in March. there is nobody there but Ursula who unites trust & skill to do it. she may take anybody she pleases to aid her. I am in hopes if any keys had been delivered to Jupiter that they have been taken care of. mr Richardson may perhaps be useful in seeing to the cyder. when I say that Ursula may have anybody she pleases to help her, I mean to except John, who must have nothing to do with drink. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Mar. 31. 1800.

. . . what is mentioned to me in your letter & Richardson's of the state of Ursula is remarkeable. the symptoms & progress of her disease are well worthy attention. that a whole family should go off in the same & so singular a way is a problem of difficulty. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Edgehill Ap. 12. 1800

. . . Ursula is better tho still confined in bed & greatly swelled. All goes well at Monto: what is under Lillie admirably. . . . (MHi)

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

From Account Book, 1800

Aug. 23. census of my family now given in

males. free whites under 10.	2.	females do.	2 = 4
of 10. & under 16	1.	. . . . .	0 1
16. & under 26.	3.	. . . . .	1 4
26. & under 45.	1.	. . . . .	0 1
45. & upwards	1	. . . . .	0 1
all other free persons			0
slaves			93

104

To Dr. Henry Rose

Washington Oct. 23. 1801.

Your's of the 19th. is at hand. soon after my arrival at Monticello in Aug. I received from Dr. Waterhouse of Boston some vaccine matter of his own taking and some from Dr. Jenner of England just then come to hand. both of them took well, and exhibited the same identical appearances in the persons into whom they were inserted. I inoculated about 70 or 80 of my own family, my two sons in laws as many, in Aug. & Sep. all had kernels under the arms and a single pustule, to wit that made by the insertion. one or two of the whole number had very sore arms and 4. or 5 pustules on the arm. about 1 in 4. or 5. or 6. had slight feverish dispositions for an evening or two. none of them changed their regimen, & few intermitted their ordinary occupations. the inoculation of the mother in no instance gave it to the child which sucked her. being cautioned by Dr. waterhouse to be particularly attentive to the state of the matter with which I inoculated, I was so & believe that I preserved the disease in it's genuine form. I found that taking the premature & the tardy cases of maturation, there was one day which both comprehended, to wit, the 8th. (say 8. times 24 hours) from the time of inoculation. at that point of time I do not know that I ever saw the matter in a patient either unformed, or showing a commencement of maturation. I brought some matter to Dr. Gantt here who now inoculates from it, & means to try the variolous inoculation on some of his patients. I had no opportunity of doing that. I sent some matter to Doctr. Waterhouse, & I shall have his opinion in due time whether it had been continued genuine. from the trials I made, the Cowpox can hardly be called a disease. it produces no more inconvenience than a burn or blister of a quarter of an inch diameter. . . .

SLAVES AND SLAVERY

(*Tucker-Coleman Papers*, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated)
[In the Roger W. Barrett Collection there is a list of Jefferson's slaves vaccinated for smallpox, often indicating whether it took, for the years 1801, 1802, 1816-1824, 1826. A copy of this list may be seen in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.]

To Maria Jefferson Eppes

Washington July 2. 1802.

. . . I will write to Monticello and direct that should the nail boys or any others have it, [*measles*] they be removed to the plantation instantly on your arrival. indeed none of them but Bet's sons stay on the mountain: and they will be doubtless through it. I think therefore you may be there in perfect security. it had gone the neighborhood chiefly when I was there in May; so that it has probably disappeared. you should make enquiry on the road before you go into any house, as the disease is now universal through the state & all states. . . . (ViU)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington June 8. 1803.

Your's of May 30. has been recieved. should Brown recover so that the law shall inflict no punishment on Cary, it will be necessary for me to make an example of him in terrorem to others, in order to maintain the police so rigorously necessary among the nail boys. there are generally negro purchasers from Georgia passing about the state, to one of whom I would rather he should be sold than to any other person. if none such offers, if he could be sold in any other quarter so distant as never more to be heard of among us, it would to the others be as if he were put out of the way by death. I should regard price but little in comparison with so distant an exile of him as to cut him off compleatly from ever again being heard of. I have written this to mr Lilly and will thank you to advise & aid him in procuring a sale. in the meantime let him remain in jail at my expence, & under orders not to permit him to see or speak to any person what ever. . . . (DLC)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Sep. 21. 1803.

. . . Mr. John H. Craven, who rents my farms here & my negroes, is setting up a boat for the carriage of his own produce to Richmond. as this will be conducted by my own negroes, I would hereafter give him a preference in bringing whatever may be in your

hands for me when his boat is down. at other times mr Higginbotham's boat to be preferred as heretofore. . . . (MHi)

To Christopher Smith

Washington Mar. 12. 04.

I have been tardy in remitting the hire of your slaves for the last year, and am not able to do it now fully. I have this day remitted to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond for yourself and mr Charles Smith, one half the sum due you both, to wit 433 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars for which I inclose you an order & I will during the next month place the other half in their hands subject to your order. inability to avoid this delay must be my apology, and I pray you to permit this letter to serve for information through your channel to your brother also. . . . (MHi)

To William A. Burwell

Washington Jan. 28. 05.

. . . . I have long since given up the expectation of any early provision for the extinguishment of slavery among us. there are many virtuous men who would make any sacrifice to effect it, many equally virtuous men who persuade themselves either that the thing is not wrong, or that it cannot be remedied. and very many with whom interest is morality. the older we grow, the larger we are disposed to believe the last party to be. but interest is really going over to the side of morality. the value of the slave is every day lessening; his burthen on his master dayly increasing. interest is therefore preparing the disposition to be just; and this will be goaded from time to time by the insurrectionary spirit of the slaves. this is easily quelled in it's first efforts; but from being local it will become general, and whenever it does it will rise more formidable after every defeat, until we shall be forced, after dreadful scenes & sufferings to release them in their own way, which without such sufferings we might now model after our own convenience. . . . (DLC)

From Account Book, 1805

Aug. 21. bought a negro woman Lucretia, Jame's wife her 2. sons John & Randall and the child of which she is pregnant, when born, for £ 180. of which £ 100. to be paid before his departure & the residue a twelve month hence.

To Daniel Bradley

Washington Oct. 6. 05.

I was yesterday informed that you had in custody in the jail at

Fairfax a negro man of mine who ran away from my estate in Albemarle county 3. or 4. weeks ago. he is about 20. years of age, very stout, is a nailer by trade & called Jame Hubbard. my informant says he confessed at once the truth of his case, that he had three passes which he said had been given him by the son of mr Lilly my manager. mr George Swink who gives me this information, & goes about the middle of this month on a visit to Albemarle, agrees to take this man with him to whom therefore I will ask the favor of you to deliver him when called for & in the meantime to keep him in jail. Your bill for fees, whenever you shall be so good as to send it to me by post, shall be remitted through the same channel. it would be important for me to recieve the passes immediately because mr Lilly sets out on Thursday for Kentucky, & if he can get the passes into his hands before he goes I am sure he will probe the forgery to the bottom. it is chiefly to obtain them by return of the bearer that I send him express, and shall thank you to send them as our post goes off tomorrow. . . . (MHi)

From Daniel Bradley

Fairfax County 6th. Octr. 1805.

In answer to yours this day received I have to inform you that I apprehended your Negro on the 3d. of September last at this place then in possession of the within papers endeavoring to pass as a freeman which convinced me that he was a Runaway. I then had him committed to jail and as soon as he confessed the truth (which was on the 7th same month) I wrote to you informing you of the whole Circumstance and put the letter in the post-office at this place directed to you at your seat in Albemarle County. And have impatiently waited to hear whether the fellow was yours or had still kept the truth Out of view. . . . (MHi)

To John Jordan

Washington Dec. 21. 05.

Being now endeavoring to purchase young & able negro men for my own works, it is exactly counter to these views to sell Brown to you as proposed in your letter. however always willing to indulge connections seriously formed by those people, where it can be done reasonably, I shall consent, however reluctantly, to sell him to you. I should be glad to get such men equal to him in age, ability, & character, without any qualification to a trade, for 500. D. each, and think 100. D. in addition to this quite little enough for his trade. for 600. D. therefore, (if he desires it, & not else) I may

agree to part with him, and to yield reasonable accomodation as to the times of paiment. some other work remains to be done at Monticello which could go in part. . . . (MHi)

To Daniel Bradley

Washington Jan. 19. 06.

I recieved last night only your favor of Dec. 26. and perusing by the delay it has incurred that there is some inexactitude in the conveyance by post between us. I think it safest not to commit the money for you in this letter, but to lodge it with mr Lewis Deblois a merchant of Alexander, with which place I presume you must have daily relations. I am perfectly disposed to make you the allowance, beyond that of the law, which is thought reasonable. having no means of judging myself, I collect from your letter that about 15. D. in addition to the legal charges therein mentioned will be equal to what is at any time given: I therefore inclose 35. Dollars to mr Deblois and an order on him for that sum. Accept my salutations & thanks for your attention in this business. (MHi)

To John Jordan

Washington Feb. 9. 1806.

Although I consider Brown as richly worth the sum of 600. Dollars required for him in any proposition to you, and that your offer of 500. Dollars is less than his worth by all the difference, yet to indulge his inclinations I will let you have him for this latter sum. I have therefore directed mr Freeman to send him to you, and you may consider this letter as closing the contract and serving as an absolute conveyance of all property in him to you. you are consequently indebted to me the sum which this overpays the work you have done for me. . . . (MHi)

To Joseph Daugherty

Monticello July 31. 1806.

In the first place say not a word on the subject of this letter but to mr Perry, the person who delivers it to you. he comes in pursuit of a young mulatto man, called Joe, 26. years of age, who ran away from here the night of the 29th. inst. without the least word of difference with any body, & indeed having never in his life recieved a blow from any one. he has been about 12. years working at the blacksmith's trade. we know he has taken the road towards Washington, & probably will be there before the bearer. he may possibly trump up some story to be taken care of at the President's house till he can make up his mind which way to go, or perhaps he may

make himself known to Edy only, as he was formerly connected with her. I must beg of you to use all possible diligence in searching for him in Washington & Georgetown, and if you can find him, have aid with you to take him as he is strong & resolute; & have him delivered to mr Perry. as the latter is a stranger, & would not know how to seek for him, I have advised him to take quarters where you can see him often, but to keep within doors himself, lest he should be seen by the runaway. . . . (MHi)

From Joseph Daugherty

Washington Augt. 3rd. 1806.

This morn. at 9 oclock Mr. Perry arrived here on pursuit of your boy Joe. He fortunately found me at the Stable. About 4 oclock in the even after returning from a cruise where I got wind of him I met with him in the Presidents yard going from the Presidents House. and being informed of his marks & clothing by Mr. Perry I knew it must be him. I took him immediately & brot him to Mr. Perry & has him now in jail. Mr. Perry will start with him tomorrow for Monticello. . . . (MHi)

To Mrs. Mary Dangerfield*

Monticello Aug. 10. 1806.

Mr. John H. Freeman hired for me four negroes of your property & five belonging to Miss Sarah Dangerfield, for the present year, who are now at this place. mr Freeman's constantly declining health will probably induce him to leave my service within a few weeks. this is the occasion of my troubling you at present as I am desirous, during my present visit to this place, to take measures for engaging

* During the years of 1806 through 1810 Jefferson hired from Mrs. Mary Dangerfield and Miss Sarah Dangerfield Negroes to work at Monticello. They lived near Fredericksburg in Spotsylvania County. In addition to the letters included here, pertaining to the transactions between Jefferson and the owners of the Negroes, and to others who were concerned with the money payments, the following letters bear directly on the negotiations. They will be found in the Jefferson Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society:

Jefferson to John Minor, Washington, November 7, 1807.

Jefferson to Mary Dangerfield, Washington, November 7, 1807.

Jefferson to Mary Dangerfield, Washington, April 5, 1808.

Jefferson to Mary Dangerfield, Washington, March 11, 1809.

Nathaniel H. Hooe to Jefferson, Coventry, November 18, 1807.

Nathaniel H. Hooe to Jefferson, King George City, August 28, 1810.

Nathaniel H. Hooe to Jefferson, King George City, August 13, 1811.

Jefferson to Nathaniel H. Hooe, Monticello, September 24, 1810.

Jefferson to President of the Bank of Fredericksburg, Monticello, October 4, 1810.

Jefferson to David C. Kerr, Washington, March 11, 1809.

David C. Kerr to Jefferson, Fredericksburg, October 9, 1810.

Jefferson to William Chamberlayne, Monticello, December 11, 1810.

William Chamberlayne to Jefferson, Richmond, February 6, 1811.

A copy of these letters is in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

labourers for the ensuing year. being satisfied with the conduct of these people, & they I believe satisfied with their situation (for I have never heard a word of complaint from them) I should be glad to engage them for another year on the same terms. their hire shall always be deposited in due time in the bank of Fredericksburg subject to your order & that of Miss Dangerfield of which you shall be notified at the time and indeed as I have always to hire about that number of labourers, it would be much more agreeable to me to continue the same set from year to year, than to be always changing. they have been employed this year in some mill-works now nearly compleated. the next year they would be engaged in leveling some garden grounds, making roads, and other improvements of that nature. I will ask the favor of you to consider this letter & proposition as addressed to Miss Dangerfield as well as yourself, and that I may be favored with an answer as soon as convenient as it is necessary for me to make some final provision before I leave this place. . . . (MHi)

From Lewis Willis Dangerfield

Coventry Aug. 26. 1806.

Mama received your letter wherein you wish to continue her negroes for the ensuing year which you are at liberty to do likewise those of Miss S. Dangerfield the proposition from you respecting the mode of payment is perfectly satisfactory. . . . (MHi)

To Lewis Willis Dangerfield

Monticello Sep. 5. 06.

Your favor of Aug. 26. is recieved, & the agreement for the hire of the negroes of mrs and Miss Dangerfield for the next year considered as closed, on the same terms as were agreed on for the present year, that is to say for Edmund 70. D. Warner 69. D. Sampson 60. D. Polly 40. D. Gabriel 82. D. Billy 80. D. Tom 74. D. Jack 60. D. & George 55. D. in all amounting to five hundred & ninety dollars. you may rely on their being provided and treated with all the humanity & care it is in my power to secure during my absence, and that in sickness or health they shall have the same attentions with my own who work with them. . . . (MHi)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Nov. 21. 06.

. . . with respect to Moses's wife it was always my intention to buy her whenever I could spare the money, if she could be got for a reasonable price. but until my mills & other expensive works in

Albemarle are over, I cannot do it. I should be willing to hire her in the meantime if she could be so employed as to earn her hire & maintenance. but it would not be just to turn mrs Dangerfield's woman out of her birth to put a new hireling in it, & especially as it was expected she would be employed with her own gang. and I do not know about what Moses's wife can be employed to any profit, for I believe she has not been brought up to labour. if she can work with your people, or you can so employ her as to earn a reasonable hire, I shall be willing to take her at that hire. . . . (MHi)

[1805-1806]

Jefferson's Memoranda to Edmund Bacon

Clothes for the people are to be got from Mr. Higginbotham, of the kind heretofore got. I allow them a best striped blanket every three years. Mr. Lilly had failed in this; but the last year Mr. Freeman gave blankets to one-third of them. This year 11 blankets must be bought, and given to those most in need, noting to whom they are given. The Hirelings, if they had not blankets last year, must have them this year. Mrs. Randolph always chooses the clothing for the house servants; that is to say, for Peter Hemings, Burwell, Edwin, Critta, and Sally. Colored plains are provided for Betty Brown, Betty Hemings, Nance, Ursula, and indeed all the others. The nailers, laborers, and hirelings may have it, if they prefer it to cotton. Wool is given for stockings to those who will have it spun and knit for themselves. Fish is always to be got from Richmond, by writing Mr. Jefferson, and to be dealt out to the hirelings, laborers, workmen, and house servants of all sorts, as has been usual.

Joe works with Mr. Stewart; John Hemings and Lewis with Mr. Dinsmore; Burwell paints and takes care of the house. With these the overseer has nothing to do, except to find them. Stewart and Joe do all the plantation work; and when Stewart gets into his idle frolics, it may sometimes be well for Moses or Isabel's Davy to join Joe for necessary work.

Whiskey is wanted for the house, some for Mr. Dinsmore, and some sometimes for the people. About 30 gallons will last a year. Mr. Merriwether or Mr. Rogers may perhaps each let us have some for nails, or will distil it out of our worst toll wheat.

In building the house for the nailer, there should be a partition laying off about 8 feet at one end, to keep his nail and rod in. (Pier-son, *Monticello*, pp. 47-52.)

To Lewis Willis Dangerfield

Washington Feb. 9. 1807.

I had counted fully on being able at this time to have placed in the bank of Fredericksburg the sum of 590. Dollars for mrs & Miss Dangerfield for the last year's hire of their negroes: I find however that I cannot do it till this day four weeks when they may have the utmost assurance of it's being there, and may enter into any arrangements on that supposition under the certainty that they will not be disappointed. . . . (MHi)

To Randolph Lewis

Monticello Apr. 23. 07.

Yours of the 20th. is recieved. nobody feels more strongly than I do the desire to make all practicable sacrifices to keep man & wife together who have imprudently married out of their respective families, & I had accordingly told Moses that if it should be your pleasure to sell his wife personally, I would buy her when I could with convenience: for I assure you that nobody is less able to make purchases than myself, or more pressed for money, or time for it's paiment. the epoch of your departure would find me illy able to meet any considerable *new* engagement but if you will be so good as to say to me in one word, what is the lowest sum you will take for the woman & her children, I will in like manner say in one word, yea or nay. I prefer deciding for myself on the price I may consent to pay, rather than leave to valuers to fix one which may be beyond my convenience or approbation. I would ask you also to fix what times of paiment would be necessary, as, to avoid disappointments, I must take them into calculation. you may perhaps leave some debts to be paid after you are gone, which may bring the object more within my compas. I suppose you would prefer that the delivery of the persons should be about the time of your departure when I shall be probably here, as I expect to be here during the months of August & September. . . . (MHi)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Dec. 8. 07.

. . . I think I informed you in my last letter that I had engaged mrs Dangerfield's negroes for another year. she lives at a place called Coventry near Fredericksburg, and if the two runaways are not returned I think it would be well, if you could go to her house in quest of them because I imagine they will make out a sad story to her, which it would be well for you to set to rights by letting her

know how little they have to complain of as to severity, food or clothing, being always treated as my own, & better whenever any difference is made. it is worth while she should understand the true fact, because she is willing I should keep them as long as I please, which saves us the trouble of hunting up new hands & changing every year. . . . (CSmH)

From Account Book, 1807

May 11. bought of Randolph Lewis a woman Mary. 27. y. old, and her two sons William 6. y. old last March and 4. y. old last February. they are the wife & children of Moses, for £ 150. for which sum I gave my bond to Walter Key payable this day 12. month with int. from the date, Lewis being indebted to Key.

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Nov. 7. 08.

. . . Be so good as to inform Davy that his child died of the whooping cough on the 4th. day after he left this. . . . (MHi)

To Mrs. Mary Dangerfield

Washington Dec. 13. 08.

I am later this year than usual in expressing to you my willingness to retain for the next year the negroes I have heretofore hired of yourself & miss Sarah Dangerfield, because the letter of mr Hooe of Nov. 18. of the last year assured me it would be your desire to continue them with me as long as I might have occasion for them. I have counted therefore on retaining them, with the exception however of the one who ran away from us the last summer (whose name I do not know, and who has been absent ever since). the distance of your neighborhood in which it is presumed he has been lurking rendered it impracticable for mr Bacon after his visit to you on that subject to take any further effectual measures for his recovery, and the rather as he expected it would be more in the power of your agents to find him out. unwilling to have anything further to do with him, after paying his hire for the current year, I would wish if agreeable to yourself & daughter still to keep the others for the ensuing year on the same hire heretofore paid for them. . . . (MHi)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Feb. 27. 09.

As the two cooks which are here will take the place of Peter Hemings in the kitchen, it will be necessary that one of them should

have his room next the kitchen and that it should be vacant on their arrival. I would wish you therefore before your departure to let him make choice of any one of the log-houses vacant, on the Mulberry row, and to direct your people to proceed immediately to fit it up in an entirely comfortable and decent manner. It should be done at once that the cramming may be dry.

As the waggon will have valuable things in it, and therefore liable to be robbed, would it not be well to have with you a good dog who will lie by it, if you have such an one. I recommend to you to come exactly on the rout which I have so often noted to Davy, that is to say by the courthouses, Ewell's mill, Songster's Lane's, & Ravensworth. the other roads are now absolutely impassable. I offer my best wishes. (CSmH)

To George Jefferson

Monticello July 22. 09.

. . . a dysentery prevailing in the neighborhood generally, and with which several of my labouring people are ill, has prevented my setting out for Bedford as yet. (MHi)

To Mrs. Mary Dangerfield

Monticello Nov. 30. [1809]

As the year is now drawing to a close & it will not be convenient for me to continue to hire all the negroes which I have heretofore hired from yourself & Miss Dangerfield, I think it my duty to inform you of it. I should be willing to hire Tom & Edmund again. the rest, or the whole, if it is your pleasure, shall be delivered to your order at the end of their term; shall be discharged with orders to proceed home. as I depend upon the produce of my farms it will not be in my power to remit you the hire of the present year until the spring when our crops may be at market & disposed of. be assured it shall be done the first moment it is in my power. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1809

Dec. 25 Frederick, Tom Lee, Tom Buck & Nancy hired negroes begin at £ 50. the year paialbe to Genl. Wm. Chamberlayne. all the hired negroes of the Dangerfields are discharged except Tom & Edmund, @ 74 + 70 = 144. D. See 1806. July 26.

SLAVES AND SLAVERY

1810. Aug. 1. Census		Monticello	Bacon's	McGehee's	Goodman's	Garden's	Starke's	Total
free white males	to 10. years of age	4	3	3	1	—	3	14.
	from 10. to 16.	0	—	1	—	—	1	2.
	16. to 26.	2	1	—	—	1	1	5.
	26. to 45.	1	—	1	1	—	1	4.
	45. & upwards	1	—	—	—	1	—	2.
free white females	to 10. years of age.	4	—	2	2	2	2	12.
	from 10. to 16.	3	—	—	—	2	—	5.
	16. to 26.	2	—	—	1	—	1	4.
	26. to 45.	3	1	1	—	1	1	7.
	45. & upwards	0	—	—	—	—	—	0.
Slaves of all ages		* 142	2	1	2	—		147. pr.
							202	
pairs of shoes		112	—	—	—	—	—	112
stockings		83	—	—	—	—	—	83. pr.
looms		1	1	1	—	1	1	5
cloth. woollen mixed		—	30.	35	—	15.	30	110. yds.
cotton		—	93.	58	—	100	170	421. yds.
linen		—	32	88.	—	20	140	280 yds.
wrought nails tons		6	—	—	—	—	—	6. tons
candles		430	—	—	—	—	—	430. lb
soap		110	—	—	—	—	—	110. lb

*this includes 16 slaves of mr Randolph
4 of mr Bankhead

20

Th.J.
Nov. 8, 1810

(Courtesy of Mr. Lloyd W. Smith)

To John Dangerfield

Monticello Aug. 2. 10.

Yours of July 17. has been duly recieved. be assured that the delay in the paiment of the hire due to mrs Dangerfield & yourself has been the cause of severe mortification to me. I was obliged to apply all my first resources to a large purchase of corn, which the drought of the last year has raised to 5. 6. and even 7. D. the barrel in this & neighboring counties. but I reserved a fund amply sufficient for your demand, and under my command by the power of distraining. this was the rent of my mill, which I had no suspicion would have remained unpaid so long, by the tenant. his promises obtained indulgences from time to time, till, before I was aware of it, the season of grinding was over, & nothing left in the mill which

would answer the rent. the season of work is now about to recommence, and I am waiting only till a sufficiency is recieved in the mill to levy the rent on; when, unless he pays me enough to satisfy your demand (and his arrears are the double of it) I shall distrain, and you may be assured I will not lose a moment in placing the money in the bank of Fredericksburg and of giving *you* notice of it. this is the earliest resource at my command, and I have thought it my duty to state it to you explicitly, that you might understand the cause of my being in default, and the probable end of it. . . . (MHi)

To Genl. Wm. Chamberlayne

Monticello Aug. 17. 10.

Towards the latter end of the last year Colo. Thos. M. Randolph informed me he had in his possession, on hire, 4 negroes of the property of the late mr Shackelford which he did not mean to keep another year, & knew that they would be to hire, & at the same price of £ 50. which he had given. I agreed to take them at that price, and they were to come to me after the Christmas Hollidays when their time with him was out. one of them Tom Buck, asked permission of him to go down the country which he positively refused, and ordered him to come to me with the others after the holidays. the others came, but Tom Buck contrary to orders went down the country. he returned (as well as I recollect) about the beginning of Feb. and went to the place where two of the others were employed. I did not hear of it for 2. or 3. days, and then learned that he was sick. I went to see him, and found him neither in a condition to be recieved as a laborer, nor able to go away if rejected. both feet were frost bitten and extremely bad tho' they seemed to be getting better. I had him taken care off but after about 3. weeks they had changed so as to threaten mortification and to require more skilful treatment than we were competent to secure his life. I sent him therefore to Charlottesville to the care of Dr. Everett, & had him boarded in a house convenient to the Dr. at the end of about 3. months (some time in May) the Doctr. informed me his feet were then so near being treated that common dressings & attention would now suffice. we brought him away & by advise of the Doctor made cloth shoes to protect his feet, which were yet entirely tender. he has been taken care of ever since, but still continues unable to walk, except about the house and it is impossible to say when the skin of the feet will be hard enough for him to get out. indeed I doubt if they will ever again be sound. I have thought it necessary to state these circumstances to you and have delayed it so long only

in the hope of being enabled to announce to you at the same time his perfect recovery. but that not having yet taken place, I thought it improper longer to delay apprising you of them and coming to an understanding respecting him. he has never done a hand's turn for me, but has been recieved and taken care of as an object of humanity, and for the benefit of his owners who were not here to see to him. the moment he is able to work, his wages shall commence and I take for granted I shall be allowed in account what is paid and to be paid for his board in Charlottesville, and the Doctor's attendance of which I have not yet recieved an account. for our own care and attentions to him I ask nothing but that his bread alone be allowed at the price paid for it here; for as it was a place newly settled I had to buy all the provisions for it. I trust that these propositions all appear to you entirely reasonable, and that you will be so good as to favor me with such explanations on the subject as that we may have a mutual understanding with respect to him. . . . (MHi)

To Nathaniel H. Hooe

Monticello Oct. 20. 10.

I am extremely sorry to have to announce to you the death of mrs Dangerfield's negro man Edmund which happened the day before yesterday in the most sudden manner. as he had taken one of my women to wife I had placed him at a farm across the river about a mile & a half from here, and with an overseer who is, without exception, the best man I have ever employed in that way. Edmund & another man were sent here on the Wednesday evening for a harrow which not being ready, they went back without it. he appeared to be in perfect health & without complaint. in the night he was taken very unwell with a pain in his breast & belly, but not so as to alarm his wife, who therefore did not disturb the overseer whose house was close by. about sunrise the overseer went to his house & found him abed complaining of great pain in his breast & belly. he rose however & drest himself but did not go out. the overseer percieving he was very unwell, came over to me a little before breakfast. I told him I would go and see him immediately after breakfast; Charlottesville being so near that a physician could be had in half an hour if necessary. but just as I was about mounting my horse to visit him soon after breakfast the overseer returned & told me he was dead. he had been taken with a vomiting and died between 9 & 10 oclock. to his satisfaction as well as yours & mine, the case being so little understood I sent to request Dr. Carr to go to the place and see whether by inspection of the body or by enquiring

he could ascertain what had been his complaint. the Dr. called on me in the evening and informed me it was a case of hernia, which he had had for several years in so slight a degree that he had concealed it from everybody even from his wife. it had been suspected it seems by one or two of his companions for some years who had rallied him on it. but he always strenuously denied it. this had come down in the night, was strangulated and brought on an immediate mortification. he had been engaged several days in the easiest work such as securing the fodder & tops, and stacking them, and had he told his complaint himself (tho' indeed he does not appear to have suspected that it proceeded from his hernia) a physician might have been called in time perhaps to have releived him. I am really much concerned at his loss. he was a most excellent fellow, and as he had taken a wife in the family and had a child, I had contemplated the proposing to purchase him. . . . (MHi)

From William Chamberlayne

Richmond Decr. 27th. 1810.

I recd. yrs. of the 11th. inst. yesterday. Yrs. of the 17th of Augt. I have not recd. I think the claim for the Doctors attendance &c. proper & if I was acting for myself there wd. be no difficulty about it, but as executor to an estate where there are doubts about its solvency, it may be proper to act with more caution than I wd. otherwise do. I will thank you to forward me the amt. for attendance &c. and if I should object to any part I will inform you & submit it to any person you may think proper to appoint. . . . (MHi)

To William Chamberlayne

Monticello Jan. 6. 11.

Your favor of Dec. 27. has been duly recieved, and I now send you a copy of Dr. Everett's account for his attendance on Tom Buck. James Lewis's account for boarding him (and he was continued there no longer than till the Doctor thought that plantation attention would be sufficient) I cannot lay my hands on, tho' I have diligently searched for it among my papers. but I possess it, and pledge myself to produce it. it's amount was 33. D. 26. Cents, which, as I thought it too high, I refused to pay. we referred it to arbitrators, who considering the situation of the patient & the great attentions & particular diet required, confirmed the charge, & I paid it on the 29th. of July. proofs of the award & paiment shall be furnished you. I am aware that acting as an Executor, you must use the cautions that character requires. I am therefore willing you shall refer it to arbitrators, who may be named by yourself, or take

the opinion of a lawyer, & I will abide by the award or opinion; to be given on the facts stated in my two letters of Aug. 17. & Dec. 11. which can readily be proved here. I acted for the owners of the negro, as I would have done for my own, as they were not here to take care of him. I could have no motive for recieving him, but that of humanity, and to save his life for his owners I have had to advance 57 D 26 c in confidence that I should be allowed a credit for it in the hire of the other negroes. had he not been placed, when he was, under the care of a skilful surgeon, his death was inevitable, as a mortification was imminently apprehended. All these things I submit to your consideration . . .

1810 Feb. 23	amputating negro's great toe, dressing &c.	£ 2-8-0
	Daily dressings, medicines & Negro's	
	ulcerated feet for 2½ months	4-16
		<hr/>
(MHi)		7-7-0

To William Chamberlayne

Monticello Apr. 4. 11.

Your favor of Feb. 6. was duly recieved. I am now beginning to get my crop to market where (Richmond) it will be deposited in the hands of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson for sale, and as soon as the proceeds shall be recieved I will send you an order for the amount of the negro hire as stated below. I have given credit for the time that Tom Buck worked as if he had been a sound hand, and charged nothing but his bread, which I actually purchased (for it was a new plantation) and paid 4. and 5. Dollars a barrel for it. I hope the statement will meet your approbation . . .

Tom Lee, Frederic, Tom Buck, & Nancy were hired for £ 50. their separate hire not being fixed. it is usual to estimate a woman at half the value of a man. according to this the 3. men would have been 47 D. 62 c each and the woman 23.81. But as Tom Buck worked 2 months only his hire would be only 7D.95 as follows:

		D	c	
The hire of Tom Lee	47.62			
Frederic	47.62			
Tom Buck	7.95			
Nancy	23.81	127.	Dollars	
		<hr/>		
Cr. by paid James Lewis board & nursing	33.26			
by pd. Dr. Everett attendce, operations &c.	24.			
by 2½ barrels of corn @ 4. D.	10.			
Balance due	59.74	127.		

(MHi)

To Nathaniel H. Hooe

Monticello Oct. 6. 11.

Your letters of Aug. 13. and Sep. 10. were each of them 23. days getting to this place. the former came while I was in Bedford during an absence of between 2. & 3. weeks. I did not write an immediate answer because a very little delay, added to what preceded would enable me to do it with effect. within the course of 3. weeks I am to recieve a quarter's rent of my mill (now in more punctual hands) *in flour*, from the proceeds of which I intended to make a remittance of the negro hire now due. a few days of delay may occur in making sale, but they will be very few, which I mention lest such a delay might occasion an apprehension of disappointment, which shall not take place. with respect to the article of interest, I will settle it with you when you come up at Christmas, as I do not know that I could do it of myself to the satisfaction of mrs Dangerfield. at that time too I propose to cease hiring Tom; as the want of punctuality in others towards myself, renders punctuality on my part so uncertain. . . . (MHi)

To Nathaniel H. Hooe

Monticello Nov. 3. 11.

I have this day desired Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson to remit to the bank of Fredericksburg subject to your order, 131. D. for the hire of Tom & Edmund the last year, to wit 74. D. for Tom, and 57. D. for Edmund. his death taking place on the 18th. of Oct. from Dec. 25. to that time, @ 70. D. a year comes to 57. D. the other matters which are the subject of your last letter, may be arranged when you come into our neighborhood the next month. we hope you will make this your headquarters. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1811

Apr. 11. gave John Hemings 15. D. to wit the wages of one month in the year which I allow him as an encouragement.

To Reuben Perry

Monticello April 16. 12.

Having recieved information in March that Jame Hubbard had been living in Lexington upwards of a twelvemonth, I engaged a man (Isham Chisolm) to go after him. he got there five days after Hubbard had run off from there, having committed a theft. he returned of course without him. I engaged him to start a second time, offering a premium of 25. D. in addition to yours, besides his ex-

pences. he got upon his tract, & persued him into Pendleton county, where he took him and brought him here in irons. I had him severely flogged in the presence of his old companions, and committed to jail where he now awaits your arrival. the course he has been in, and all circumstances convince me he will never again serve any man as a slave. the moment he is out of jail and his irons off he will be off himself. it will therefore unquestionably be best for you to sell him. I have paid for his recovery 70. D. all I ask for it is that he may be sent out of the state. Chisolm expects the 50. D. from you. he says he will buy him, if you will take a reasonable price and oblige himself to sell him out of the state. I suppose he would agree to clear you of the purchase and the premium. perhaps you had better go halves with him. I was just setting out to Bedford, but shall now wait till I see or hear from you, provided that be by Saturday sennight the 25th. . . .

(*Tucker-Coleman Papers*, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated)

To Reuben Perry

[September 3, 1812]

This deed poll and tripartite made between Thomas Jefferson of the county of Albemarle on the one part and Reuben Perry of the county of Bedford of the other part witnesseth that the said Thomas hath sold and now convey to the said Reuben, a negro man slave called Jame Hubbard aged about twenty seven years, who has lately and is at this time absconded from his habitation in Albemarle, for the considerations following, that is to say, of the sum of three hundred Dollars which the said Reuben covenants to pay to the said Thomas or his assigns, whether the said Jame be recovered or not, and of the further sum of two hundred Dollars in addition to the sd 300. Dollars before mentioned, to be paid whenever he shall be recovered to the possession of the sd Reuben. and the sd Thomas agrees that, in satisfaction of both the said sums of 300 and 200. Dollars, he or his assigns will accept of such work to those amounts in Carpentry or House-joinery, to be performed by the sd Reuben, and on such part of the lands called Poplar Forest in Bedford, as the said Thomas or his assigns shall indicate. Provided that if the said Reuben, within six months after such inductions, shall not commence any parcel of work as to be indicated, and continue it steadily, and with all his force until compleated, that then he shall be bound to pay the deficiency in money: and Provided also that all such work shall be estimated at the prices which have been settled

by agreement or practice for similar work done between John Perry brother of the sd Reuben & the said Thomas. . . .

September 3, 1812.

(*Tucker-Coleman Papers*, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated)

To Archibald Robertson

Poplar Forest Nov. 29. 12.

I did not learn till within these two or three days that you were returned from Richmond, to which place I understood you were gone, or I should sooner have applied to know whether you could furnish the winter's supply of cloathing for my negroes. we shall need about 250. yds of woollens, 300. yds of linen & 20. blankets.

I am now getting the last of my wheat to the mills and shall have it sent to Richmond as soon as the river affords tolerable navigation. the crop is very midling. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1812

Jan. 30. pd Samuel Grosse jailer of Bath county for TM Randolph 30. D. for taking up & bringing Isaac home. on account.

Nov. 8. gave TMR's Isaac on finishg. the chimney of the factory 1. D.

Dec. 21. Isaac for a truss for Abram. 1. D.

To Jeremiah Goodman

Monticello July 26, 13.

Hercules arrived here on the 22d. having been discharged from Buckingham jail on the 20th. where he had been confined as a runaway. the folly he has committed certainly justifies further punishment, and he goes in expectation of recieving it, for I have assured him that I leave it to yourself altogether and made him sensible that he deserves & ought to recieve it. I believe however it is his first folly in this way, and considering his imprisonment as a punishment in part, I refer it to yourself whether it may not be passed over for this time, only letting him recieve the pardon as from yourself alone, and not by my interference, for this is what I would have none of them to suppose.

The time of my coming up is still unfixed as I cannot leave home till I see the water brought to my mill, and the getting out of my wheat commenced. this part of the country has never seen so melancholy a prospect since the year 1755. we had not had the ground moistened but once since April when the harvest came on. the winter & fly had greatly thinned it, & the stalks being dried like stubble it fell down before the scythe. the neighborhood will not

get half a common crop into the barn; myself not one third. our corn is as unpromising being generally from a foot to 4. f. high. we have had a small rain but no change can now make half a crop. I hope it has been better with you. the wheat should be got out immediately, and we must have the flour in Richmond by November, to take the chance of the winter exportation, when the enemy cannot lie closely in or before the bay. . . . (DLC)

To Edward Coles

Monticello Aug. 25. 14.

Your favor of July 31. was duly recieved, and was read with peculiar pleasure. the sentiments breathed thro' the whole do honor to both the head and heart of the writer. mine on the subject of the slaves of negroes have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. the love of justice & the love of country plead equally the cause of the people, and it is a mortal reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort, nay I fear not much serious willingness to relieve them & ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation. from those of the former generation who were in the fulness of age when I came into public life, which was while our controversy with England was on paper only, I soon saw that nothing was to be hoped. nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition, both bodily & mental, of those whose unfortunate beings, not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves & their fathers, few minds had yet doubted but that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses or cattle. the quiet & monotonous course of colonial life had been disturbed by no alarm, & little reflection on the value of liberty. and when alarm was taken at an enterprise on their own, it was not easy to carry them the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. in the first or second session of the legislature after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Colo. Bland, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respected members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws to these people. I seconded his motion, and, as a younger member, was more spared in the debate: but he was denounced as an enemy to his country, & was treated with the greatest indecorum. from an early stage of our revolution other and more distant duties were assigned to me, so that from that time till my return from Europe in 1789. and I may say till I returned

to reside at home in 1809. I had little opportunity of knowing the progress of public sentiment here on this subject. I had always hoped that the younger generation, receiving their early impressions after the flame of liberty had been kindled in every breast, and had become as it were the vital spirit of every American, that the generous temperament of youth, analogous to the motion of their blood, and above the suggestions of avarice, would have sympathised with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it. but intercourse with them, since my return, has not been sufficient to ascertain that they had made towards this point the progress I had hoped. your solitary but welcome voice is the first which has brought this sound to my ear, and I have considered the general silence which prevails on this subject as indicating an apathy unfavorable to every hope. yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time. it will come; and whether brought on by the generous energy of our minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if once stationed permanently within our country, & offering asylum & arms to the oppressed, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over.

As to the method by which this difficult work is to be effected, if permitted to be done by ourselves, I have seen no proposition so expedient on the whole, as that of emancipation of those born after a given day, and of their education and expatriation at a proper age. this would give time for a gradual extinction of that species of labor and substitution of another, and lessen the severity of the shock which an operation so fundamental cannot fail to produce. the idea of emancipating the whole at once, the old as well as the young, and retaining them here, is of those only who have not the guide of either knowledge or experience of the subject. for, man, probably of any colour, but of this color we know, brought up from their infancy without necessity for thought or forecast, are by their habits rendered as incapable as children of taking care of themselves, and are extinguished promptly wherever industry is necessary for raising the young. in the meantime they are pests in society by their idleness, and the depredations to which this leads them. their amalgamation with the other colour produces a degradation to which no lover of his country, no lover of excellence in the human character can innocently consent.

I am sensible of the partialities with which you have looked towards me as the person who should undertake this salutary but arduous work. but this, my dear Sir, is like bidding old Priam to

buckle the armour of Hector 'tremmentibus aevo humeris et inutile ferrumcengi.' no. I have overlived the generation with which mutual labors and perils begat mutual confidence and influence. this enterprise is for the young; for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to it's consummation. It shall have all my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man. but in the mean time are you right in abandoning this property, and your country with it? I think not. my opinion has ever been that, until more can be done for them, we should endeavor, with those whom fortune has thrown on our hands, to feed & clothe them well, protect them from ill usage, require such reasonable labor only as is performed voluntarily by freemen, and be led by no repugnancies to abdicate them, and our duties to them. the laws do not permit us to turn them loose, if that were for their good; and to commute them for other property is commit them to those whose usage of them we cannot controul. I hope then, my dear Sir, you will reconcile yourself to your country and it's unfortunate condition; that you will not lessen it's stock of sound disposition by withdrawing your portion from the mass. that, on the contrary you will come forward in the public councils, become the Missionary of this doctrine truly Christian, insinuate & inculcate it softly but steadily thro' the medium of writing & conversation, associate others in your labors, and when the phalanx is formed, bring on & press the proposition perseveringly until it's accomplishment. it is an encouraging observation that no good measure was ever proposed which, if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. we have proof of this in the history of the endeavors in the British parliament to suppress that very trade which brought this evil on us. and you will be supported by the religious precept 'be not wearied in well doing.' that your success may be as speedy and compleat, as it will be of honorable & immortal consolation to yourself I shall fervently & sincerely pray as I assure you of my great friendship and respect. . . . (From facsimile in *Sketch of Edward Coles*, E. B. Washburne.)

To Mrs. M. B. Jefferson

Monticello Aug. 2. 15.

. . . we have now in our family, both in doors and out, more sickness than I have ever had since I was a housekeeper. . . . without doors two or three are taken of a day, so that all the houses of the negroes are mere hospitals requiring great and constant attendance and care; all of an epidemic dysentery now prevailing thro' the neighborhood. . . . (MHi)

To Craven Peyton

Monticello Nov. 27. 15.

. . . my grandson had mentioned to me that a woman of mine who has 5. children and no husband had expressed a wish to be sold. I had a meeting with him yesterday, and authorized him to sell them if he could get what he thought a reasonable value for them. he estimated the 6. at £ 1900. the woman is a fine handy sensible one, a worker in the crop, 35. years old, with a child 3. months old (a boy) 2. daughters of 4. and 6. years old, and 2. sons, of 11. and 13. the last works well at the plough already. I wish indeed you could take them yourself. . . . (MHi)

To Jeremiah Goodman

November 30. 1815.

Know all men by these present that I Thomas Jefferson of the county of Albemarle do hereby sell and convey to Jeremiah A. Goodman now of the county of Bedford a certain negro girl slave named Sally being the daughter of Aggy one of the slaves of the sd Thomas, which said Girl Sally is about three years of age in consideration of the sum of one hundred and fifty Dollars to me the sd Thomas, by the sd Jeremiah in hand paid: to hold & to own the sd girl Sally in absolute property free of all uses, trusts, or other incumbrances: and the said slave Sally I do hereby warrant to the sd Jeremiah A. Goodman his executors, administrators & assigns for ever. Witness my hand this 30th. day of November one thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

Th: Jefferson

Witness

Bolen Goodman

The sd Sally remains in my possession by agreement in the care of her mother until sd Jeremiah Goodman or myself chuses that she shall be taken into his possession.

Th: Jefferson

(DLC)

From Dr. Frank Carr

Mar. 18. 16 recd.

I was called on this Evening to set a broken leg of your man Moses. He is at Farley's. It would be painful, & would derange what has been done, to move him. He will [be] taken care of & attended to where he is. The accident happened in a trial of strength in a wrestle with one of his fellows. . . . (Viu)

To Jeremiah Goodman

Monticello July 20. 17.

With respect to the girl Sally, the fair thing is to consider the bargain as annulled, and for me to repay you the sum allowed for her, 150. D. with interest till repaid: but I cannot undertake the repayment but in all May 1819. I had as live pay in May 18. as in Aug. 18. but I could not do this conveniently. this with the repayment of her clothing comes to something more than you propose. . . . P.S. July 30. 17. the only contribution you have given to the clothing or subsistence of the child being the sum of 15. D. allowed me for corn in a subsequent account, I mean that that shall also be repaid with interest. (DLC)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Nov. 10. 18.

. . . I must pray you to act in all things for the best according to your own judgment, and without waiting to consult me. a first object will be to get the flour down immediately, and the tobo. got ready and down as early as possible. what your home spuns falls short of clothing for the people must be supplied from mr Robertson's. I will state below who are to have blankets and who beds this year. [*The list of names has been omitted. There were issued 20 blankets and 8 beds.*] with respect to the hogs when ready for slaughter the overseer's allowance is first taken, then 20. for the negroes, 12 to be kept there for my use and the rest to come here. I suppose those to come here had better be killed there, to give the benefit of the offal to those who raised them, and if our waggon here is necessary to join yours to bring the meat down it shall be at Poplar Forest any day you will name. I think you were expecting to be able to begin furnishing us some beaves and muttons for the winter. If you have them to spare, they may come with the waggon. . . . Maria having now a child, I promised her a house to be built this winter, be so good as to have it done. place it along the garden fence on the road Eastward from Hannah's house. (MHi)

From Hannah

November 15th. 1818.

Master I write you a few lines to let you know that your house and furniture are all safe as I expect you will be glad to know I heard that you did not expect to come up this fall I was sorry to hear that you are so unwell you could not come it grieve me many time but I hope as you have been so blessed in this that you considered

it was God that done it and no other one we all ought to be thankful for what he has done for us we ought to serve and obey his commandments that you may set to win the prize and after glory run

Master I do not my ignorant letter will be much encouragement to you as knows I am a poor ignorant creature, this leaves us all well

adieu, I am your
humble servant
Hannah

(MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Jan. 17. 19. Sunday

The waggons arrived here on Wednesday a little after the middle of the day. we were under extreme sufferance for the want of a short job of hauling, and I thought it better to set both about it that they might go back together, and the rather as every days' stay enabled Johnny Hemings to add another plough frame. they will accordingly carry you three made on Thursday, Friday & Saturday, and will start tomorrow morning (Monday). I shall be very glad to recieve the latter peas I liked so much the last year and hope Nace has saved me a full sowing of them. I wrote you the last year that Dick had delivered all his articles safe and thought so at the time but I learnt afterwards that he did not deliver a bag containing a bushel of dried peaches which he said had dropped thro a hole in the bottom of his waggon; altho' no hole was seen which could have let such a mass through. this year his soap weighs 38. lb. instead of 45 lb. and the barrel of apples is a little more than half full. these repeated accidents cannot but excite suspicions of him, sufficient to make us attentive in future. I will ask the favor of you to send by Jerry the Athenium poplars in the nursery of the garden. You will know them by the stems being ribbed, which distinguishes them from the Lombardy poplars & Aspens in the same place. their roots should be covered very thick with straw, tied firmly on, so that the cold may not reach the roots, which it very certainly kills. the old bacon may remain as I shall pass a great proportion of the ensuing year there. the unproductiveness of our crops which you notice in your letter, is indeed a serious calamity, and the more so to me as 3. years of war, & 4. years of Goodman & Darnell had thrown me into arrears which will require 2. or 3. good crops to extricate me from. yet I do not ascribe it to any want of management in yourself, but to the impoverishment of our fields by constant culture without any

aid of manure; and this cause will continue to increase. we must either attend to the recruiting our lands, or abandon them & run away to Alibama, as so many of our countrymen are doing, who find it easier to resolve on quitting their country, than to change the practices in husbandry to which they have been brought up. straw will do something, good manure more, but nothing short of plaister and clover can recruit our extensive fields. the miracles this is working in this neighborhood can be believed only by those who see them. my fields here, which in my hands produced 4, 5 or 6 bushels to the acre, are now giving my grandson from 15. to 18. after one or two alternations only of plaister & clover. my neighbor Rogers who while tenant[ing] [*Pounsey's*] estate adjoining us, had reduced it to 5. bushels, now that same proprietor has made this year from 25. to 30. bushels [but] one thro' the whole of his fields, & all by plaister & clover. we must either go into the same course, or run away. if we cannot get the plaister carried up for 10. D. we must give 15. if not 15. we must give 20. if you can make arrangements therefore for bringing up & grinding and will inform me, I will write to Capt. Peyton of Richmond to procure the plaister. then it may be necessary to buy the clover seed, but I hope never after the 1st. year. the mortality among our negroes is still more serious as involving more as well as interested considerations. they are well fed, and well clothed, & I have had no reason to believe that any overseer, since Griffin's time, has over worked them. accordingly the death's among the grown ones seems ascribable to natural causes. but the loss of 5. little ones in 4 years induces me to fear that the overseers do not permit the women to devote as much time as is necessary to the care of their children: that they view their labor as the 1st object and the raising their child but as secondary. I consider the labor of a breeding woman as no object, and that a child raised every 2. years is of more profit than the crop of the best laboring man. in this, as in all other cases, providence has made our interests & our duties coincide perfectly. women too are destroyed by exposure to wet at certain periodical indispositions to which nature has subjected them. with respect therefore to our women & their children I must pray you to inculcate upon the overseers that it is not their labor, but their increase which is the first consideration with us. with respect to yourself my confidence is entire; and I am as well satisfied that every thing under your eye is going on for the best as if I were there to see the fact. I know that the considerations under which you act are of a high and pure order, and

it is a heart felt satisfaction to me to feel as well as to assure you of my sincere friendship & respect. (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello June 25. 19.

I recieved on the 21st. your letters of the 10th and 13th. and learn with much concern the deaths and sickness among our people. at one plantation here we are in worse condition, 16. being now laid up with the nervous fever of whom two have died, Milly Sall's daughter wife of Barnaby, and a child of Rachael's. they have not [been] well enough to attend the sick. this puts it out of my power to send you any help; for without all the aid I can give my grandson he would lose his harvest, which is a very great one, estimated at 7. or 8000. bushels of wheat. I shall be able to leave this for Poplar Forest about the 7th. of July, and shall bring with me glass of one kind to repair the damages to the house, while two boxes of another kind will go up from Richmond by the first boat for Lynchburg. Johnny Hemings and his assistants will go when I do: the other carpenters something later. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Poplar Forest 1st. July 19.

Your letter of June 25 I recd. last Evening. I sorry in deed that you have losses, there as well as here, we have had no deaths since Heath, but a good many sick and complaining, they charge Hercules with Poisoning, and the cause of all deaths here for the last 12 months, he certainly has been intermate with a Negro Doct. and have got physic from him. the People have kept it conceal from me, till the other day as soon as I was inform of it I had them both taken before Mr. Clay. The evidence in his opinion was not strong enough to send them to jail but I am satisfied he has done a great deal of mischief, and ought to be hung, more of this when you come up, which I hope will be as soon as possible for I am in daily expectation of mischief among them. We shall begin to cut the wheat which the hail has left us in the morning, and will do the best I can without assistance, tho we shall not have as many cutters by 5 including the 2 you sent us, as last Harvest. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 20th Oct. 19.

. . . Moses Billy is at Tomahawk at work, he arrived at the Forest Monday night, (he says,) . he came to me last Evening, I shall send him down as soon as I can get any person that I can depend to take

charge of him, Hannah's, Billy has not made his appearance yet, but expect him tonight if he started on Monday as you expected, but I had rather not see him, if you could dispose of him any other way that would be agreeable to you, I had at one time great hopes of reclaiming him, but for the last 12 mos. I despair of making anything of him, he is certainly the most consummate, bloody minded Villan that I ever saw of his age, and he becomes more & more daring as he increases in strength, Bowley says, that Billy commenced the attack on him, with a stone in each hand, and struck him several times before he could get one of them from him, and when he did so he used it in self defence, he acknowledges with a vein to do him all the harm he could, Billy however in the scuffle got his thumb in his mouth and [bit] it severely and made his [escape.] Hanah saw it all, and told me Billy had bitt and struck the overseer before I had seen him and she expected he was then looking me, I'm thus particular, at the request of Bowling what must be done? They run from here to you, and from you to here, I know of only one remedy. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 26th. Octr. 1819.

Mr. Bishop sets off this morning with Billy for Charlottesville, I have directed him to have him put in jail, and take the jailers receipt to you, I have paid him 5 dollars, and you will owe him the balance for taking him down, Hanah's, Billy arrived here on Friday last, Mr. Bishop is to be our overseer at Tomahawk next year, and Robert Miller at B. Creek, we shall finish, sowing wheat about the middle of next month, shall we then begin the canal for the mill? (MHi)

To Craven Peyton

Monto. Dec. 13. 19.

. . . I hd expectd to repay to you in the spring one half of what I owe you, & still hope it if our prodce. will bring any price reasonably, my regret is infinite that I cannot discharge the whole and I wd gladly do it & have bn tryg. to do it by a sale of either lds. [lands] or negroes, but such are the times that neither lands negroes nor produce can be sold under these difficulties. . . . (MHi)

To John W. Eppes

Monticello June 30. 20.

. . . having scruples about selling negroes but for delinquency or on their own request. . . . I know no error more consuming to an

estate than that of stocking farms with men almost exclusively. I consider a woman who brings a child every two years as more profitable than the best man of the farm. what she produces is an addition to the capital, while his labors disappear in mere consumption. . . . (MHi)

To Henry Clark

Monticello Oct. 18. 20.

Your favor of Oct. 4. is recieved. You have been quite misinformed as to my having any intention to lease my possessions in Bedford. nothing could induce me to put my negroes out of my protection. . . . (MHi)

Joel Yancey for Nace

12th. March 1821

The Bearer Nace, the property of Mr. Thomas Jefferson, is on his way to Monticello, with Beeves and Muttons for his Master, he will want some provisions on the road for his cattle should he be furnished by any person, and given him (Nace) a bill of it, they will certainly be paid, (if not sooner) by Mr. Jefferson when he makes his visit to Poplar Forest, in next month.

Joel Yancey

(MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Lynchburg 22nd. May, 21.

. . . Billy is still out, and have joind. a gang of Runaways, and they are doing great mischief to the neighboring stock, considerable exertions have been made to take them, but without success, I shall be glad that Mr. Randolph would come up as soon as he can make it convenient. . . . (MHi)

To John Gorman

Monticello Feb. 8. 22.

. . . I gave Thrimston a proper reprimand for his conduct, and assured him I should place at your direction his punishment if he should misconduct himself again. I have been anxious he should learn to lay stone, and shall be glad if you can engage him as much of that kind of work as you can. I will furnish two additional hands for quarrying my work, and with that Thrimston should assist & learn that also. . . . (DLC)

To Bernard Peyton

Monto. Jan. 5. 24.

. . . Jefferson returned last night from a sale of some negroes in Bedford. he could make no hand of selling for any portion of ready money. he sold therefore at one and two years credit. . . . (MHi)

Implements of Husbandry and Operations With Them

PLOWS AND MOULDBOARDS OF LEAST RESISTANCE

The plough is to the farmer what the wand is to the sorcerer.
Its effect is really like sorcery.—*Jefferson to Charles Willson
Peale, Monticello, April 17, 1813*

JEFFERSON grew up with a plow, if not in his hand, certainly in his mind. He had seen plows at work in the fields about him from his early youth, and no doubt soon saw their inefficiency and determined to remedy their defects. His chance for putting down on paper his theory for an improved mouldboard came when he went to France. The year after he arrived in Paris, he wrote to Ralph Izzard, "I went the other day to see a plough which was to be worked by a windlass, without horses or oxen. it was a poor affair. with a troublesome apparatus, applicable only to a dead level, four men could do the work of two horses." This observation led to other observations. On a tour to Amsterdam from Paris in 1788, while observing the clumsy ox-plows used by the peasants, Jefferson sketched a diagram, and described the details of the making, of what he considered the most efficient mouldboard. (See below, "Memorandum on a Tour from Paris to Amsterdam, Strasburg, and back to Paris.")

After Jefferson returned to Virginia in 1789 he discussed his ideas on the mouldboard with his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, but appears to have done nothing about it until he went to New York as Secretary of State. In May 1790 he wrote twice to Mr. Randolph that he would have to postpone to another occasion the description of his mouldboard, which description Mr. Randolph had requested in a letter to Jefferson. Finally in August of the same year, Jefferson wrote Mr. Randolph that he had had made a small

model of his mouldboard and that he would either send it or bring it to him later. This was the first model that was made of his mouldboard. There was no further mention of it until 1794 when Jefferson wrote to John Taylor, of Caroline County, that he had designed a mouldboard which might be demonstrated to be perfect and he would send him a model. Soon after this letter the mouldboard was tested at Monticello and was found to answer all of the requirements that Jefferson had expected of it. Jefferson's first mouldboard had a square toe. It was later found that in moist earth the broad spread of the toe was apt to accumulate earth on it. He then made a second mouldboard with a sharp toe which remedied this fault.

Jefferson's early mouldboards were made of wood. In the spring of 1804 James Mease wrote to Jefferson asking him to have made a mouldboard pattern thin enough for casting. There is no record as to whether this was done. On May 29, 1812, Jefferson wrote to John Staples, of Richmond, that he planned to send him the model of a mouldboard of which he would want thirty cast. For some reason the model was not sent until May 4, 1814, when Jefferson requested Mr. Staples to cast two dozen mouldboards in iron. Jefferson wrote to Charles Willson Peale on March 21, 1815, that "I have lately had my mouldboard cast in iron, very thin, for a furrow of 9. I. wide & 6. I. deep, and fitted to a plow, so light that two small horses or mules draw it with less labor than I have ever before seen necessary. it does beautiful work and is approved by every one."

It is not known just how widely Jefferson's mouldboard was adopted. In 1810 he was using five on his own farm, and he remarks that "we have never seen ploughs work better or easier." He sent models of his mouldboard to many of his friends at home and abroad. His design should have been well known to almost everyone interested in the improvement of the plow. In recognition of the excellence of the model of his mouldboard (see page 56) which he sent to France, Jefferson was elected a foreign associate of the Society of Agriculture and awarded a gold medal.

In 1808 Thomas Mann Randolph, probably with the aid of Jefferson, invented a hillside plow. Jefferson praised this plow highly and it was used by him and others. (See page 56.)

Jefferson used other makes of plows, both single and double drawn, as well as his own. He used oxen, horses, and mules to draw the plows, but he preferred mules to either oxen or horses.

The following letters and memoranda, with the references under "Plows" and "Mouldboards" in the *Garden Book*, give the picture

of Jefferson's development of his mouldboard of least resistance, and of his use of plows in general.

To Ralph Izzard

Paris Sep. 26. 1785.

. . . Your present pursuit being (the wisest of all) agriculture, I am not in a situation to be useful to it. you know that France is not the country most celebrated for this art. I went the other day to see a plough which was to be worked by a windlass, without horses or oxen. it was a poor affair. with a very troublesome apparatus, applicable only to a dead level, four men could do the work of two horses. . . . I shall be on the watch to send you anything which may appear here on the subjects of agriculture or the arts, which may be worth your perusal. . . . (DLC)

Memorandum on a Tour from Paris to Amsterdam,
Strasburg, and Back to Paris

. . . April 19th. [1788] Phalsbourg. Fenestrange. Moyenvic. Nancy. . . . The awkward figure of their mould-board leads one to consider what should be its form. The offices of the mouldboard are to receive the sod after the share has cut under it, to raise it gradually, and to reverse it. The fore-end of it, then, should be horizontal to enter under the sod, and the hind end perpendicular to throw it over; the intermediate surface changing gradually from the horizontal to the perpendicular. It should be as wide as the furrow, and of a length suited to the construction of the plough. The following would seem a good method of making it: Take a block, whose length, breadth and thickness, are that of your intended mould-board, suppose two and a half feet long and eight inches broad and thick. Draw the lines $a d$ and $c d$, figure 1, with a saw, the toothed edge of which is straight, enter at a and cut on, guiding the hind part of the saw on the line $a b$, and the fore part on the line $a d$, till the saw reaches the points c and d , then enter it at c and cut on, guiding it by the lines $c b$ and $c d$ till it reaches the points b and d . The quarter, $a b c d$, will then be completely cut out, and the diagonal from d to b laid bare. The piece may now be represented as in figure 2. Then saw in transversely at every two inches till the saw reaches the line $c e$, and the diagonal $b d$, and cut out the pieces with an adze. The upper surface will thus be formed. With a gauge opened to eight inches, and guided by the lines $c e$, scribe the upper edge of the board from $d b$, cut that edge perpendicular to the face of the board, and scribe it of the proper thickness. Then form the

FIG. 1

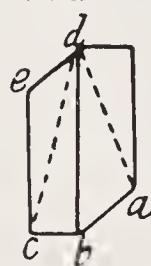


FIG. 2

underside by the upper, by cutting transversely with the saw and taking out the piece with an adze. As the upper edge of the wing of the share rises a little, the fore end of the board, *b c*, will rise as much from a strict horizontal position, and will throw the hind end, *e d*, exactly as much beyond the perpendicular, so as to promote the reversing of the sod. . . . (Lipscomb and Bergh, *Jefferson* xvii: 278-279.)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

New York May 9. 1790.

. . . I must therefore refer to another occasion the description of the mould board desired in your letter. (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

New York May 30. 1790.

. . . P. S. I must refer the description of the mouldboard to another occasion. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

New York Aug. 3. 1790.

. . . I have never sent you a description of my mould-board because it will be difficult to make it from a description. I have had a small model made, which I will forward to you if any person should be going before myself. Otherwise I will bring it. . . . (DLC)

From Robert Patterson

March 29th. 1798.

The drawings, model, and description of your *mold board of least resistance*, which you have been pleased to submit to my inspection, and which I had not seen before, I have now examined with much attention and pleasure; and do not hesitate in giving my approbation, if that can be thought of any consequence after the one it has already received from Mr Rittenhouse.

The doctrine of resistance is, indeed, still but little understood; no theory having yet been established on the subject, which will perfectly agree with practice. Instruction, from well conducted experiments, will in this, as in most other cases of practical science, be our surest guide.

I should suppose that a good proof of a mold board being of the best form, would be its *wearing evenly* in all its parts, and I think I have frequently observed that the mold-board of a plough, however formed by the carpenter, would in time, by the wearing or

friction of the sod, acquire a figure exactly resembling that of your models.

Whether a *plane* sided wedge (as you have taken for granted) be a solid of the best form for removing an obstacle to one side, or simply in one direction, may perhaps be doubted. Emerson, in his doctrine of fluxions, makes it a solid of a *curvelineal* surface. Experiment however must determine this matter.

The sod, formed by all the ploughs which I have seen is a rectangular parallelopiped, and therefore if set on edge, perpendicularly to the horizon would have no tendency to turn over, but would stand in that position, nay if its dimensions be 6. I. by 9 it must be made to decline from the perpr. upwards of 40 degrees before it will fall over.

Quere, then, whether there might not be some advantage in having the sod cut with oblique angles, the coulter, for this purpose, inclining a little towards the left hand? The transverse section of the sod would then be a rhumboid, and could not stand perpendicularly but must fall over from the plough. Indeed it would have this tendency even before it arrived at a vertical position, viz as soon as the center of gravity came to the right hand of the left under-acute-angle of the sod. I conceive also that the surface of the plowed land would be less uneven or corrugated when plowed in this way, as the obtuse angles of the sods would all be turned upwards.

Quere 2d. As the figure of your mold-board is exactly that which a plane board would acquire by being *twisted*, whether, when made of wood, which with the generality of farmers, would most frequently be the case, mold-boards might not more easily be formed in this way, previously heating the board, either with steam or fire, as ship-builders do their planks? The friction also would be less on boards made by twisting than on those formed by the saw and adze, as it would be parallel to, and not across the grain of the wood. Such mold-boards would moreover be much less liable to break.

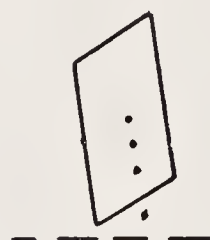
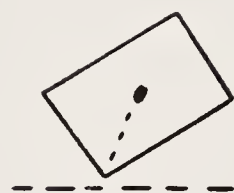
Quere 3d. Whether three or four *rollers*, with their surfaces projecting a little beyond the surface of the mold-board, might not be applied with advantage in lessening the friction from the sod?

These crude remarks are however submitted with great diffidence, to one who is infinitely better acquainted with the subject, both in theory and practice, than I can pretend to be. . . . (MHi)

To Robert Patterson

Philadelphia Mar. 30. 98.

I am much obliged by your letter of yesterday tho' I possess

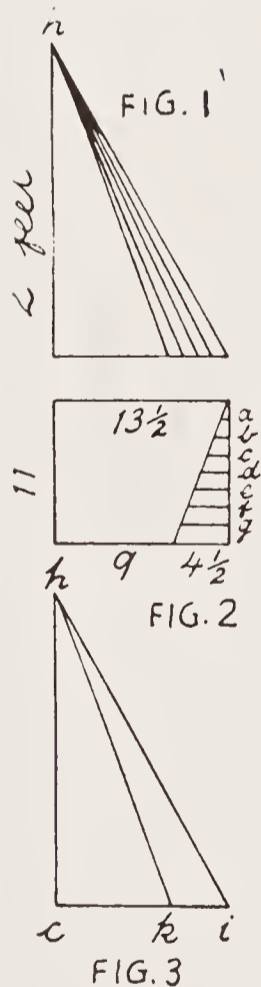


Emerson's fluxions at home, & it was the book I used at College, yet it had escaped me that he had treated the question of the best form of a body for removing an obstacle in a single direction. that of the [illegible] offered itself so readily as the best, that I did not think of questioning it nor does it now occur to me on what principle it can be questioned. If you have Emerson and will be so good as to lend him to me a day or two, I will be obliged to you. . . . (DLC)

To Robert Patterson

Philadelphia Mar. 31. 98.

I return you Emerson with thanks. it has suggested a qualification of the expression in my letter, which had supposed that the form offering least resistance to the rising sod. I did at [first] as you do now, consider this mouldboard as a twisted plane. but a little reflection convinced me as it will you, that it is not, and that it would be impossible to twist a board into that form. a second view of the mould would shew you that the breadth of it's face varies much, and that parallel lines drawn on it horizontally would not be strait ones. I have sometimes thought however of making a mouldboard on that principle: that is to say take a block formed into a wedge 2. f long, 12 I high (the base of the wedge) & $13\frac{1}{2}$ I. wide at the thick end, i.e. in the margin fig. 1. saw in at a. b. c. d. e. f. g. Fig. 2. in lines parallel to the ground, and at increasing depths from top to bottom, so that the saw shall enter $4\frac{1}{2}$ I in the bottom line at the but end of the wedge, & not at all at the point. then dub out the sawed stuff, and a face would be presented offering strait lines both longitudinally and transversely. such a surface would be generated by laying a stick h k (Fig. 3) on the floor, & another h. c. 12 I. above it parallel with the plane of the floor, the point h. of each perpendicularly over or under the other & the end i. of the upper one $4\frac{1}{2}$ I. to [illegible] of the end k of the under one. then move a strait line back from h. parallel with itself, keeping the lower end on h. k. & the upper on h. i. & the surface would be formed. this would be perfect for turning over the sod, but not at all for raising it. . . . (DLC)



From William Strickland

York July 16th: 1798.

Your model of the mouldboard cannot but be acceptable; when I saw it at Monticello it struck me as formed from the truest and most mechanical principle of any I had seen; whenever I start again as a farmer, & it may not be [illegible], I shall undoubtedly follow your plan of a plough; I had an expert drawing of it which I took

when with you, as well as a small model, which I prize much, as having been the work of your own hands presented to me. . . . (DLC)

From Henry B. Latrobe

Richmond Sept. 22, 1798.

I have taken the liberty to have several of your mould boards made for my friends. I do not apologize to you to so doing, as I know that your object is to be extensively useful. I have been astonished at their performance. . . . (DLC)

From James Mease

Philadelphia March 28. 1804.

. . . Having used the models of the mould board belonging to the Amer: Phil: Soc: and kept them before me as a check upon the progress of the work, I exhibited the mould board when finished to the Society, but as there are none of the attending members, who think a moment on the importance of the subject, it did not excite that interest which it deserved, and which I hope to be expressed when a public experiment shall have been made, before men who are practical judges of the merit of a good plough. As I have this business much at heart, I hope you will not think it amiss when I request you to undertake the trouble of having a mould board pattern made sufficiently thin to cast from, in order that there may be no objection as to the accuracy of the form. Foxall could, no doubt cast the mould plate, or if he does not find it convenient, I will do myself the pleasure to visit Washington whenever you will say you have leisure to attend to the workmen I shall employ, and bring up the pattern to this City where I can have them cast without difficulty. . . . Mr. Thos Butler has just returned from a visit he made last summer to England. . . . He speaks in high terms of the beauty, and general good qualities of the Cattle, but reprobates the various ploughs which he saw working. He describes them as heavy unwieldy implements, which are drawn by several horses or oxen, making irregular furroughs; and declares that a common American plough is far preferable. I am not surprised at this information, for the Beverstone plough, which is given in the trans: Board: of Agric: as the ultimatum of perfection in ploughs, corresponds with it. It is apparent, at first sight, that it is by no means calculated to throw off the sod neatly, and is very liable to get out of order. I gave a plate of this plough in the Encya, on purpose that the Citizens of this Country might contrast it with the simple and powerful Jefferson plough. . . . (DLC)

To James Mease

Washington Mar. 11. 05.

. . . since the receipt of your favor of Nov. 20. I have not lost sight of the subject, but I meant to answer you by sending a model of the sharp, as well as square toed mould-board. that required that I should be half a day with a workman which I could not spare till very lately. I now send you a small box containing 1. a square toed mouldboard. 2. a sharp do. 3. a block shewing the method of making it. the principle is the same. there is also a printed leaf describing the method. most persons who have seen these models prefer the sharp one. it will be clear of the disadvantage of clogging in front when the earth is a little wet: but it will not run so steadily. the incumbent earth makes the square one move as steadily as a vessel [*illegible*] water. it is scarcely necessary to hold it. . . . (DLC)

To John Strode

Washington Mar. 11. 05.

Nothing is so common as to see men value themselves most for what they know least about. in truth ignorance is always the parent of vanity. this accounts for my valuing myself on the invention of a mould-board for a plough and venturing to submit it to your judgment. in a small box which went by my cart from hence two days ago I sent you two models, and the block to shew how they were made. I sent at the same time the Domestic Encyclopedia in which the principles of the mould-board are explained. the book however is more worthy your acceptance for it's other valuable contents than for this article. . . . (DLC)

To William Strickland

Washington Apr. 25. 05.

When you were in America you appeared to set some value on the form of a mould-board which I had proposed & used, a model of which I afterwards sent to the board of Agriculture at London. having found that in moist earth the broad spread of the toe was apt to accumulate earth on it, I tried making it with a sharp toe but exactly on the same principle. in this form it has met great approbation here, and the rather as it admits a shorter plough-share. a good opportunity occurring of sending a model to you by a person going to London, I accordingly confide to him a box containing a model for yourself, and another which I pray you to lodge in the office of the board of agriculture, among their models. they will be

left in the hands of mr Monro, our Minister at London, to be delivered to your order. . . . (DLC)

From Charles Willson Peale

Museum Novr. 3d. 1805.

. . . In Montgomery County where I passed part of my time during the fever, I endeavored to get your mouldboard brought into use, some of the best farmers will make it after the mode of execution which I taught them and I hope to give you good account of the result. . . . (DLC)

To Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours

Washington Feb. 12. 06.

. . . in that of May 12 you mention in general terms a notice taken by the society of Agriculture of a mouldboard of my construction: and I saw some details on that subject in the newspapers, which I should have paid no attention to but for the credit it derives from your mention. the fear that some notice on the subject might have been addressed to me and miscarried, & an imputation arise of a want of respect on my part to that society of which I am incapable, induces me to observe to you that I have no information on the subject but that from the newspapers & from yourself: and to pray you to cover me from blame if I should have been in the case of incurring it. having lately been informed that our ploughmen would prefer a mould board with a sharp toe, I have shewn them that this is made with equal ease on the same principle as that with a square toe. by mr Skipwith I send you a box containing a model of each, which in my present uncertainty of what has passed on this subject with the society of Agriculture, I must pray you to dispose of as your better information & friendship to me will enable you best to do. the sharp toe enables them to shorten the plough by several inches, as it laps further on the share. . . . (DLC)

To Judge Harry Innes

Washington June 20. 06.

Your favor of May 25. is duly recieved & I have to observe that I used the mouldboard you mention with the common bar-share plough; nothing about it being changed but the mould-board. I can assure you that the same horses, in my farm, would make a furrow with this mould board 2. I. deeper than they could with the common mould board, owing to the difference of resistance. adhering to the principle of the mould board I have since varied it's form by giving it a sharp toe instead of a square one. the effect of this

change is to shorten the plough about 6. inches. Inclose you a description of this change. . . . (DLC)

From William Hendrick

New York. July 7, 1806

. . . It is with the Greatest Pleasure I have heard of the Cheif Magistrate of a Great Nation lending his assistance in the forming the Testaments of Husbandry, & raises in Mind an Idea of your true Greatness, that your [*sic*] are far above the silly vulgar prejudice of thinking it beneath your dignity to be aiding in producing food for mankind. . . . [*Hendrick gives a description of his mould-board.*] (DLC)

To William Hendrick

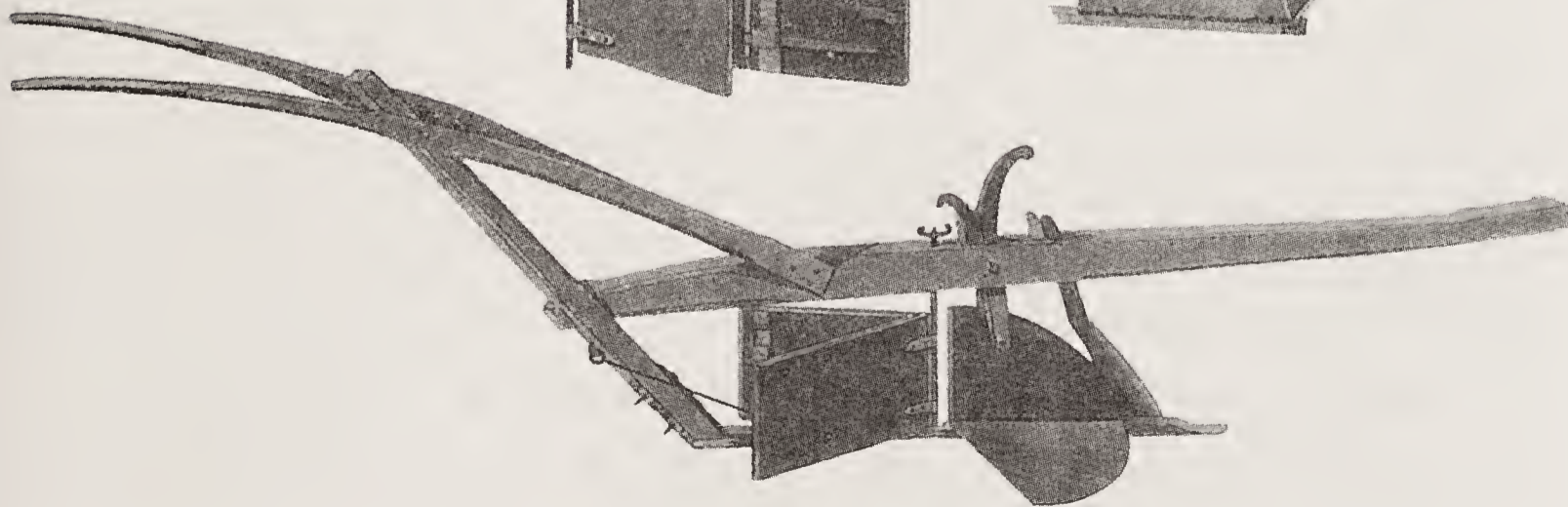
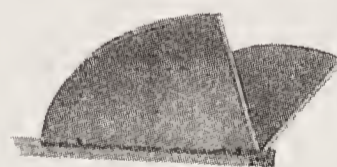
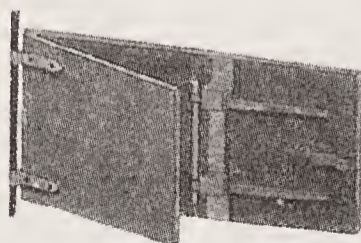
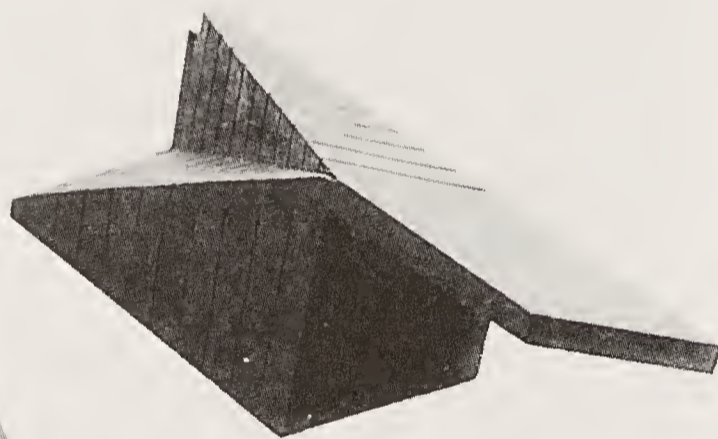
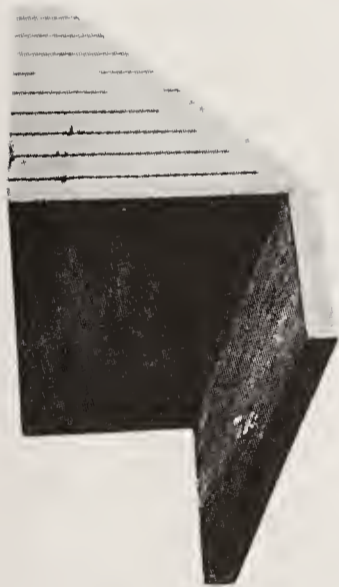
Washington July 27. 06.

Your favor of the 7th. has been duly recieved; but the cursory reading which the pressure of other business has obliged me to give to it does not enable me to understand the description in the letter, so as to form a judgment of the mouldboard you propose. indeed other duties so constantly require my attention that I do not permit myself to indulge in studies of this kind, altho' most agreeable to me. The mould board described in the letter to Sr. John Sinclair was first made in 1794. when I was retired to a private life on my farm. it appeared to me to do it's work with less difficulty than any other form I had tried. it was made with a square toe. it afterwards occurred that the making it with a sharp toe would have some advantages, & particularly that of shortening the plough. I then had the paper printed, of which I inclose you a copy, to shew how it might be done, preserving rigorously the principle of the former one. it will bear more resemblances to what you propose than the square toed one does. I shall be happy if something still better can be done, believing the defective form of the mould-board must be the most common vice of our ploughs. . . . (DLC)

Above. Isaac Jefferson, from a daguerreotype about 1847. This is the only known picture of one of Jefferson's slaves.

Center. Model of Jefferson's mould-board, presented by him to Professor André Thouin of the Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle of Paris. In the center is the mould-board itself; on either side, blocks indicating how to fashion the mould-board.

Below. The Thomas Mann Randolph hillside plow. This plow was invented by Mr. Randolph and was used by Jefferson and him on their plantations.



the tools are

Anvil of this shape 2 ft. long from a to b. 1 1/2 ft. wide & 6 ft. high from a. The spike c. d. is 8 ft. long, & as wide as the anvil, i.e. 1 1/2 ft.

An upright bolt N^o 2. about 3 ft. higher than the anvil. Through this there passes a square bit of iron and wedged tight in the hole a. The other end resting on the anvil, it is 6 ft. or 8 ft. in the clear between the anvil & this bolt as they stand in the block of wood. Through the ^{stage} ~~square~~ bit of iron a hole into which the nail is put to form the head.

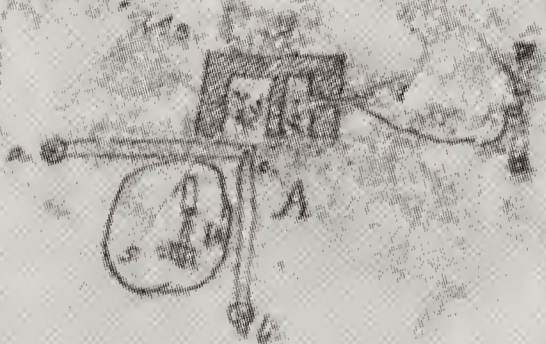


A thin plate shaped like a chisel 7 ft. long, with which the nail is cut off from the hole.

A chisel fixed in the block between the work & the interspace of the bolt. This is to cut off the nail.

A process in this shape  about 9 ft. long made of a bit of iron.

5. a. is without any beak to it



in N^o 3. The fig. 1 is the anvil, 2 the bolt with its square bit, 3 the chisel. a b c the treadle in the ends a, b, each of which rest on a little block and have an iron pin driven through a lower hole in them to keep them in place. from the angle c, goes a chain to the handle of the bellows. the workman stands at A.

operation. he hammers the length of his nail to a proper size, then lays it on the side of the anvil & with a stroke or two ^{indented} ~~indented~~ of shoulder, then lays it on the coal chisel, about 1/2 ft. above the shoulder; one stroke (sometimes 2) cuts it very nearly in two; then he flirts the end of it against the underside of the square bit which bends it to a right angle, then he puts it through the hole in the square bit; the first stroke of the hammer discharges the bit of the rod from it, & about 6 more forms the head then with the thin plate he knocks it out so as to fall on the block about fig. 5. he then puts in that rod ^{into the hole} by which time the other is hot, or is nearly so that 2 or 3 motions of the treadle make it hot: he does not blow the bellows while he is forming the nail. if in striking the nail on the coal chisel he happens to strike so hard as to cut it in two, so that it drops, he then takes it up with his process. when he has worked his rods so near the butt that it becomes too hot to hold he welds it to another. if the nail is to be flat pointed, one stroke of the hammer makes it so.

he will make about 10 lb of nails a day @ 13^d per lb Penns. money.

120



To M. Silvestre

Washington May 29. 1807.

I have received, through the care of Genl. Armstrong, the medal of gold by which the society of Agriculture at Paris have been pleased to make their approbation of the form of mouldboard which I had proposed; also the four first volumes of their Memoirs, and the information that they had honored me with the title of foreign associate in their society. I receive with great thankfulness these testaments of their favour, and should be happy to merit them by greater services. Attached to agriculture by inclination as well as by conviction that it is the most useful of the occupations of man my course of life has not permitted me to add to it's theories the lessons of practice. I fear therefore I shall be to them but an unprofitable member, and shall have little to offer of myself worthy their acceptance. Should labors of others however, on this side of the water, produce any thing which may advance the objects of their institution, I shall with great pleasure become the instrument of it's communication, and shall moreover execute with zeal any order of the society in this portion of the globe. I pray you to express to them my sensibility for the distinction they have been pleased to confer on me, and to accept yourself the assurance of my high consideration and respect. (MHi)

From David Baillie Warden

Paris 21. October, 1807.

. . . The Mould board, for which you obtained the Prize, has been pronounced by the Abbé Haüy, and others, to be mathematically exact, and incapable of further improvement. Professor Thouin bids me present you his respects. . . . (DLC)

To David Baillie Warden

Washington May 1. 08.

I have been frequently indebted to you for forwarding to me

Above. Jefferson's manufacturing mill at Shadwell, 1853. Only parts of the stone walls of the mill remain today (ca. 1953).

Center. The Rivanna River and the old site of Milton as it appears today (ca. 1953). Milton occupied the river bank and hill in the background. It was at one time a thriving town, the upper terminus of navigation on the river. Below. Mulberry Row as it appears today (ca. 1953). Along the right of this road, extending its entire length, were located Jefferson's stables, nailery and blacksmith shop, joiner's shop, saw pit, and log houses for slaves. In the right foreground are the ruins of one of the shops, and in the far background two other outhouses.

several new productions from Paris, some of them from the authors, some from your own kindness. of the former were the works of Maximus of Tyre. . . . and Agricultural transactions and memoirs from M. Sylvestre, to whom I am indebted a letter, & shall not be unmindful of it. . . . I take the liberty of troubling you with letters to Generals La Fayette & Kosciuzko, M. Chrestian of Montpellier, Messrs. Combes-Dounous and Thouin, and the opportunity being a favorable one, I have added a small box containing a Model for M. Thouin. these troublesome Commissions, with that which I am about to solicit, will add to the proofs of the encroaching spirit of those who recieve favors. I read in the Memoirs du societ  d'Agriculture de la Seine (but in what part of them I have this moment made a fruitless search to find) some experiments on the resistance, of ploughs by a machine which measured the degree of resistance & consequently the comparative force necessary to draw them. will you do me the favor to inform me of the principle of the construction of that instrument, it's name & cost at Paris? . . . P. S. mr Sylvestre informed me that a plough proved by the machine within mentioned to move with the least resistance of all those ever before tried, would be forwarded to me by the Agricultural society. this indeed would be a great gift to our country. should it not have been forwarded already to any of the outports of France, that of L'Orient would be the most certain deposit for me as the present vessel goes there, as will probably other vessels which will be sent there with public dispatches during the continuance of our embargo. (DLC)

From David Gelston

New York May 26th. 1808.

I have lately received a plough from England (by the ship's manifest consigned to you) but have no invoice or letter, it is now in store. if you will be pleased to let me know the cost, I will have it entered, and send it where you shall say. if you do not know the cost, I can ascertain it by appraisal. (MHi)

To David Gelston

Washington June 14. 08.

Your favor of May 26. was recieved on my return to this place. I have no information of a plough destined for me from England. but the Agricultural society of Paris informed me some time ago that they should send a plough for me to one of the ports of France, as a model. I presume this is the plough arrived, and that the vessel may have been carried into England. of the cost I know nothing,

and of course must ask the favor of you to settle and inform me of the duties by valuation, and to forward the plough to Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Oct. 11. 08.

. . . I think your idea of shifting the share of the plough from right to left the simplest that has ever occurred, & indeed a happy one. I shall be glad to hear how it answers on experiment. I have recieved the French Dynamometer. it is a light & beautiful contrivance depending on a spring, & a good deal in the way of the powder eprouvette which I showed you. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Barlow

Monticello Dec. 31. 09.

In removing my effects from Washington I had the misfortune of having a trunk stolen, which besides papers of irretrievable value, contained other things highly prized, & among them nothing more so than a Dynamometer I had just received from France. the Agricultural society of the Seine had sent me one of Guillaume's ploughs, which, by that instrument was proved to require but half the force of their best ploughs; & they asked from me a plough with my mould board. it was my wish while doing this, to make a plough which might compete with theirs, and I am confident, exceed it. I therefore imported their dynamometer in order to prove mine with Guillaume's. I am now engaged in this work, but have lost my dynamometer. I think you have one. could you do me the favor to lend it to me for this experiment, as well as to aid me in the construction of other articles for my farms which now engross all my attention. it shall be carefully preserved & safely returned. mr Carr, a nephew of mine, will be going on in some days to Washington, where he will make a short stay. he will bring it on by the stage, under his own particular care. as you have also the spirit of farming, perhaps, if I succeed in my plough, you would think one of them worthy acceptance. . . . (DLC)

From Joel Barlow

Thalorama Washington 15 Jan 1810

I have just now recd. your letter of the 31 ult. & am sorry to inform you that I have not a dynamometer & never had. . . . [*He tells Jefferson how to make one.*] (DLC)

To Joel Barlow

Monticello Jan. 24. 10.

Your's of the 15th. is recieved & I am disconsolate on learning my mistake as to your having a dynamometer. my object being to bring a plough to be made here to the same standard of comparison by which Guillaume's has been proved, nothing less would be satisfactory than an instrument made by the same standard. I must import one therefore, but how, in the present state of non-intercourse is the difficulty. . . . (DLC)

To James Madison

Monticello Mar. 25. 10.

You knew, I believe that the society of Agriculture of Paris had sent me a plough which they supposed the best ever made in Europe. they at the same time requested me to send them one of ours with my mould-board. I have made one for them which everybody agrees to be the handsomest & of the most promising appearance they have ever seen, and I have five at work on my own farms, than which we have never seen ploughs work better or easier. I have taken as a model the ploughs we got through Dr. Logan (you & myself) a dozen years ago, & fixed my mould board to it. but how to get it to Paris I know not unless you can favor it with a passage in some public vessel. it is a present & therefore no matter of merchandise. can you encourage me for this purpose to send it to Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia or New York? (DLC)

To James Madison

Monticello Apr. 16. 10.

. . . I have at the same time recieved an offer from mr Fulton to lend me his dynamometer, mine having been lost. I have concluded therefore to keep the plough till I can determine it's comparative merit by that instrument. the mould-board which I first made, with a square toe, was liable to the objection you make of accumulating too much earth on it when in a damp state, & of making the plough too long. by making it, on the same principles, with a sharp toe, it has shortened the plough 9. I. & got rid of the great hollow on which the earth made it's lodgment. it is now as short & light as the plough we got from Philadelphia, which indeed was my model, with only the substitution of a much superior mould board. I have certainly never seen a plough do better work or move

so easily. still the instrument alone can ascertain it's merit mathematically. . . . (DLC)

From General John Armstrong

New York 26: Nov. 1810

I have brought with me for you the double plough of Mr. Parker & wish to know how it may be best conveyed to Monticello? or with whom in that City I may leave it for the winter? a letter addressed to Mr. Gelston on these points, will be most likely to accomplish your instructions and my wishes. . . . (MHi)

To David Gelston

Monticello Dec. 7. 10.

A letter from Genl. Armstrong informs me that he brought a plow for me in the vessel in which he came from France, and that on writing to you, you will have the goodness to forward to my direction. I must therefore pray you to have it sent to Richmond, to the address of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson, who will pay the freight there, but any expenses incurred at N. York if you will be so good as to put them into the Captain's bill, it being difficult to remit from this place small fractional sums. . . . (MHi)

From David Gelston

New York Dec. 21. 1810

Your letter of the 7th instant I have received and have this day shipped *the plough* on board a vessel bound to Richmond to the care of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson, the Captain has paid my advances being \$1⁹⁹/₁₀₀ I have requested your friends to reimburse him. . . . (MHi)

From Charles Willson Peale

Farm Persevere Sepr. 9th. 1811.

. . . Your Mould-board ought to be studied by every Man that makes a Plow. if the form of it was given to every Plow, the land would be infinitely better plowed; greater products consequently, withall less labour to Horses. . . . (DLC)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 7th. Novr. 1811

. . . I have bought two of Peacock's ploughs for you, one of the smallest size, & one of the largest now here. he makes some larger, but has sent only a few of them to this place, more people being of opinion that they are too large for two horses. . . . (MHi)

To John Staples

Monticello May 29. 12.

. . . I shall very shortly have to trouble you with the model of the mould board of a plough of which I want about 30. cast. . . . (MHi)

To John Staples

Monticello May. 4. 14.

I send you the model of the mouldboard of a plough of a form of my own, and ask the favor of you to cast me two dozen in iron. I presume you will preserve the mould, as I shall probably call annually for a supply. I will thank you to have them ready as soon as you can, and I will direct them to be called for. they had better be tied together in manageable bundles by bits of nailrod passing thro' their holes. . . . (MHi)

To Richard Peters

Monticello Mar. 6. 16.

I have to thank you for the copy of your Discourse on agriculture which you have been so kind as to send me. I participate in all your love for the art, and wish I did also in your skill. but I was never but an amateur, and have been kept from it's practice until I am too old to learn it. . . . my son in law Colo. Randolph is perhaps the best farmer of the state, and by the introduction of the horizontal [*contour*] method of ploughing, instead of straight furrows, has really saved this hilly country. it was running off into the vallies with every rain, but by this process we now scarcely lose an ounce of our soil. a rafter lever traces a horizontal line around the curve of the hill usually at distances of 30. or 40. yards, which is followed by the plough; & by these guide-lines the ploughman finishes the interval by his eye, throwing the earth into beds of 6. f. wide, with large water-furrows between them. when more rain falls than can be instantly absorbed, the horizontal furrows retain the surplus until it is all soaked up, scarcely a drop ever reaching the valley below.

Mr. Randolph has contrived also, for our steepest hill sides, a simple plough which throws the furrow always down hill. it is made with two wings welded to the same bar, with their planes at a right angle with each other. the point and heel of the bar are formed into pivots, & the bar becomes an axis, by turning which, either wing may be laid on the ground, and the other then standing vertically, acts as a mouldboard. the right angle between them however

is filled with a sloping piece of wood, leaving only a cutting margin of each wing naked, & aiding in the office of raising the sod gradually, while the declivity of the hill facilitates it's falling over. the change of the position of the share at the end of each furrow is effected in a moment by withdrawing and replacing a pin. the little paper model inclosed may help out my description of the share. . . . (DLC) (See page 56.)

From Richard Peters

Belmont June 28th. 1817.

I waited for a monthly Meeting of our agricultural Society, before acknowledging the Receipt of your kind & polite Attention to my Request in sending the Hill-side plough. I had it placed in the Society's Ware-room; where it will be viewed by those who will take Advantage of it, as a Pattern. The Society were much pleased with the Present, & very thankful to you for the Donation; which evinces your Disposition to promote all Objects calculated to forward the public Prosperity; whereof Agriculture is, most assuredly, the Foundation. . . . (DLC)

To Charles Willson Peale

Monticello Feb. 18. 18.

. . . I promised you a plough so long ago that I dare say you have forgot it: but I have this day sent it to Richmond to be forwarded to you. I claim nothing in it but the mould board. as it has never been in the ground, it will probably, as all other new ploughs, need some little rectifications, to make it perform it's functions. . . . (MHi)

From Charles Willson Peale

Belfield March 2d. 1818.

. . . I had not forgot the Plow. It was too interesting to be forgotten. yet I could not ask for it. It comes most seasonable, for I should otherwise be obliged to purchase one. I have an expert farmer who will put it into good trim for working, and then I shall invite agricultural visitors to view its performance. . . . (MHi)

From George Washington Jeffreys

Red House No. C. March 30th. 1818.

Your letter of March the 3rd. 1817 [*see Garden Book*] which you were so good as to write me on horizontal ploughing has proved of great value to this section of our state, and I hope you shall hear with the same pleasure which I feel in communicating the bene-

ficial effects which have resulted from your communication to me on this subject. I received your letter in time last spring to lay off my fields horizontally or according to the mode detailed in your letter, and such has been the success attending this experiment and so well pleased with it that I can with confidence assert with you that "horizontal ploughing is to prove the salvation of our hilly lands." All who have seen this mode of ploughing are so struck with its good effects in preventing land from washing as to induce them to adopt it and it is now spreading rapidly through this neighborhood. I have no doubt but that it will become general in this section of No. C. as the land is very broken and the people much in the spirit of improving their system of agriculture. . . . (DLC)

From Charles Willson Peale

Belfield April 10th. 1820.

. . . long oppressed under duty, respect and friendship, in having omitted to write you about the Plow which you so obligingly sent me. The principle on which the form is given is undoubtedly excellent, as the action is by strait lines, yet without a proper length is given to the mould board, all its advantages are lost.

I made repeated tryals of this Plow by an expert farmer at home, and also tryed the skill of one of my neighbors, and on mature deliberation, found the mould was too short, so that the sod coming against a Bluff, made it very heavy in the draught. . . . (DLC)

To Charles Willson Peale

Monticello Apr. 22. 20.

. . . with respect to the plough your observations are entirely just, as I know by my own experience. the first ploughs I made were 9. I. longer, and so effectual in their functions, and so easy to govern that when once entered and in motion, I have made the ploughman let go the handle and the plough has gone on for some steps as steadily, and as even as a boat on the water. but at that time, 30 years ago the passion of this state was for light ploughs, & I yielded to the cry for shortening them. do not therefore, dear Sir, take the trouble of sending me one, for besides my having in my family workmen well skilled in making them, I have in fact resigned all business of this kind to my grandson, your old acquaintance, who is among the most illustrious and best farmers of our state. . . . (MHi)

IMPLEMENTS OF HUSBANDRY

OTHER IMPLEMENTS

HARROWS, rollers, hoes, axes, and wheelbarrows had the same uses on Jefferson's plantations as they have today.

The principles of the harrow have changed little since Jefferson's time. There were always teeth of varying number of either wood or iron to pulverize the soil after it had been turned up by the plow. The harrow also disengages weeds from the soil. Jefferson sometimes used the simplest of harrows, a branch from a tree. This kind of harrow was sufficient to cover his clover seeds after they had been broadcast. In a list of tools (*Farm Book*) at Shadwell and Lego given to Jefferson by Eli Alexander in November, 1795, there is one harrow; and in a list of tools (*Farm Book*) at Monticello and Tufton for 1796 there is one toothed harrow.

In the inventory and appraisement of the estate left by Jefferson at his death, there were listed fourteen hilling hoes; and in the list of tools at Monticello and Tufton in 1796 there were eighteen hoes (*Farm Book*). He owned grubbing hoes as well as hilling hoes, and he was very much interested in what laborers could do with them, as is shown by the entries in his *Farm Book* and in his *Garden Book*.

Jefferson owned several kinds of axes. In the list of tools (*Farm Book*) for 1795-1796 at Shadwell, Lego, Monticello, and Tufton, there are nine axes; and in the appraisement of his property after his death there are listed six pole axes. Good axes were of the first importance on Jefferson's plantations where much new land had to be cleared and wood cut and split.

Jefferson's wheelbarrows were of two kinds: those with a single wheel and those with a double wheel. In his *Garden Book* and in his *Farm Book*, Jefferson makes interesting comparisons between their efficiency. The wheelbarrow was invaluable to Jefferson's workmen in carrying small loads of materials over his mountaintop.

WAGONS, CARTS, SLIDES

WAGONS and carts were in constant use on Jefferson's plantations. Slides or sleds, which Jefferson does not describe but for which he left space in the *Farm Book*, were probably used to haul newly cut logs from the forest, and also they were used in winter to carry various articles over the snowy roads.

Jefferson's carts and wagons were made entirely of wood. This was true not only of the body but also of the axles and the wheels. Little is known about the size of his carts and wagons. On October

30, 1799, Jefferson wrote to Thomas Mann Randolph that the standard size of his cart wheels was five feet in diameter. The wagon wheels were probably also of this size, as Jefferson found it of considerable advantage to be able to exchange the wheels of a wagon with those of a cart when the one he was using had a broken wheel. He writes in the *Farm Book* under "waggon," "a good general size to be established for the boxes of wheels is $2\frac{3}{4}$ I & $4\frac{3}{4}$ I. which is rather stout for waggon wheels & rather small for ox cart wheels. but the advantage will be that when a wheel breaks down, you may borrow another from any cart or waggon happening to be idle, till the broken wheel can be replaced. diam. of the wheel 5 f."

Wagons and carts were used for all kinds of hauling. Oxen and mules usually drew the carts, while horses and mules did the same service with the wagons. Jefferson owned both double and single drawn wagons and carts.

Jefferson's wheelwrights and blacksmiths built his wagons and carts. Practically all of this kind of work was done at Monticello.

To Saint-John de Crèvecoeur

Paris Jan. 15. 1787.

I see by the Journal of this morning that they are robbing us of another of our inventions to give it to the English. the writer indeed only admits them to have revived what he thinks was known to the Greeks, that is the making the circumference of a wheel of one single piece. the farmers in New Jersey were the first who practiced it, & they practiced it commonly. Dr. Franklin, in one of his trips to London, mentioned this practice to the man, now in London, who has the patent for making those wheels. (*I forget his name*) the idea struck him. the Doctor promised to go to his shop & assist him in trying to make the wheel of one piece. the Jersey farmers did it by cutting a young sapling, and bending it, while green & juicy, into a circle; and leaving it so till it became perfectly seasoned. but in London there are no saplings. the difficulty was then to give to old wood the pliancy of young. the Doctor & the workman laboured together some weeks, & succeeded, & the man obtained a patent for it which has made his fortune. I was in his shop in London, he told me the whole story himself, and acknowledged, not only the origin of the idea, but how much the assistance of Dr. Franklin had contributed to perform the operation on dry wood. he spoke of him with love & gratitude. I think I have had a similar account from Dr. Franklin, but cannot be certain quite. I know that being

in Philadelphia when the first set of patent wheels arrived from London, and were spoken of by the gentleman (an Englishman) who brought them, as a wonderful discovery, the idea of it's being a new discovery was laughed at by the Philadelphians, who in their Sunday parties across the Delaware had seen every farmer's cart mounted on such wheels. the writer in the paper supposes the English workman got his idea from Homer. but it is more likely that the Jersey farmer got the idea from thence, because ours are the only farmers who can read Homer; because too the Jersey practice is precisely that stated by Homer; the English practice very different. Homer's words are (comparing a young hero killed by Ajax to a poplar felled by a workman) literally thus [*Jefferson's copy of the Greek is omitted.*] 'he fell on the ground, like a poplar, which has grown, smooth, in the wet part of a great meadow; with it's branches shooting from it's summit. but the Chariot-maker with his sharp axe, has felled it, that he may bend a wheel for a beautiful chariot. it lies drying on the banks of the river.' observe the circumstances which coincide with the Jersey practice. 1. it is a tree growing in a moist place, full of juices, & easily bent. 2. it is cut while green. 3. it is bent into the circumference of a wheel. 4. it is left to dry in that form. you, who write French well & readily, should write a line for the Journal to reclaim the honour of our farmers. . . . (Courtesy of Mr. Louis Saint-John de Crèveœur, Montesquiou-sur-Losse, France.)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello June 19: 1793.

. . . The wheels you ordered were executed but in such a manner that they are not worth showing. Davy can use the wheelrights tools but has no rule in working: he cannot make a wheel with all the fellows in the same plane. (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

[Monticello] Oct. 30. 99.

cart wheels of 5. feet diam.

larger box 4½ I.

smaller do. 2½ I.

the above is the standard we use. Th: J. will be obliged to mr Randolph to have them made & shod as quick as possible, as his corn is suffering much for want of being got in. (DLC)

To Jeremiah Goodman

Monticello Dec. 31. 11.

. . . the day I left Poplar Forest I met many carts with a pr of oxen & a horse carrying a hhds of tobo. to Lynchbg and with great ease. it occurred to me that instead of making another wagon as I hinted to you, we had much better adopt this mode of carrying our tobo. to market, & wheat also. each plantation might equip 2. such carts, so as with the waggon they might send 5. hhds of tobo. or 160. bushels of wheat a day to market. if you see no difficulty in this you had better engage the wheels, to be made strong as those I saw there, to be ready as soon as may be. . . . (ViU)

To Horatio Spafford

Monticello Mar. 15. 15.

. . . I have been obliged latterly to relinquish the use of the gigg in travelling on account of fatigue, for that of a 4 wheeled carriage to which your improvement cannot be adapted: and our carts having been always made with wooden axels, we have no works in our neighborhood where so massive an axle of iron can be made as would be necessary for a cart. . . . (MHi)

Farm Buildings and Conveniences

THRESHING MACHINES

ON AUGUST 22, 1791, Jefferson breakfasted at 7:30 o'clock with George Washington, at his house in Philadelphia, and at 8:00 o'clock they set out for Mr. Powell's farm to see the operation of Colonel Anderson's threshing machine. This was the beginning of Jefferson's active interest in threshing machines. The following year Jefferson wrote to Thomas Pinckney, who was then in London, asking him to secure a model of the Scotch threshing machine. Mr. Pinckney was not able to find one until February of 1793. By December 8, of the same year, it had arrived in New York and was soon on its way to Richmond and Monticello. On December 12, Jefferson sent to Mr. Pinckney £13-13 to pay for the machine.

It was not, however, until the summer of 1796 that Jefferson completed the building of his threshing machine, copied from the Scotch model; and with it, by October 4, he had harvested a good part of his crop with great success. In the next few years Jefferson incorporated several new inventions in his threshing machines to

FARM BUILDINGS AND CONVENIENCES

make them work more efficiently. By 1813 he owned three threshing machines, two of them worked by horses and one of them worked by water connected with his sawmill.

From George Washington

[Philadelphia] August 21, 1791.

At eight o'clock A. M. tomorrow, I set out for Mr. Powells farm, to see the operation of Colo. Anderson's threshing machine. I Breakfast, you know, at half past Seven; if it is convenient to take that in your way, I should be glad to see you at it. . . . (DLC)

From Account Book, 1791

Aug. 22. pd. for Presdt. on seeing threshg machine 1. D.

To Thomas Pinckney

June 24. 1792.

. . . will he also be so good as to procure a model of those parts of the threshing machine (spoken of in Young's annals of 1791) in which the principle of the machine consists, and a written description of the rest, mentioning particularly the diameter of wheels, no. of cogs, rounds &c. without which a number of bungling essays may be made unsuccessfully, merely from not hitting the convenient proportions of the parts. the expences shall be immediately & thankfully replaced. . . . (CtY)

To Thomas Pinckney

Philadelphia Nov. 8. 1792.

. . . the prospect of resuming the direction of my farm induced me to trouble you with the commission of the threshing machine, which I shall be happy to recieve, and shall take the most effectual methods of rendering public. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Pinckney

London 10th. Febry. 1793.

. . . After many enquiries I have found one of the Threshing Machines at no great distance from this City. I went to the place where it is & prevailed on the owner to let me see it work. I liked the performance so well that I have engaged a mechanic to make a compleat model of it & hope to send it to you in good time for you to have one erected to thresh out your next crop. with the force of three horses to work it & three men to feed & attend it from 8 to 16 bushels of wheat are threshed by it and other grain

in proportion. this account I received from the owner having only seen a few sheaves threshed. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Pinckney

Philadelphia Apr. 12. 1793.

. . . I shall thank you most sincerely for the model of the threshing machine, besides replacing the expence of it. the threshing out our wheat immediately after harvest being the only preservation against the weevil in Virginia, the service you will thereby render that state will make you to them a second Triptolemus. . . . (DLC)

To Robert Gamble

Philadelphia Dec. 8. 1793.

I think I mentioned to you either verbally or by letter that I had the model of a threshing machine arrived at New York which I set great store by, & had taken the liberty of directing to be forwarded to Richmond to your address. my friend at New York writes me that he has sent it by the Ellice Capt. Weymouth bound for Richmond. will you be so good as to receive it and hold it till the order of mr Randolph, as I expect it is too delicate to be moved in a waggon. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Dec. 8. 1793

. . . I forgot in the inclosed to mention that my model of the threshing machine is at length sent by Ellice capt. Weymouth bound from New York to Richmond, addressed to Colo. Gamble. I have written to him to hold it subject to your order. knowing nothing of the size or construction of the model, I am not able to say whether it may not be too small or too delicate to trust a wagon, or how else it should come. I have therefore thought it best to give you the trouble of deciding that, as in some of your trips to Richmond you may perhaps have a view of the bulk, and of the structure also if it can be done easily. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Pinckney

Philadelphia Dec. 12. 1793.

The George Barclay has fallen down the river before I had notice she was about to sail: I have therefore only had time to send out and get the inclosed bill of mr John Vaughan on Messrs. Bird, Savage & Bird of London for £13-13 the amount of the model of the threshing machine you were so kind as to send me. it is gone on

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from New York to Virginia without my having seen it. accept many thanks for having procured it. (CtY)

From Thomas Pinckney

London 29 Jany. 1794.

. . . I wish the threshing machine may answer the purpose, I have no doubt that on a proper stream of water the effect of it would be astonishingly great & the principle being accurately described in the model may be applied to smaller machines for farmers whose strength of cattle may not reach the power of this. Mr. Patersons machine was worked by two strong horses at a time, the Diameter of his threshing wheel was greater than in your model being I think 8 feet & its velocity much less. the motion was given in a contrary direction whereby the grain instead of being thrown over the top of the wheel fell under it through a grating prepared for the purpose. Have you thought of the method used here occasionally of combing off the ears of the wheat? or of putting it as soon as threshed into cool subterraneous vaults, which I am told is the practice in Sicily? . . .

[NOTE IN THE ORIGINAL FORM BY JEFFERSON
AT BOTTOM OF LETTER]

cogs &c. of the wheels

$$78 \div 17 = 4.6$$

$$59 \div 13 = 4.5$$

$$53 \div 11 = 4.8$$

$$4.6 \times 4.5 \times 4.8 = 99.36$$

for every mile, by the hour, of the horse's mile the threshing wheel turns 100 times a minute.

viz. if the horse goes

2 miles an hour, the wheel turns 100 times a r.[*evolution*]

2½ 250

3. 300

(DLC)

To Thomas Pinckney

Monticello Sep. 8. 95.

. . . the beginning of our year promised great crops. that of wheat has been good. but those of corn & tobacco are much injured, indeed almost ruined, by such continual floods of rain as were never before known. this circumstance too, preventing our treading out our wheat, which is generally done in the open air, exposes that much at this moment to the weavil. it has determined me, before

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

another harvest, to prepare a threshing machine on the model you sent me, which the variety of other things wanting in my farms on my return to them, has as yet prevented my making. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Jan. 11. 96.

. . . I went on Saturday with Divers to see mr Meriwether's machine thresh. it gets out only 6. bushels an hour, but it is only double geered & worked by 2 horses. the drum wheel revolves 36. times for one of the horse wheel. my model is treble geered, requires 4. horses, perhaps 6. but the drum wheel revolves 100. times for once of the horse wheel, consequently makes 3. strokes for one of Meriwether's, and each stroke with 3. times the velocity. we are making out our bill of scantling for it. both Divers & myself were however well satisfied with mr Meriwether's. he will build on the same model; but I am for trying the treble. . . . I have been fortunate in getting 5. prime fellows @ £15. a year, and 3. sawyers @ £18. & £20 each, so that with Essex &c. I have a good force for my works. (DLC)

From George Washington

Mount Vernon 6th July 1796

. . . If you can bring a moveable threshing machine, constructed upon simple principles to perfection, it will be among the most valuable institutions in this Country; for nothing is more wanting, & to be wished for on our farms. . . . (DLC)

To Francis Eppes

Monticello Aug. 1. 1796.

. . . I am just finishing a threshing machine, which I hope will be at work within a week. if you come early in September it will probably be still at work at some of mine or mr Randolph's barns. if it were an untried thing I should not recommend it to your attention; but it's efficacy has been proved by so many years experience in G. Britain, and so generally that I do not apprehend a failure in it's performance: and it must be immensely interesting to you. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Aug. 12. 96.

. . . our treading machine will be finished today and will get to work early next week, so that by the next post I can inform you of it's success. it bids fair at present. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Aug. 19. 96.

. . . my threshing machine will only get to work this afternoon. mr W. Hylton senr. who called here on his way to the springs, tells me he has information in a letter from Sr. George Strickland that 2. steers will get out 120. bushels of wheat a day with it. this is encouraging. you will be astonished to find my buildings almost in the state you left them. Stephen Willis on whom solely I depended, has been delayed by the fever & ague, and as yet is not arrived. this has already rendered impossible the completion of my work this season. add to this perpetual rains which give us only broken intervals for work. . . . (DLC)

To Mr. Booker

Monticello Oct. 4. 96.

I have this summer had a threshing machine made on the Scotch model, and have already got out a good part of my crop with it with great success. hearing however that you had improved it by substituting whirls and bands for cogwheels & [wall geers], I desired Colo. [Coles] to enquire whether your plan could be communicated. he did not see you, but mr Graham was kind enough to say I should have a drawing of it. this has encouraged me to send a workman and to ask your permission to let him examine it. and, on his return, make one for me. I understand you have either applied for a patent or mean to do so. if it is not done perhaps my experience in the Patent office may be of some [use] to you in preparing your petition, specifications &c. I will either revise them for you or write them originally if not done, on your furnishing materials, and the weekly post between Charlottesville & Richmond will furnish a ready conveyance for letters. if you will inform me by return of the bearer, mr Buck, what will be the price of your licence to use your invention, I will have the price paid to you in Richmond if I build one. . . . (MHi)

To Edward Rutledge

Monticello Dec. 27. 1796.

. . . I understand you have introduced the Lieth machine into your state for threshing your rice. I have used one this year for my wheat with perfect success. it was geered. a person of this state has made them more simple and cheap, by substituting bands & whirls instead of geer, and they perform well, threshing 13½ bushels of wheat an hour, which is as much as I did with mine which was

geered. the improver has obtained a patent for his improvement, tho' I doubt the validity of it as there is no new invention, but only a bringing together two things in full use before, to wit, the Lieth drum wheel or threshing wheel, & the bank & whirl used for bolt-ing & a thousand other things. I have made my Lieth machine portable from one barn to another, placing it on 4. waggon wheels, on which it always remains. it does not weigh a ton. . . . (DLC)

From John Taylor

Virginia Caroline Novr. 19, 1797.

Herewith I have forwarded to you the [grain] drill you requested, packed in a crate basket, in a secure manner. This machine is an improvement upon that heretofore sent you, in having cups cut into iron rollers, instead of being fixed to bands. The effect, is perfect regularity in the shedding of the grain, because no change will be produced by the quantity in the box—because these cups must fill with exactness, because no grain received by them will fall into the box, and because a spring is so contrived, as to strike every cup before it deposits its contents. Further, in line of a rake, two move-able latteral pieces, having iron ferrals, by sliding them into the proper position, will cover the grain with great neatness. The price is ten dollars.

In the same basket is the threshing machine, described in my last letter. . . . (DLC)

From Account Book, 1797

Dec. 21. pd at the Treasury of the US. 10. D. for Thos. C. Martin (in paymt. for a drill) which with 20. D. inclosed to me by J. Taylor & pd into the treasury at the same time pays Martin's patent fee for his hand threshing machine.

From John Taylor

Virga. Caroline March 25. 1798

Mr: Martin, for whom I solicited you to obtain a patent for a thrashing machine, has made several important improvements upon the model forwarded to you, and therefore wishes the taking out of a patent may be postponed, until his application can be so amended, as that it may include the improvements. (DLC)

To John Taylor

Philadelphia Apr. 6. 98.

I had just recieved from New York the box containing mr Mar-tin's model of the hand-threshing machine, & drill, when your

favor of Mar. 25. came to hand, and I had nearly compleated the drawing to be filed in the Secretary of state's office. I suspend further proceeding till I hear from you. in the meantime mr Bringham had communicated to me a model which he had recieved from England. I think this so admirably simple that I made a drawing of it, and now inclose it for mr Martin's consideration. by making the axis of the great spur wheel serve as one of the feeding cylinders, you save the endless screw & 4. crown & spur wheels employed by mr Martin to communicate motion from the great spur to the feeding cylinders. this saves a great deal of work & friction. I know from experience that the drum wheel ought to turn ten times for once of the cylinders, which is the motion given here. the inclined plane is also better for feeding than the cloth & rollers used by mr Martin: these have long given way in Great Britain to the inclined plane.

Mr. Martin's improvement in the cups of his drill is a beautiful one, and it is now the most compleat machine in the world for sowing a single row. I have sent it to the board of agriculture in London, and informed them whose invention it is. I wish he could be induced to try to make me one which could sow 4. rows at a time 12. I. apart from row to row. this would add greatly to it's value, & is the only point in which Cook's famous drill plough has the advantage of it. in every thing else mr Martin's is preferable to Cook's. but it is most desirable to be able to sow in equidistant rows. perhaps by making an iron axis with a circle of cups at every 3. I. & a spout under each circle, it might be made to sow at any distance (of which 3. I. should be an aliquot part) by stopping intermediate spouts according to our purpose. but he will probably think of something better. . . . (DLC)

To Robert Mills

Washington June 23. 08.

. . . I have considered your plan of a reaping machine, which I consider as simple & promising, but experience has taught me never to form an ultimate decision on a plan or model, or any thing short of the actual experiment. I would make one observation on what will be easily corrected. the wheel E. moves exactly the velocity of the horse, i.e. about 4. f. in a second. the peripheries of D. & B. with about $\frac{2}{3}$ that velocity. the medium point of the scythe M with about double the last or $5\frac{1}{2}$ f. in a second, which would not I think be sufficient to cut. I suppose a scythe slung with a man's arm has nearly the double of that velocity. . . . (DLC)

To Dr. Cunningham Harris

Monticello Nov. 6. 12.

. . . we cultivate wheat here extensively & solely, and every body is getting the Leith machine for threshing it. I mean the original double or treble geered machine, divested of all those things which have been called improvements, in which the wheat is presented to beaters revolving like the vanes of a wheat fan. I have three of them myself, one going by water, & two by horses. many have them in our neighborhood. those moved by horses get out from 80. to 150. bushels a day with from 2. to 5. horses, & cost from 100 to 150 D. those by water get out 300. bushels a day and more if they could be attended, & cost in proportion to their geer, canals, dams &c. your letter not explaining the principle of yours I cannot say whether it would be adopted here. this would require an explanation of it's principle & an example of it's performance. if it should do better than those we have & be cheaper it would find abundance of demand. there is a general complaint that those we have do not get the wheat out clean enough from the straw. these are the only views I can give you of the probability of it's being called for here. . . . (DLC)

HOUSES FOR LABORERS

HOUSES for laborers, and these included Jefferson's slaves as well, were built at convenient locations over Jefferson's plantations. The general plan was to "build the Negro houses near together that the fewer nurses may serve & that the children may be more easily attended to by the superannuated women" (*Farm Book* facsimile, p. 77). There were several houses for laborers at Monticello built on Mulberry Row which were usually occupied by house-servants.

Jefferson describes one of the houses on Mulberry Row as being "20½ f. by 12. f. of wood, with a wooden chimney, & earth floor." Another one of them was "14. f. by 17. f. of wood, with a wooden chimney, the floor of earth." Whether all of the houses for laborers and servants followed this design is not known. All of them appear to have been made of logs.

Hired white laborers, such as carpenters, bricklayers, and stone-masons, probably occupied more substantial houses; overseers and tenants of his plantations lived in frame houses of more conveniences.

See plates XIII, XXI, XXII, and XXX in the *Garden Book* for location of houses for laborers and overseers. See also references to

"Negro Houses," "Overseer Houses," "Negroes," and "Slaves" in the *Garden Book*.

TREADING FLOOR

BEFORE Jefferson completed his threshing machine in the summer of 1796, all of his wheat was threshed out by horses on a threshing floor in the open air. The floor was laid down at harvest time, but Jefferson, after several years of this practice, found that too much time was consumed with laying the floor at this season, so that, he states in the *Farm Book*, on July 8, 1795, ". . . began to tread at Monticello with 7. horses. Were the harvest to go over again with the same force, the following arrangement should take place the treading floor should be laid down before harvest. . . ."

The treading floor was not used at Monticello to any extent after 1795. It is not known when it was abandoned at Jefferson's other plantations.

See "Diary of 1795" and "Diary of 1796" in the *Farm Book* for references to the treading floor, and harvest in general.

ROADS AND FORDS

JEFFERSON was continually building new roads and paths and repairing old ones. In order to make all parts of Monticello Mountain accessible, he built four roundabouts which completely encircled the mountain at various levels. These roundabouts were connected with each other by oblique roads, thus making it possible to pass with ease from one of them to another. It is not known when all of the roundabouts were begun and completed. In the following memorandum, the date of which is not shown, Jefferson set down the distance in miles of each roundabout.

	mile	
1st. Roundabout	0.529	
2d	1.041	
3d	1.559	
4th	2.32	5.45
	<hr/>	
base of mountain	5.25	

(Courtesy of the James Monroe Law Office and Museum, Fredericksburg, Virginia.)

In addition to the roundabouts there were roads where they were needed in all parts of his plantations. The references in the *Farm Book* to roads show how some of them were constructed, where they

were located, and their width. Here again Jefferson is especially interested in the amount of work his laborers can perform and the length of time the job requires.

There were three fords that were available to Jefferson in leaving and entering Monticello. They were Moore's Ford over the Rivanna River, located at what is now the Free Bridge Road; Shadwell Ford, which crossed the Rivanna at the Shadwell Mills; and the Secretary's Ford, which crossed the river a short distance below the present Charlottesville Woolen Mills. There were other fords at his other estates.

See references to "Roads," "Road-building," "Roundabouts," and "Fords," in the *Garden Book*.

FENCES

JEFFERSON divided and enclosed his fields by rail fences. His vegetable garden at Monticello was enclosed by a paling fence, and the one at Poplar Forest was encircled by a picket fence. There was also a fence enclosing the top of the mountain at Monticello. The wood for these fences was either cut from the living trees in his forests or from those that had fallen on the ground.

Since Jefferson considered wooden dividing fences as a "great & perishable work," he sometimes substituted rows of peach trees with a road between them to divide the fields. In December of 1794 he planted eleven hundred and fifty-seven peach trees for this purpose. In order to separate certain fields on the top of Monticello Mountain, he planted "live fences," consisting of thorn hedges, as a substitute for rail fences. Dry stone walls were also built for enclosures, and the semi-oval level in front of the house at Monticello was enclosed by a post and chain fence.

See references to "Fences," "Fence Palings," "Walls," "Hedges," "Hedge-thorn," and "Peaches," in the *Garden Book*.

STABLES

JEFFERSON had stables and barns built at all of his plantations. At Poplar Forest, Tomahawk, Bear Creek, Shadwell, Tufton, and Lego, there was at least one stable at each plantation, whereas, at Monticello there were two stables and probably more of them.

The main stable at Monticello was built about 1793 at the southeastern end of the row of houses and shops on Mulberry Row. It was "105. feet long and 12. f. wide. one story high." Another stable at Monticello was located near the overseer's house at the base of the mountain.

FUEL AND LIGHT

Jefferson's coach house at Monticello was separated from the stables. It occupied, with the ice house, the northwest offices adjoining the house. There were nine rooms to the coach house. Jefferson jotted down the following memorandum on the coach house, undated, but probably written in 1802:

“chariot
dbl Phaeton will take Cells 4.
single do.
gigg
sulky
stranger's carriage [cells] 2.
horses [cells] 2.
store room [cell] 1.

(MHi) 9 ”

Probably the horses, the cattle, and the coaches, occupied the same buildings at his other plantations. For specifications and drawings for barns at Tufton and Lego, see illustrations following page 56.

To Thomas Mann Randolph
Philadelphia Oct. 12. 1792.

. . . I have been considering that it would be better to floor my stables with slabs from the Henderson's. in this case the edges of the slabs must be taken off to a sufficient substance with a drawing knife, & sleepers should be so laid, as that the end of the slab under the manger may be a couple of inches higher than that at the front. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph
Monticello Feb: 7: 1793.

The carpenters began this morning to raise the stable the snow having prevented their setting about it sooner. . . . (MHi)

Fuel and Light

OIL, CANDLES, AND LAMPS

JEFFERSON used candles and lamps for illumination at Monticello and Poplar Forest. Tallow and sperm oil candles were probably used exclusively until 1791 when Jefferson ordered myrtle-wax candles from Adam Lindsay, of Norfolk, Virginia. He greatly pre-

ferred myrtle-wax candles to the other kinds; but by 1808 they were apparently difficult to buy. Myrtle-wax or bayberry candles are made from the waxy substance collected from a decoction of the fruit of the wax myrtle, *Myrica cerifera*. After the waxy substance taken from the decoction is purified, it is mixed with a certain amount of tallow and made into candles. Jefferson also used molded candles, and he no doubt in the earlier days used dipped candles. He ordered sperm oil candles from John Barnes in 1801.

It has not been determined just when Jefferson began using lamps. On November 12, 1804, he ordered two lamps for one of his mantelpieces, presumably for Monticello. During October and November of the same year he corresponded about lamps with Messrs. Caldcleugh & Thomas, of Philadelphia. Although these lamps may have been bought for the President's House in Washington, they do give us an insight into the kinds of lamps in which Jefferson was interested.

The experiment on the "Comparative expence of candles and lamps," mentioned in the *Farm Book*, was carried out after 1810, for glass lamps were not introduced into America until that year. The lamp oil used in the experiment was probably either sperm oil or melted lard.

From Adam Lindsay

Norfolk 26th. Feby. 1793.

by this time I hope you have received 6 Boxes Candles by the Schooner Richmond Capt. Sampson. I intended them in Philadelphia two months ago but Myrtle wax is only bought at Market in small Quantities of 4 to 10 lbs. from the Country people & their prices vary so much I was under the necessity to limit the maker to a certain price to avoid imposition. Respecting mixing Tallow with the Wax the maker says that some is absolutely necessary—but provided they could be made without any mixture they would run so much in burning as to be very unprofitable there is a small proportion to what was in the others. . . . (DLC)

From Caldcleugh & Thomas

Philadelphia Oct. 23. 1804

When Mr. Claxton was in this city sometime ago, he requested us to order from London for your use, six patent Lamps of a particular form & color, he also requested us to inform you of their arrival, in order that you might direct their destination. The Ship Active arrived yesterday & the Lamps conformable to order are in her, they will be landed in the course of a few days & if you will be

pleased to give us the necessary directions they shall be forwarded immediately after they are opened. We take the liberty of mentioning that by the same Vessel we have received a number of mantle piece fountain Lamps of which kind Mr Claxton informed us you would probably be in want, should this be the case we will forward with the other Lamps the nearest your direction as to form or pattern that we may have, which if not approved of can be returned.
 . . . (MHi)

To Messieurs Caldcleugh & Thomas

Washington Oct. 28. 1804.

Your favor of the 23d. is at hand, and I will thank you to send the lamps (half a dozen) bespoke by Mr Claxton which you have imported, with the note of their cost. vessels are constantly arriving from Philadelphia to this place, or to Alexandria, which will bring them safely. with respect to the Mantlepiece fountain lamps, perhaps you can give me some idea of their forms by a sketch which would enable me to select or decide without the trouble of sending them. those which are gilt or plated would be preferred to glass.
 . . . (MHi)

From Caldcleugh & Thomas

Philadelphia Novr. 6. 1804

Bot of Caldcleugh & Thomas

6 Patent Lamps Semi Vase Transparent Green	}	. . . . \$45.00
Japanned & Gilt with brass glass holders		
& 6 glasses & 3 dozen wicks @ 7.50		
1/2 doz. extra Glasses for ditto 2.50		1.25
3 doz. do wicks25		.75
Box . . . . . . . . . .		.25
		<hr/>
		\$47.25

The above were shipped the 6th. Inst. agreeably to Bill of Loading enclosed, we hope they will arrive safe & to your satisfaction. Lamps of a similar form to the above, of the usual workmanship, we sell at 6.00\$ but on account of the additional Workmanship in the Japanning & gilding, those sent, cannot be afforded at less than they are charged.

We enclose a sheet containing a sketch of 3 patterns of the *pedestal fountain Lamps*, with a reference to their prices & constructions, & to some others which are not sketched. Should they meet your approbation, be pleased to drop us a line on that subject.
 . . . (MHi)

To Messieurs Caldcleugh & Thomas

Washington Nov. 12. 04.

Your favor of the 6th. has been duly recieved, and I now inclose you a draught on the US. bank of this place on that at Philadelphia for 47.25 D. for the lamps you have been so kind as to forward, which I presume will arrive in due time. with respect to the mantle-piece lamps, being, as I mentioned to you, in no hurry for them I can wait till I have an opportunity of getting those which would be exactly to my fancy. I have below sketched the form I prefer. perhaps yourselves may now, or ere long have of that form, in which case I shall be ready to take a pair of them. . . . [*Jefferson makes a sketch of lamp.*] (MHi)

From Caldcleugh & Thomas

Philadelphia Novr. 14. 1804

We have to acknowledge the reciept of your favor of the 12th. Inst. covering a check on the bank of the UStates value $47\frac{25}{100}$ \$ which is to the credit of your Acct. in full.

We have a few pairs of lamps constructed on the principal you describe, though not exactly as to the pedestal which supports the Lamp. this form of lamp is very little used in this City & the demand for them so small that we cannot find an advantage in keeping any variety of them, those with the fountain or reservoir to contain the oil, above the burner never fail to burn well when good Oil is made use of, whereas those with the Oil below the burner (as are those you describe) will scarcely keep lighted for one Evening, and as the wick is shortened by consumption, will burn but a very few hours. We send annexed a sketch of those patterns we have on the principal you allude to. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Aug. 5. 08.

. . . will you be so good as to send me by the first boat 25. or 30. lb of moulded candles, myrtle wax would be greatly preferred, but if not to be had, good tallow would be next desired. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1819

Sep. 25. gave G. Divers ord. on Jas. Leitch for 25. D. for 100. lb candles.

WOOD, FIREPLACES, AND STOVES

JEFFERSON burned wood and probably charcoal for heating his houses. Wood from his forests was the principal source of heat.

It was burned in open fireplaces and stoves. Up to 1795 the fireplace was used exclusively to furnish heat. On February 19, of that year, Jefferson wrote to Thomas Mann Randolph that he had set up stoves at Monticello and he had found that they gave out double the heat with half the amount of wood used. On November 3, 1804, Jefferson wrote to Benjamin H. Latrobe asking him to select for him, ". . . 3. of the handsomest stoves of the kind called Open stoves, or Rittenhouse stoves, which are in fact nothing more than the Franklin stove. . . ." About 1810 Jefferson was using a template stove in his study and it was burning thirty-seven pounds of green hickory from six o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock at night. On April 11, 1809, John H. Foxall sent Jefferson stewholes for his kitchen stove at Monticello. Just what kind of stove this was Jefferson does not state. He often kept detailed accounts of the amount of wood burned in the kitchen stove, as well as of that burned in the fireplaces and in his other stoves.

Jefferson sold firewood from his forest to his neighbors. According to Edmund Bacon, his overseer, he furnished nearly all of the families in Milton with firewood. They paid five dollars a year for what wood they would burn in a fireplace.

See "Fire," "Fireplaces," "Firewood," in the *Garden Book*.

From Account Book, 1792

Jan. 16. note mr Remsen tells me that 6. cord of hickory last a fire place well the winter.

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Feb. 19. 95.

. . . I am in want of some black lead for cleaning our stoves, which we have set up much to our comfort & the economy of wood, for I think we have double the heat with half the wood. I have some idea of having seen black lead advertized for sale in Richmond by the quantity. if not to be had there I think, while you are at mr Eppes's, you could know whether he could get me some from Winterham, which I believe is on the road between Eppington and his Angola plantations. for the present a peck would do, but if to be had merely for the getting, a larger quantity would not be amiss, as I believe I shall adopt the general use of the stove against the next winter. . . . (DLC)

To Benjamin H. Latrobe

Washington Nov. 3. 04.

. . . I informed you when here that I should ask the favor of you to select for me in Philadelphia 3. of the handsomest stoves, of the kind called Open stoves, or Rittenhouse stoves, which are in fact nothing more than the Franklin stove, leaving out the double back and flues formed in that for supplying warm air. the Rittenhouse stove is the one commonly used in Philadelphia, and was the model & origin of the Rumford fireplace, which is a Rittenhouse stove in brick instead of iron. the only direction I have to give is that those selected for me be 2. f. 6. I. wide in the back, inside measure, this suiting the size of my rooms. the taste is left to yourself. and when you shall have fixed on them messrs Jones & Howell, my correspondents in the iron way in Philadelphia, will on your application be so good as to procure & forward them to Richmond, and debit me with them in their account. as I am not in a hurry for these, the choice of them may await your first visit to Philadelphia on other business. . . . (DLC)

From Benjamin H. Latrobe

Novr. 9th. 1804, Wilmington

. . . Shall go to Philadelphia in the course of a day or two . . . will then select the stoves you wish to be sent you, with great pleasure. This is the section of the Rittenhouse stove if I mistake not . . . [*He makes a diagram of the stove.*] (DLC)

To Henry J. Foxall

Monticello Mar. 24. 09.

The cook which I had in Washington (mr Julien) and who is now with me for a time, informs me you made for the President's kitchen some irons of casting for the stoves or stew-holes in the kitchen in which the box part & the grills or bars were all solid together and that you made them of three sizes. I must ask the favor of you to make 8. for me, to wit 2. of the largest size & 3. of the middle & 3. of the smallest size, and forward them for me to Richmond to the care of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson, forwarding me the bill at the same time: I must pray you to act without delay, if convenient, as they are indispensable in a kitchen. . . . (MHi)

From Henry J. Foxall

Georg Town Apl. 11th. 1809.

Your favor of the 24th Ultó came to hand in due course, The Stew holes you request me to send you I have made and put them on board a vessel bound for Richmond which is to sail this day.

I observe the information you have received respecting our Method of Making the Stew holes is not agreeable to our practice, we cast the cheeks, and grates sepperate and not solid or together, the reason is that one set of cheeks will last as long as many sets of grates.

I have sent you a duple set of grates two to Each Stew hole, believing it might be difficult for you to obtain others when the first set of grates might become useless.

I have not given up the Intention of Executing the Stove you were so kind as to send me the Model of, when done I will inform you of its success, Should it answer the Expectation I have of it I will send you one on agreeable to your request. . . . (MHi)

1809. Nov. 30. the woodbox in my bedroom holds $\frac{1}{10}$ of a cord, and in 9 days, partly excessive cold, partly very moderate was used twice full, which is a cord in 45 days = $6\frac{1}{2}$ weeks.

the box was filled Nov. 22. 26. 30. Dec. 5. 12. 15. 18. 23. 28. 31. Jan. 5. 13. 19. 22. 25. 27. 29. Feb. $\frac{2}{2}$. 3. 5. 8. 13. 20. 28. Mar. 10. 16. $2\frac{1}{2}$. (Memorandum Book, MHi)

From Memorandum Book

[*n. d.*]

Oct. 24. [*year not given*] 37⁺ lb of green hiccory have kept a constant fire in a 10. plate stove in my room from 6. oclock in the morning to 9. at night. the fire was very moderate as the day was, the thermometer being 43. to 52°.

Jan. 8. [*year not given*] the 16. cord of wood begun on the 1st. day of Dec. are out this day. there have been but 2. fires kept in the house, the kitchen has been supplied & a few loads to the quarters. it has been kept under lock & key & the weather has been very mild.

Feb. 6. [*year not given*] the cord of wood cut for January out this day constant fires have been kept in the kitchen, Din. room & chamber, & about one half the time in the outchamber. the weather has been constantly severe. the kitchen burns a cord in 5. days.

Mar. 18. [*year not given*] began in the dining room to use a wood box $1-3 \times 2-6 \times 3$ f = $9\frac{3}{8}$ cub. feet = $\frac{1}{4}$ of a cord + $3\frac{1}{2}$ cub. feet, which may balance vacancies.

(MHi)

FIREWOOD

“. . . Nearly all the families in Milton were supplied with firewood from Mr. Jefferson's estate. They paid him five dollars a year for what wood they would burn in a fire place. Mr. Jefferson wrote a blank form for me, and I made a written contract with all the people who got their firewood from his place, and once a year I went around and made collections. Here is the blank form that he wrote for me that I filled out, and from which I copied all these contracts for wood:

“ ‘These presents witness that the subscriber, Thomas Jefferson, has leased to the subscriber, James Marr, of the town of Milton, a right, in common with other lessees, to cut and take away sufficient firewood for one fireplace from the lands of the said Thomas Jefferson, on the south side of the road through from Milton towards Colle, for the year which began on the 1st day of October last past, and ending the 1st day of October of the present year, 1813; the said James Marr yielding and paying to the said Thomas Jefferson five dollars on the first day of October closing the year, which he covenants to do, and it is further agreed that this lease, and on the same conditions, shall continue from year to year until notice to the contrary be given by either party to the other. Witness their hands this 6th day of February, 1813.

Th. Jefferson
James Marr

Witness,
E. Bacon.’ ”

(Pierson, *Monticello*, pp. 81-82)

Animals

HORSES *

. . . I hope you have not entirely unlearned the practice of riding on horseback. I can assure you from experience that to old age the daily ride is among the most cheering of comforts. It renews the pleasurable sensation that we are still in society with the beings and the things around us and so delightful and so necessary is this daily revival to me, that I would wish to lose that and life together. . . . —*Jefferson to William Short, Monticello, April 10, 1824*

THE general horse stock of the English colonies before 1730 consisted of Northern European stock of mixed bloods and Chickasaw stock of Spanish blood. The European stock had come from England, France, and Holland; while the Chickasaw stock came from the Indians who in turn had got them from the Spanish conquistadors. During the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth, the planters used these horses not only for utility and hunting, but also for the sport of racing. Since their horses possessed fleetness but possessed no bottom, the only racing in which the planters could indulge was that known as "quarter racing."

A few years before Jefferson's birth (1743), "course racing" was inaugurated, the earliest evidence being in 1737 when a race was run in Hanover County, Virginia, "round a three mile course." Since "course racing" required a horse of much greater endurance than that required of a horse for "quarter racing," it became necessary for sportsmen to improve their stock by breeding from a "course racing" stock. This breeding was made possible by importing new stock from England and Spain. From 1737 to 1800 there were imported, not only into Virginia but into other colonies and states, a large number of celebrated mares and horses, the following of which were to become the progenitors of Jefferson's fine studs, saddle horses, and carriage horses: Crab, Calista, Partner, Whittington, Janus, Hob or Nob, Old Fearnought, Young Fearnought, Beau (Bow), Jenny Morris, Spanker, Patty Banister, Silver Eye, Darlington, Fitzpartner, Victorious, Sprightly, Eclipse, Monkey, Othello, Dabster, Brimmer, Wildair, Celer (Seelah), Bedford, Medley, Diomed, Spreadeagle, and Peacemaker.

* I am indebted to Fairfax Harrison's excellent *Early American Turf Stock, 1730-1780*, for much of the pedigree data, other than that furnished by Jefferson, used in this section on horses.

Horses must have impressed themselves early on Jefferson's childhood as they doubtless did on the childhood of all country lads of his day. They continued to impress themselves on him until his death. Horses were certainly one of his passions as is shown by his nice estimate of them, by his demand before buying them that they be of the best blood, and by his intimate association with them. He spent a considerable part of his waking hours in the saddle and in the carriage, in making his numerous journeys to and from New York, Philadelphia, and Poplar Forest, and a good part of every morning, when he was at home, in riding over his estates to look after his farms. It is little wonder that he knew a good horse when he saw one. Edmund Bacon, Jefferson's overseer at Monticello for many years, in giving his reminiscences years later, said, "But the horse was Mr. Jefferson's favorite. He was passionately fond of a good horse. We generally worked mules on the plantation; but he would not ride or drive any thing but a high-bred horse. Bay was his preference for color. He would not have any other." (Pierson, *Monticello*, p. 56.)

Jefferson was an enthusiastic lover of horse racing and horse showmanship. He always attended the races when they were in season, and few engagements kept him away. He wrote his granddaughter Ellen Randolph in 1808, "Our races begin to-day but I am kept from them by an attack of rheumatism which came upon me in my sleep." Less than two months before his death he paid \$4.50 for a show of horsemanship. There is no record to show that Jefferson raced his studs, but in buying the horse Tarquin from William Fitzhugh, he mentions in his Account Book that Tarquin excels in two mile heats.

Jefferson's *Farm Book* opens with a list of his twenty-eight breeding mares and horses with their pedigrees. This "Stud Book" covers the years from 1758 to 1780. His first named mare, Allycrocker, was foaled in 1758, when Jefferson was fifteen years of age. One of his last horses, The Eagle, not mentioned in the *Farm Book*, was foaled in 1814, and bought by Jefferson in 1820, from John Graves of Louisa. Jefferson was then seventy-seven years old. After 1780 Jefferson's record of his breeding mares and horses is found in his Account Books and in his letters.

As with plants, Jefferson was first of all interested in improving the breed of horses. Although improving race horses was of some importance to him, he was far more concerned in breeding a horse that would be of value to man as a work horse, a saddle horse, or a carriage horse. In 1822 the Albemarle Agricultural Society,

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which had been founded in 1817 and for which Jefferson had formulated the plans of organization and of which he was an influential member, opened a community subscription for the importation of an Andalusian horse from Spain to improve the stock of the county. And in 1806, while Jefferson was serving his second term in the Presidency, he received as a gift from the Sultan, on the ratification of the treaty which ended the Tripolitan War, an African barb horse, Black Sultan, and two African barb-mares. Jefferson subsequently had these mares sold at auction for account of the United States. One of the mares was bought by John Wayles Eppes, Jefferson's son-in-law, and founded a racing family.

The chronology of Jefferson's mares and horses, with their pedigrees, with their characteristics and life histories, and with their monetary transactions, given below, is taken from his *Farm Book*, his *Account Books*, and his letters. It gives a fascinating picture of another activity of this versatile man.

ALLYCROCKER

Allycrocker { Silver Eye
 { Patty Banister { Spanker
 { Jenny Morris { Beau (Bow)
 { Imported mare of Col. Eppes

ALLYCROCKER was foaled in 1758 and became an important breeding mare. There is no record of her being covered after 1778. Allycrocker's sire was Silver Eye, who was sent to Virginia in 1756 and was held in high esteem by breeders of that Colony. Her dam was Patty Banister. I have found no record of Patty Banister but she had a noted sire, Spanker, and her dam Jenny Morris, according to Jefferson, was a fast-running mare of Secretary John Carter. Spanker was imported from Andalusia in Spain about 1740, by William Nelson of Yorktown. He covered until after 1750 on the York and the James Rivers and left crosses in many pedigrees. Jenny Morris' sire was Beau, spelled Bow, by Jefferson. He was imported in 1740, and covered at Secretary John Carter's estate, Shirley, in Charles City County, Virginia, in 1741.

GUSTAVUS

Gustavus { Whittington
 { Dam unknown

In the *Farm Book* Jefferson states that Gustavus was foaled in 1762, but in his *Account Book* for 1773 he writes, "On accurate settlement of Gustavus's age with F. Willis we find he was foaled

in the spring of 1763." Jefferson bought Gustavus from Francis Willis of Gloucester County, Virginia. He was later given away. Gustavus' sire was Whittington, an imported horse sent to Virginia in 1759. Little is known of him.

Isaac Jefferson, an old slave of Jefferson, giving his reminiscences in 1847, says, "Jupiter & John drove Mr Jeffersons coach & four: one of em rode postilion: they rode postilion in them days. Travelling in the phaeton Mr Jefferson used oftentimes to take the reins himself & drive. Whenever he wanted to travel fast *he'd* drive: would drive powerful hard himself. Jupiter & John wore caps & gilded bands. The names of the horses were Senegore, Gustavus, Otter, Remus, Romulus, Caractacus Mr Jefferson's riding horse." (Isaac Jefferson, *Memoirs*, p. 14.)

CACULLIN

Cacullin { Hob or Nob
Allycrocker

CACULLIN was foaled in 1764. His sire was Hob or Nob, an imported horse, sent to Virginia in 1760 and received by Archibald Cary. He was on the turf in England from 1755 to 1759. Hob or Nob was at A. Cary's Ampthill from 1761 to 1766 and probably covered Allycrocker, Cacullin's dam, at that time. There is no further record of Cacullin.

THE GENERAL

The General { Janus
Dam unknown

THE GENERAL was foaled in 1769. His sire was Janus, an imported horse sent to Virginia in 1756 and consigned to Mordecai Booth, of Gloucester County. Janus was a remarkable horse. His stock have exceeded all others in the United States for speed, durability and general uniformity of good form; and more good saddle and harness horses have sprung from them than from any other stock. Jefferson bought The General from Alexander Spotswood. In his Account Book of 1775, he wrote, "June 14. pd Alexr Spotswood for a horse (The General) £25. & gave him an order on H. Skipwith for £25. more, the balance. he was got by Janus & is 6. years old." And in the Account Book for 1777, he recorded, "Sep. 7. sent by John Harvie to Alexr Spotswood £26-14 in full for the horse I bought of him." The payments were not completed for this horse until May 26, 1778, when Jefferson "inclosed by

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Mann Page junr. of Mannsfield to Alexr Spotswood £26-4 being the balance due for the horse bot of him." (Account Book, 1778)

C R A B

Crab { Whittington
 { Dam got by Crab

CRAB was foaled about 1771 and had as his sire Whittington, an imported horse who was sent to Virginia in 1759. His dam was got by Secretary John Carter's Crab, who was on the turf in England from 1731 to 1736, and sent to Virginia about 1737. Jefferson purchased Crab from Francis Willis when the horse was about seven years old. He notes in the Account Book for January 15, 1778, "sent by Warner Lewis to Francis Willis for the horse (Crab) I purchased of him £65."

E V E R A L L Y N

EVERALLYN's sire and dam are not known. She was bought of John Hylton in 1774. Jefferson wrote in his Account Book for this year, "Jan. 8. exchanged with John Hylton my black horse for a sorrel mare which he says was 5. year old last June. he supposes she is with foal by young Fear-nought, and if she proves to be so, I am to pay £3. for putting her to horse." And on "January 10. I promised to give John Hylton 40/ more to boot between our horses he being dissatisfied with the first bargain." On December 7, 1776, he completed the bargain, "pd John Mayo by ord. of John Hylton the balance of boot for Everallyn £5." (Account Book)

A L F R E D

Alfred { Partner
 { Allycrocker

ALFRED was foaled in 1774, having as his sire, John Ambler's Partner, and his dam, Jefferson's Allycrocker. Partner was sent to this country in 1765. He was at John Ambler's until October of 1766, when he was sent to North Carolina. Although there is no record in stud books that Partner was returned to Virginia, this record indicates that he was returned and covered Allycrocker in 1773 or 1774. Jefferson jotted down in his Account Book for May 3, 1778, "pd Colo T. M. Randolph in full £47-9-3. note £3. of the above was for mr Wayles's estate for putting Allycrocker to Partner."

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

C A R A C T A C U S

Caractacus { Young Fearnought { Old Fearnought
 { Allycrocker { Calista

CARACTACUS was foaled in May, 1775. His sire was Young Fearnought who was got by Old Fearnought on Calista. Fearnought was on the turf in England from 1759 to 1763 and sent to Virginia in 1764. He was owned by John Baylor of Caroline County, Virginia. He stands at the top of imported racing horses of his day. Calista was foaled in Virginia. Although little is known of her, in later years she was referred to as "the famous Calista," "the noted Calista," and the "brilliant Calista." Caractacus' dam was Allycrocker. Caractacus was used as a breeding horse and seems to have been a favorite riding horse of Jefferson. According to Jefferson's slave Isaac Jefferson, Caractacus threw Jefferson from his back in 1781 at Poplar Forest, the fall breaking his arm.

There are several references to Caractacus in the Account Books: "1779, Apr. 29. recd. of Lively by T. Garth for his mare put a season to Caractacus £9-19." "1782. May. 16. charge Colo J. Harvie season of one mare to Caractacus. recd order of him for 45/ from Bowl. Clarke. charge Dr. Gilmer season 3. mares." "1782. Apr. 23. James Jones a season to Caractacus." "1782. Apr. 15. charge Wm. Turner a season to Caractacus." "1782. May 9. recd. of Jas. Jones 3/3 in full for season." "1782. May. 24. Charge Chas. Goodman a leap of Caractacus." "1782. July 29. recd. of Wm. Turner 14/4 balce. for season of mare."

E T H E L I N D A

Ethelinda { Young Fearnought
 { Everallyn

JEFFERSON wrote in his Account Book of March 26, 1776, "Everallin foaled this day. a sorrel mare foal by J. Bolling's Fearnought." This sorrel mare was Ethelinda. There are many Young Fearnoughts listed in the get of Old Fearnought.

S I L V E R T A I L

Silvertail { Sire unknown
 { A gray mare at Elkhill

SILVERTAIL, an iron gray mare, was foaled in 1773. She was covered by Young Fearnought in 1778 and gave birth to Zanga, for George Wythe.

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ORRA MOOR

Orra Moor { Young Fearnought
Allycrocker

ORRA MOOR was a chestnut sorrel filly and was foaled in May, 1778. Her sire was William Dandridge's Young Fearnought, her dam was Jefferson's Allycrocker. In the Account Book for June 2, 1778, we read, "pd mr Wm. Dandridge for ensuring Allycrocker to his horse last year £6-10."

PEGGY WAFFINGTON

Peggy Waffington { Young Fearnought
A bay mare, Number 12 [*Farm Book*]

PEGGY WAFFINGTON [Woffington] was a bay filly. She was foaled in March, 1778. Her sire was Young Fearnought, probably owned by William Dandridge, and her dam was a bay mare at Elkhill. She is not mentioned again by Jefferson. Peggy Waffington was named after Margaret (Peggy) Woffington, an eminent Irish actress of the Eighteenth Century.

ZANGA

Zanga { Young Fearnought
Silvertail

ZANGA, an iron-grey horse colt was foaled in May, 1778, for George Wythe, of Williamsburg. His sire was Young Fearnought, and his dam was Jefferson's Silvertail, an iron-grey mare at Elkhill.

ODIN

Odin { Young Fearnought
A bay mare at Willis's Creek

ODIN was a sorrel horse colt. His sire was Young Fearnought and his dam was a bay mare at Willis's Creek. He was foaled in April, 1778. According to Jefferson's Account Book for October 11, 1783, Odin measured "4 f. 11 I."

POLLY PEACHUM

Polly Peachum { Young Fearnought
A roan mare at Willis's Creek

POLLY PEACHUM, a roan filly, had as her sire Young Fearnought and her dam was a roan mare at Willis's Creek. She was foaled in May, 1778; probably named after Polly Peachum, a character in

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George Farquhar's "The Twin Rivals." Margaret Woffington played the part of Polly Peachum.

SILVERET

Silveret { Caractus
Silvertail

SILVERET was a gray horse colt. He was foaled in 1780. His sire was Jefferson's riding horse, Caractus, and his dam was Jefferson's breeding mare, Silvertail.

Horses and Mares mentioned in Account Books and Letters

Sprightly { Sprightly { Whittington
Mare { Janus mare

SPRIGHTLY was a light chestnut sorrel horse. He was foaled on March 12, 1779. His sire was the imported Sprightly, who was on the turf in England in 1772, and on the turf in Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1774. He covered in Virginia from 1777 to 1783. Sprightly's dam was a mare who was got by Whittington on a Janus mare. Jefferson bought Sprightly from Thomas Mann Randolph. "May. 7. bought a horse (Sprightly) of Colo T. M. Randolph for £75. payable May 7. 1784. & gave my bond. he was foaled Mar. 12. 1779. got by Sprightly out of a mare who was by Whittington on a Janus mare. a light chestnut sorrel, narrow blaze bending off over the right nostril. about 4. f. 11 I. high. has a little white on his hind feet." (Account Book, 1783)

ASSARAGOA

Assaragoa { Victorious { Old Fearnought
A common mare {

ASSARAGOA was a horse foaled in 1779. His sire was Bland's Victorious, born about 1771, and a get of Old Fearnought. His dam was an old mare. Jefferson bought Assaragoa from Joseph Embry in 1782 for £60, and sold him in Boston on June 30, 1784, for £30 to Neill Jamieson. He measured "5 f. $\frac{3}{8}$ I. high." Assaragoa was one of the horses that carried Jefferson to Boston where he was to sail to France as Minister Plenipotentiary.

"Oct. 4. bot a horse (Assaragoa) of Joseph Embry for £60 on 6. months credit. he was got by Victorious, a son of Old Fearnought belonging to Craigin Orange out of a common mare. 3. years' old the 25th. of May last. his marks. a small star in the forehead a snip

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on the nose, 2. hind feet white, branded on left shoulder B." (Account Book, 1782)

"5. Gave my bond to Embry as above.

15. Assigned F. Taliaferro's bond for £45.1 payable Apr. 10. 1783. to Joseph Embry in part satisfaction for my bond to him if he can collect it." (Account Book, 1782)

"June 30. [*Boston*] sold Assaragoa to Neill Jamieson for £30. he is to bear expenses of Bob & the horses to N. York, to furnish him there with 30 Dollars to carry him home, to send some porter, fish &c. to F. Eppes & remit balance to Jas. Buchanan for me." [*Jefferson was in Boston to sail for France as Minister Plenipotentiary.*] (Account Book, 1784)

RALEIGH

Raleigh { Gay's Fearnought
 { Mare

RALEIGH was a chestnut sorrel horse whose sire was Gay's Fearnought, and whose dam was an unnamed mare. He was foaled in 1777. He was six years old when Jefferson bought him. He was received from Thomas Mann Randolph in exchange for two of Jefferson's horses, Alfred and The General, a phaeton, and Jefferson was relieved of his bond for £75 for Sprightly.

"Sep. 30. recd a horse (Raleigh) from Colo T. M. Randolph. I made a phaeton for him & gave him two horses the General & Alfred, for which he gives me Raleigh & releases my bond of May. 7. £75 for Sprightly. Raleigh was got by Gay's Fearnought out of a mare. he is 6. years old, (blank) high, a chesnut sorrel, star in his forehead." (Account Book, 1783)

"Oct. 2. recd from Colo T. M. Randolph a horse (Raleigh) Chesnut sorrel, star in forehead, two hind feet white, some white hairs mixed with the sorrel, docked long. 4.f. 10¼ I. high 5 or 6 years old last spring. I have this horse & am discharged of my bond for Sprightly and give him two horses the General & Alfred & make him a Phaeton. I am not to find cushion or linings for the wings &c. nor harness." (Account Book, 1783)

TARQUIN

Tarquin { Eclipse
 { Roan mare—Monkey-Othello-Dabster

TARQUIN was an elegant horse. Jefferson says that he was 9 or 10 years old when he bought him (Account Book, March 11, 1790),

but if he was got by R. B. Hall's Eclipse, he could not have been that old. Hall's Eclipse was on the turf in England from 1781 to 1783. He was imported to Maryland in 1784. Tarquin's dam was a roan mare owned by Peyton Randolph. She came from a line of famous horses: Monkey, Othello, and Dabster. Monkey was on the turf in England in 1730-1731 and was imported by Nathaniel Harrison in 1737. He covered in Virginia from 1738 to 1749. Othello, a beautiful black horse, was also imported and owned by Nathaniel Harrison. He covered on the James River in 1761. After being on the turf in England Dabster was sent to Virginia in 1742 and was in the Carter and Byrd studs in Charles City County, Virginia, from 1743 to 1761. Jefferson purchased Tarquin in 1790 from William Fitzhugh and gave him to Thomas Mann Randolph in 1793.

To William Fitzhugh

Philadelphia Nov. 19. 1792.

In some letter, or in some conversation, it runs in my head that you conveyed an intimation to me that if I should be disposed to part with Tarquin you would rather wish to possess him again. proposing to return in the spring to Virginia to live, I have thought of selling him. he has been favorably tested, is in fine order & health, and with respect to his lameness is exactly as when you knew him, that is to say has it occasionally & slightly only, perhaps when he is not critically shod. he is a fine creature for city use, or in a smooth country, & were I to remain here, could hardly be tempted to part with him. but the rough country to which I am retiring is peculiarly unaccomodated to him, & I happen in a carriage horse I have bought to have found a very fine riding horse. I mean to propose Tarquin for sale at 150. Dollars, and before I do it, think it a duty to mention it to you, & wait long enough for an answer, in full confidence you will consult your own wish only, and if that does not lead you to the acquisition, that you will consider this letter as nothing, since I have no doubt of meeting with a purchaser. the time of payment is immaterial, & if no opportunity of sending him occurs I could bring him on myself in March. . . . (MHi)

From William Fitzhugh

Chatham Novr. 29. 1792.

. . . I am much obliged to you for the offer of Tarquin, & should if I was a young Man again prefer him to any Horse I know, but at

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present I am provid'd with two most excellent riding nags of smaller Size. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Germantown Nov. 24. 1793.

. . . I am happy that you think Tarquin will suit you, and insist on your acceptance of him. this is no sacrifice to me because my sole motive for having thought of parting with him was that he is unnecessary for me, as I must keep carriage horses, which will do to ride. I insist also as a condition, that you feel yourself perfectly free to part with him whenever he ceases to answer your end or you can by parting with him have your ends better answered. from this moment then he is yours, and I am much happier in it than to have turned him over to any other person. . . . (DLC)

B R I M M E R

Brimmer { Brimmer-Eclipse
 { Dam unknown

Jefferson's horse, Brimmer, was got by R. Goode's horse, Brimmer, who was got by Eclipse. He was bought from Carter Braxton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, on October 4, 1790. Jefferson sold him for \$120 to Samuel Clarkson on February 1, 1793. According to Isaac, one of Jefferson's slaves, he was a racing horse. He says, "Mr Jefferson never had nothing to do with horse-racing or cock-fighting: bought two race-horses, but not in their racing day: bought em arter done runnin. One was Brimmer, a pretty horse with two white feet: when he bought him he was in Philadelphia: kept him thar. One day Joseph Rattiff the Frenchman was ridin him in the streets of Philadelphia: Brimmer got skeered: run agin shaft of a dray & got killed. [*It was Matchless, not Brimmer, that was killed.*] Tother horse was Tarkill: (Tarquin?) in his race-day they called him the Roan colt: only race-horse of a roane Isaac ever saw: old master used him for a riding horse." (Isaac Jefferson, *Memoirs*, p. 33.)

To Samuel Clarkson

Philadelphia Feb. 2. 1793.

It has been by my direction that my servant has offered the horse for sale, which is the subject of your letter. he had told me yesterday that he had found a purchaser, but I did not enquire who it was. at present, presuming if the purchase is either for yourself or a friend, you may be glad of information respecting the horse which

may be relied on, I take the liberty of mentioning that I purchased him in Oct. 1790. for 5. years old the preceding spring, and I gave 116 $\frac{2}{3}$ Doll. for him in Virginia. he is high blooded, a most excellent creature and I believe perfectly sound. goes well in a carriage, for which purpose I bought him, and I now sell him for no reason but that the horses I have since purchased for my set, render it necessary to get a larger in his stead. my price is as mentioned in your letter £45. Pennsylv currency, for which payment to the bearer will be a discharge. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Feb. 18. 1793.

. . . I sometime ago sold my horse Brimmer for what he cost me. a few days after, Joseph took it into his head to take an airing on Matchless, let him run away with him, in doing which he run full speed against the shaft of a cart & killed himself. so that I am now reduced to my old pair, and to Tarquin, whom also I must sell before I come home, as his hoofs are not firm enough for our stones. I have offered him for 100. Doll. and he is in better condition than when I bought him. . . . (DLC)

REMUS & ROMULUS

REMUS and ROMULUS were two of Jefferson's carriage horses. Nothing is known of their pedigree, or when they were purchased. Jefferson, writing to Thomas Mann Randolph, on August 7, 1791, mentions that one of his carriage horses will probably die [*probably Remus*] and asks him to have his eye on a good horse to match Romulus. (See letters that follow.) Jefferson's slave, Isaac, mentions both horses in his reminiscences: "Jupiter & John drove Mr Jeffersons coach & four: one of em rode postilion: they rode postilion in them days. Travelling in the phaeton Mr Jefferson used oftentimes to take the reins himself. . . . Jupiter & John wore caps & gilded bands. The names of the horses was Senegore, Gustavus, Otter, Remus, Romulus & Caractacus. . ." (Isaac Jefferson, *Memoirs*, p. 14)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Aug. 7. 1791.

. . . I shall endeavor however to get away from hence early in September, if nothing arises to prevent it. indeed I already am threatened with a very serious embarrasment. one of my carriage horses (the one you thought was handsomest) will I think, in all

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probability die. his case is a lingering one, so that if he lives, he will not be in condition for a journey in time for me. . . . I will be obliged to you, if you have an opportunity, to have your eye on a good horse for me, a match for the other (Romulus) rather finer & larger than inferior in size or form, & know the price for which he may be bought, if I should want him. this must depend on the condition in which I shall leave the sick, tho' I have scarce an expectation but that he will be dead, & consequently that I must buy another. . . . (MHi)

MATCHLESS

MATCHLESS was bought by Jefferson from Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr. in September of 1791 (Account Book, January 5, 1792). Nothing is said of his pedigree. As has already been noted Matchless was killed on a street in Philadelphia. (See letter of Jefferson to Randolph, Feb. 18, 1793, under Brimmer.)

FITZPARTNER

Jefferson bought Fitzpartner from Chiles Terril on May 22, 1799 (Account Book, 1799). He completed payment for him the following July. Jefferson, writing to John W. Eppes in 1807, mentions that he is now reduced to two carriage horses, Castor and Fitzpartner, and that they are old and do not match. Jefferson's Fitzpartner was probably an offspring of Meade's Fitzpartner. Jefferson does not state when Fitzpartner died.

WILD AIR

Jefferson bought Wildair from John Hoomes of Bowling Green, in Caroline County. Hoomes imported many horses and his studs were known far and wide. Jefferson's Wildair was probably an offspring of Symes' Wildair, but Hoomes does not give his pedigree. He was a bay horse, 16 hands high, and 7 years old (Account Book, February 3, 1801). The following letters give an interesting account of the sale of this horse.

From John Hoomes

Richmond Jany 5th 1801

I saw Mr. Eppes a few days ago who informed me you were in want of an elegant saddle horse, I have one to dispose of, that I purchased for a friend in Philadelphia, my anxiety to get that gentleman a very fine horse prevented my making a purchase for him *so soon* as he wished, & he has supplied himself there, for

which reason this horse is for sale. I think him the finest horse *I know* in the State, he is 7 years old, near 16 hands high, a very fine presence, gay, but perfectly gentle, & his colour bay. If I *rightly* recollect the roan horse you formerly rode, this is his equal if not his superior. I gave 81£ this currency for him, have been at some expense in sending for, & keeping him, & suppose he stands me about 300\$ for which sum you may have him; before I was authorized to sell him a gentleman from S. Carolina who called at my house offered me 400\$ for him. I have rode him but a very small distance never more (perhaps) than half a mile on a good road, that I can only say he trotted & galloped that distance, extremely well, all who saw him are delighted with the horse, & suppose he would answer *well* your purpose, any directions that you think proper to give shall be attended to by . . . (MHi)

To John Hoomes

Washington Jan. 12. 1801.

Your favor of the 5th. is at hand. I had authorized mr Eppes to purchase me a saddle horse of first rate, only allowing a term of 90. days for paiment, my money engagements being generally that much ahead of me. I have no hesitation, on your judgment that the horse you propose to me is equal in form to old Tarquin (the roan) to accede to your proposition of taking him at 300. Doll. if the term mentioned above will suit you. on this decide with entire freedom according to your own conscience, as my want is not at all pressing. should this suit you, there may be some difficulty in getting the horse brought here. but perhaps your connection with the stage may enable you to have him brought on through their [*illegible*] with safety. . . . (DLC)

From John Hoomes

Bowling Green Jany 30th. 1801

By my servant James you will (I hope) receive your horse safe & sound, as he leaves this, & I heartily wish you may be entirely pleased with him; I have given James money to bear his expenses (of which he will give you an acct) & have derected him to return by the stage. I should like to know whether the horse comes up to your expectation of him, & shall be very sorry if I am deceived in him. . . . The horse was not in good order when I got him. he has mended much since but not fatt yet. (MHi)

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To John Hoomes

Monticello Apr. 17. 1801.

I came here on the 4th. & shall leave it on the 25th. inst. for Washington after compleating some arrangements previous to my final removal there. but for fear any accident of health or weather should detain me longer, I forward you the inclosed order for paiment for the horse, which mr Barnes will pay to your order in Washington, Philadelphia or Richmond, or remit to your own house in *bank bills* if they will suit you & you shall so direct. the first view of the horse did not impress me equal to his merit. I soon however became sensible of it, am extremely pleased with him, & attached to him as a riding horse, & am thankful to you for having thought of me on the occasion, & furnished the opportunity of procuring so fine a creature. I was offered the same money very soon after recieving him: but had already become too much pleased with him to part with him. . . . (MHi)

BELL, WILD AIR

Dr. Shore's Horses

On April 2, 1801, Jefferson received four horses which had been bought for him at Petersburg by John W. Eppes. One of them came from Mr. Bell, one came from Mr. William Haxall, and the other two came from Dr. Shore. Jefferson was delighted with them and wrote to Mr. Eppes in the following June that Haxall's horse was the finest gelding in America, and that Mr. Bell's horse was nearly equal to him. The horse that came from Mr. Bell, Jefferson called Bell after the former owner. The one that he bought from Mr. Haxall he called Wildair, and the two horses purchased from Dr. Shore he gave no names. In February of the same year Jefferson had bought another horse named Wildair from John Hoomes.

From Account Book, 1801

Apr. 20. recd. from J. W. Eppes the following horses bought for me.

from Bell.	300.	D. payable June 16.	8.y. old last spring
2. from Shore	800.	payable July 12.	8. do.
from Haxhall	500.	payable July 16.	6. do. Wildair

To John Wayles Eppes

Monticello Apr. 25. 1801.

Martin & Davy arrived on the 20th. with the horses. I am perfectly satisfied with them all, & they completely answer my expectations. they are dear certainly, but horses, less perfect, however cheaper, would not have answered my purpose at all, so that I

think the extra prices better submitted to. your draughts will be duly honored & provided for at maturity. the horses being tried in the Phaeton which is probably new to them, with the reins, in a new place, and handled by new hands, have given us a good deal of trouble, under every circumstance of gentle & cautious management which could be practiced. I have kept Martin two days to help me break them, as I have nobody used to drive horses. it is still questionable whether, considering the dreadful state of the roads, I can venture with them in the Phaeton. If not, I shall go on in a chair, have them led, hire a waggoner to carry on the Phaeton & have them broke in Washington under more favorable circumstances. . . . (ViU)

To John Wayles Eppes

Washington June 17. 1801.

. . . Doctr. Shore need not be in the least uneasy about his horses having proved restive. on new ground, with new persons about them, unacquainted with them or their manner of going, I saw when they first approached the Phaeton that they would not touch it. one of them however soon came to, and is now I think the finest horse I ever saw in a carriage. the other being more fractious, I left him to be broken here, and after 10. days driving in the stage, he took the Phaeton freely and now draws well with his companion. Haxhall's horse is the finest gelding in America; & I think Bell nearly equal to him. so that tho' they were rather dear (except Bell) I am most perfectly satisfied with them all. Bell appeared at Monticello to have a weak eye. I therefore had him led chiefly on the road. on his arrival here he became all but blind in both eyes. after about 10. days or a fortnight however they mended, & tho' they are still weak, yet he sees pretty well again. I consider it necessary not to use him at all for some months to come. if hereafter his exact match should be found, I should be disposed to buy him. . . . (ViU)

C A S T O R

CASTOR was probably one of the horses Jefferson bought from Mr. Bell or Dr. Shore, but no statement has been found to substantiate this. He was evidently a first-rate horse, for Jefferson wrote to Mr. Eppes to purchase him a fine horse to match Castor. Nothing is known of his ancestry. In driving Castor to Washington from Monticello in 1807, Jefferson relates that the horse was almost drowned in the Rapidan River.

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To John Wayles Eppes

Washington Mar. 3. 1802.

. . . I formerly mentioned to you that I should want another fine horse, a match for Castor. I would not however wish the purchase to be absolutely made till next month, & then if 60. or 90. days paiment be allowed, I shall meet it more conveniently. but I must pray you to look out for a fine one, I need not say here of what sort, as you know my ideas fully on that subject as well as respecting price. where the animal is superfine, we must not stand [by] giving something more than he may be worth; because in buying one not superfine the whole money is thrown away. I should be glad to learn from you immediately what the prospect is: and if you should not be sending to Albemarle while I am there, I will send for him. or perhaps, should you make the purchase sooner, I might send from hence; as it would be a convenience to have him for my spring journey. . . . (ViU)

From John Wayles Eppes

Bermuda-Hundred March. 11. 1802.

. . . I have not as yet been able to fix on a Horse that will perfectly answer as a match for Castor. There is one in Petersburg whose form figure and colour would do well but I fear he wants height. I will take an opportunity of comparing him with my horse which will enable me to form a correct opinion. If he does not answer I know of no chance until the May Races at Petersburg at which place there will be a collection of all the fine horses of the state. . . . (ViU)

To Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

Washington Oct. 12. 07.

My journey to this place was not as free from accident as usual. I was near losing Castor in the Rapidan, by his lying down in the river, where waste deep, & being so embarrassed by the shafts of the carriage & harness that he was nearly drowned before the servants, jumping into the water, could lift his head out & cut him loose from the carriage. . . . (MHi)

DIOMEDE

(Eppes's)

This Diomede was purchased for Jefferson by his son-in-law, John W. Eppes, from Richard Thweat. According to Mr. Eppes he was greatly superior to Eggleston's Diomede. (This horse has been omitted in this account of horses.) Edmund Bacon describes

him and his purchase as follows: "Diomedes was a colt of imported Diomedes. John W. Eppes, who married Mr. Jefferson's second daughter, Maria, bought Diomedes for him in Chesterfield County; gave £80 for him. Eppes wrote Mr. Jefferson that he had bought him, and Mr. Jefferson wrote me to send for him. When I got him home, he was poor, but I had him in fine order when Mr. Jefferson got home. He was a fine high-formed bay horse, not as good for riding as the others, but a fine harness horse. He became blind, poor fellow." (Pierson, *Monticello*, p. 56)

From John Wayles Eppes

Richmond Sep. 5th. 1808.

. . . I have agreed with Mr. Richard Thweatt (the brother of the gentleman who married my sister) for a horse for you. If you can trust Martin to bring him up I can send him without any inconvenience. The Horse is a Diomedes five years old this spring. He is greatly superior in form and figure to the Diomedes purchased of Mr. Eggleston. He is a fine bay but not of the same shade with Mr. Eggleston. Indeed he is considerably darker. He is not at present as tall but being only five years old I think he will have sufficient size. He is well broke gentle and high spirited. I would greatly prefer him for my own use to the horse purchased of Mr. Eggleston & indeed there can be no objection to him except his want of height. Mr. Thweatt purchased him at 3 years old & has driven him about 12 months in a Gig. I have engaged to pay him 250 dollars at 90 days. Mr. Baker thinks him worth fifty dollars more than Mr. Eggleston & if he was at the same height, I would prefer him by 100 dollars. I have some doubts whether he may please you from his want of height. I have no doubt you will find him in your single Phaeton in every respect equal to Mr. Eggleston & although there are several shades of difference in the colour & he is not as tall by an Inch, the superiority of his form and figure, his being of the same blood & three years younger will I think induce you to support him a better bargain. He resembles very much the horse purchased of Mr. Bell except that he wants his height & length of body.

Mr. Thweatt has not yet delivered the horse. He was to have met me here today. You may calculate however on having him with certainty & will be good enough to inform me by post whether you will send for him, or whether you will trust to his being delivered by Martin who can be spared without inconvenience. . . . (ViU)

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From John Wayles Eppes

Eppington Sep. 21. 1808.

In my letter of the 6th. from Richmond I mentioned having purchased a horse for you, & that I could send him up without the least inconvenience provided you could trust Martin. Not hearing from you & knowing that the period at which you generally return to Washington has almost arrived I have determined to risque sending him. You will find him a fine carriage horse. he is not fit for the saddle as he trots hard & gallops badly.

I gave a draft on Gibson & Jefferson at 90 days for 250 dollars the amount of his purchase. The draft falls due on the 6th. of December. . . . (ViU)

B R E M O

The horse Bremono (Edmund Bacon called him Brimmer) was bought from John Hartwell Cocke, of Bremono, Fluvanna County, Virginia. He was eight years old and an offspring of the famous imported horse Knowsley (Account Book, April 20, 1814). Knowsley was imported into Virginia by William Lightfoot in 1801, after having been on the turf in England for two years. He was owned by William Wood, of Albemarle County, from 1805 to 1807. He covered 940 mares in Albemarle and Charlotte Counties from 1805 to 1809. Edmund Bacon describes Bremono as follows: "Brimmer [Bremono] was a son of imported Knowlsby. He was a bay, but a shade darker than any of the others. He was a horse of fair size, full, but not quite as tall as Eagle. He was a good riding horse, and excellent for the harness. Mr. Jefferson broke all his horses to both ride and work. I bought Brimmer of General John H. Cocke, of Fluvanna County; don't remember what I gave for him. General Cocke was often at Monticello. He used to ride a fine bay stallion called Roebuck, that he rode in the war of 1812. Sometimes, when he visited Monticello, he would send him to my house, because he had rather trust him with me than with the servants." (Pierson's *Monticello*, p. 57)

To John Hartwell Cocke

Monticello Apr. 19. 14.

Mr. Patterson, and my grandson T. J. Randolph inform me you have a dark bay horse, which you are disposed to sell at the price of 50. £ and which, from their description would suit me. they speak of him as a steady carriage horse, and a tolerable riding horse. if their information as to your purposes of selling him be

right, I shall be glad to recieve him by the bearer, with the privilege of returning him within a week, if he should not answer my purpose, particularly as to the carriage which is the principal object. I should have sent for him sometime ago, but have been awaiting the sale of my crop of flour in Richmond, that I might at the same time send you an order on my correspondent there, Gibson & Jefferson, for the money. but they are holding it up for the effect of the repeal of the embargo; and as the horse would be useful to me on a journey I am about making to Bedford, I have concluded to ask an indulgence for the price until my flour is sold, when you shall recieve an order for the money. this may be a delay of a few weeks, but I shall have it sold in all May, be the price what it may. . . . (DLC)

From John Hartwell Cocke

Bremo April 19. 1814

I send herewith the Horse mentioned to you by Mr. Patterson & your grandson Mr. T. J. Randolph. He answers the description they have given of his qualities as a carriage & riding Horse. I have driven him chiefly in double Harness. he has been seldom in a gig but when tried performed very well & I am sure from his docile character may be trusted without risk. You are at liberty to take him on your journey to Bedford and return him when you get back if you find that he does not suit you. He has been occasionally subject to a spasmodic affection something like the Thumps which I once thought alarming but am now induced to believe that it is nothing more than Hickup, as it always succeeds a hearty meal or draught of water.

As to payment for the horse, the arrangement you mention is perfectly satisfactory. I only regret that you permitted any considerations on this score to prevent your sending for him as soon as you wanted him. . . . (CSmH)

To John Hartwell Cocke

Monticello Aug. 5. 14.

I had expected long ere this that the sale of my flour in the hands of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson in Richmond would have enabled me to send you an order on them for the price of the horse you were so kind as to furnish me with: and the rather as I had desired mr Gibson, as I informed you, to sell it for whatever he could get, & this I have been constantly repeating & expecting. but by our last mail he assures me he has not been able to sell a barrel,

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altho he has offered it at 3¼. D. and in fact that none can be sold at any price. . . . (DLC)

From John Hartwell Cocke

Bremo Aug. 27. 1814

. . . I am sorry that you deemed it necessary to trouble yourself upon the subject of payment for the Horse. the understanding between us & the course of events prevents my expecting the money at this time, and be assured Sir, that I wish you to consult your convenience entirely about it in future. . . . (CSmH)

To John Hartwell Cocke

Monticello Oct. 23. 14.

I am thankful for the indulgence of your kind letter of Aug. 27. and happy in being now able to forward you an order on my correspondents in Richmond for the price of the horse you were so good as to let me have. I find him really valuable, and in the carriage particularly excellent, so as to be entirely contented with him. . . . (ViU)

WELLINGTON

WELLINGTON, a bay horse, was six years old when Jefferson bought him from Elias Wells (Account Book, May 14, 1815). Jefferson mentions the horse again in a letter (July 28, 1819) to Edmund Bacon, telling him not to send Wellington to Poplar Forest. Edmund Bacon, in his reminiscences, speaks of him, "Wellington. I bought him out of an Augusta County wagon, of a man named Imboden, a Dutchman. [*Jefferson says Elias Wells.*] Gave £60 for him. He did not know his value. He was a large bay horse, and matched Diomedes. He rode better than Diomedes, but not as well as the other two." (Pierson's *Monticello*, pp. 57-58.)

TECUMSEH

TECUMSEH, a bright bay horse, was purchased from David Isaacs, who ran a store in Charlottesville. Jefferson paid \$125 (Account Book, June 14, 1815) for him. Bacon says of him, "Tecumseh. I bought him of old Davy Isaacs, a Jew, who kept a store in Charlottesville. Mr. Jefferson saw him in the field several times as he was riding past, and he told me he was very much pleased with him, and he wished I would make some inquiries about him. I told him that I knew the horse and his stock well. He sent me to buy him. He was a fine horse, but tricky. He would scare at a rock,

or when a bird flew up, and jump suddenly. Mr. Jefferson got a blind made that he could attach to his bridle when he rode or drove him, and in this way pretty much cured him." (Pierson's *Monticello*, p. 57)

P E A C E M A K E R

PEACEMAKER, a chestnut sorrel horse, was brought from Fielding Lewis. Jefferson paid \$125 for him. He came from excellent stock. He was got by Peacemaker, one of the famous colts of Old Diomed, and had won the sweepstakes of 140 guineas, at Mr. Varell's. He was later purchased by John Hoomes.

From Account Book, 1819

Dec. 11. bought of Fielding Lewis a chesnut sorrel horse (Peacemaker) got by Peacemaker who was got by old Diomede. 7. or 8. years old next spring about 5. f. 2. I. high. a star in his forehead. price 125. D. 2 left feet white.
Sold my grey riding horse to E. Bacon for 120. D.

T H E E A G L E

The Eagle { Diomede
 { Spread Eagle mare

Jefferson bought The Eagle from John Graves and paid \$250 for him. He was a fine bay and was six years old. He, too, was of fine blood. His sire was one of Jefferson's Diomede, and his dam a Spread-eagle mare of Fearnought blood. Spread-eagle was a famous horse who had been on the turf in England and who was imported into Virginia in 1798 by John Hoomes. He covered not only in Virginia, but also in South Carolina and Kentucky. The dam of Jefferson's The Eagle was a mare got by Hoomes' imported Spread-eagle. Bacon writes of The Eagle. "Eagle. The last thing I ever did for poor old Mr. Jefferson, was to buy Eagle for him for a riding-horse. The last time he ever rode on horse-back, he rode Eagle; and the last letter I ever got from Mr. Jefferson, he described that ride, and how Eagle fell with him in the river, and lamed his wrist. I am very sorry I have lost that letter. I bought Eagle of Capt. John Graves, of Louisa County. He was a bay, with white hind ankles, and a white spot on his nose; full sixteen hands high, and the finest sort of a riding horse." (Pierson, *Monticello*, p. 58.) Jefferson wrote to Mr. Bacon on Aug. 18, 1823, ". . . as soon as I was able to ride I got a fall from my horse. next

after that he fell with me in the river in water to his belly, and being alone I was near drowning. . . ." (MHi)

From Account Book, 1820

Nov. 6. bought of John Graves of Louisa a horse (the Eagle) for 250. D. and gave my note payable the 30th. of Apr. next. the horse is a fine bay, abt. 16 hands high, 6. y. old last spring, a star in his forehead, 2 hind feet white, a scar below his left eye. Got by Diomede on a Spread-eagle mare of Fearnought blood.

The following about Jefferson's horses and carriages is taken from *Jefferson at Monticello*, by The Reverend Hamilton W. Pierson:

"In his new carriage, with fine harness, those four horses [Diomede, Brimmer, Tecumseh, Eagle] made a splendid appearance. He never trusted a driver with lines. Two servants rode on horseback, and each guided his own pair. About once a year Mr. Jefferson used to go in his carriage to Montpelier, and spend several days with Mr. Madison: and every summer he went to Poplar Forest, his farm in Bedford, and spent two or three months.

"Mr. Jefferson always knew all about his stock, as well as every thing else at Monticello, and gave special directions about it all. Here is one of his letters:

" "The sorrel riding-horse is to be kept for Mr. Bacon's riding. If Arcturus has not been exchanged for Mr. Smithson's mare, I wish him and the Chickasaw mare to be disposed of immediately. I think \$150 might be expected for him, and \$100 for her; but I would take a fair wagon horse or mule for either, rather than keep them. For Arcturus we ought certainly to get a first-rate wagon horse or mule. I would prefer a mule to a horse in both cases, provided they were large and docile. . . ." (Pierson, *Monticello*, pp. 58-59.)

NOTE: Copies of other letters and memoranda concerning Jefferson's horses are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

WORK HORSES

WORK HORSES were used on Jefferson's plantations for plowing, for threshing out grain, and for hauling produce of all kinds. They were also employed hitched to wagons and carts, to haul wood, rocks, manure, earth, and various other items that require moving on a farm.

The number of work horses on his several plantations varied from year to year. In some years there were a sufficient number to carry on all of the necessary work, but in other years the number was so small that plowing, for example, was considerably slowed up. In 1794 there were sixteen work horses at Monticello and Shadwell and Jefferson set aside ninety-two barrels of corn to feed them for three hundred and thirty-five days. At Poplar Forest there were nine of them.

Jefferson fed his horses on chopped rye, cut straw, hay, fodder, and corn. He allowed ten barrels of corn a year for each horse.

MULES

MULES were indispensable to Jefferson for work on his plantations. For hard work he preferred them to either the horse or the ox. They were especially suited for hauling heavy loads up his mountainous roads, for plowing, and for the farm work in general. While he was President, his mule carts carried loads of produce, plants, and household goods for his use, to and from Washington. They were nearly always employed to haul similar loads to and from Monticello and Poplar Forest.

Jefferson knew a good breed of mule as well as he knew a good breed of horse. He mentions, however, only one breed of mule, the Don Carlos (Account Book, September 18, 1822). He appears to have carried on no crossing experiments with the mare and ass. But he always insisted on buying the best stock.

Jefferson's mules were bought in Albemarle County as well as from other counties. He often bought them from Kentucky, which even in those early days, as it is today, was known as a good market for mules.

STEERS, OXEN

OXEN were worked on Jefferson's plantations in the same ways as mules and work horses. They pulled plows and carts, and, when of no more use for work, they were butchered for beef. Jefferson kept oxen at all of his plantations and they were moved from place to place as the need for them arose. He broke his steers when they were about three years old. By doing this he always had a supply of young steers to take the place of those fatigued or broken-down.

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CATTLE

COWS, CALVES, YEARLINGS, BULLS, BEEVES

JEFFERSON raised cattle to supply his plantations with beef, and with milk and butter. They also furnished manure to fertilize the farm and garden crops. But since many of the cattle were allowed to forage for themselves in the woods and abandoned fields, a great deal of the manure for this purpose was lost.

Jefferson appears to have taken no interest in breeding and importing cattle, as he did sheep, and thereby improving the breeds. Edmund Bacon, in his reminiscences, says that Jefferson never imported any cattle while he was with him. They always got remarkably fine cattle from Western Virginia.

Cattle were raised on the plantations in Albemarle and Bedford Counties. The number to be raised was in proportion to the provisions made for them. Many of the cattle at Bedford, after they were fattened, were driven to Monticello and killed for beeves. Sometimes the cattle were butchered in Bedford instead of being driven to Monticello. The fresh beef was then hauled in wagons. Most of the cattle were butchered in mid-winter in order to preserve the meat; but some were slaughtered in warm weather for summer beef.

The cattle grazed the year long in the pastures and the woods. In winter their supply of food was supplemented with corn, hay, wheat, stubble, pumpkins, and potatoes.

SHEEP

JEFFERSON raised sheep to supply food for his plantations and to furnish wool for the manufacture of coarse woolens. If a breed of sheep combined a delectable flavor of its meat with that of a workable fleece for the manufacture of coarse cloth, it was, then, a sheep which Jefferson and the other farmers of Albemarle County desired. The Merino breed of sheep, which excited Jefferson's interest for several years, produced a wool that was too fine for the manufacture of coarse cloth; so Jefferson and the neighboring farmers lost interest in the Merino and gradually stopped raising them.

Jefferson's first trial in sheep breeding came with a gift from Robert Morris in 1792 of a ram of a Spanish breed of sheep, closely related to the Merino. Mr. Morris's sea-captain had smuggled a ram and a ewe from Spain and had given them to him. The ewe soon died and Mr. Morris gave the ram to Jefferson. Accord-

ing to a letter, written to William Thornton on April 27, 1810, Jefferson remarked that he had "bred in & in from that ram 7. years, and ever since his death from his offspring, now 16. years in all. I consider our breed therefore as pure as the original. . . . these sheep have long been in great celebrity, & so much in demand that we could scarcely ever kill a ram lamb. from these I propose to raise my stock to be pure, and shall consider the 1st. mixture with this or the half blood, as equal to $\frac{3}{4}$ blood from any other race. it has been as remarkeable for its hardiness as it's wool. . . ." Jefferson had samples of the wool from these sheep examined at Washington, Philadelphia, and in Delaware; and although not considered pure Merino wool, it was considered of superior quality.

Jefferson's second experiment in sheep breeding came in 1806 when he was presented with a male and female Barbary broad-tailed sheep of the Tripoline breed. They were sent to Monticello in the fall of that year with special instructions for their welfare.

By 1807 Jefferson possessed four varieties of sheep: the Spanish Merino, the Iceland, the broad-tailed Barbary, and the Senegal. Although he possessed individuals of one sex only of the Barbary, the Iceland, and the Senegal sheep, he planned to cross them, and thereby produce a pure breed of sheep after four crossings. It was the belief of the naturalists of the day that four crossings produced a pure breed.

On October 17, 1808, Jefferson wrote to Mr. Bacon, his overseer, that there were about forty sheep to be driven to Albemarle from Washington. By gifts and by breeding, Jefferson's flock of sheep had increased from four or five to nearly forty. From 1808, through the remainder of his term as President, Jefferson exchanged his sheep with sheep of other breeders; and he increased his own flock by breeding and purchasing. He also aided others in importing the pure breed of Merinos, some of them later coming to his own flocks at Monticello and Poplar Forest.

From 1809 through 1813, sheep raising and sheep breeding became one of Jefferson's many passions. But the ardor for sheep breeding, like so many of his other essays, gradually declined as he grew older. After 1815 Jefferson's references to sheep become rarer.

It must be mentioned that Jefferson's interest in sheep breeding was not wholly for private gain. He was concerned also in the improvement of the breeds for the benefit of the farmers in general, especially of his own state. This is best shown by his plans to give a full-blooded ram to every county in Virginia as fast as they could

be raised. He writes on May 24, 1810, to John Dougherty, “. . . as soon as I heard of their [*Merino sheep*] arrival, I made up my mind, instead of recieving thousands of Dollars a piece for their offspring, to lay myself out for furnishing my whole state gratis, by *giving* a full blooded ram to every county as fast as they can be raised. besides raising from the imported ewe, I shall put as many of my own as the ram is competent to, and as 4. crossings give the pure breed, when that comes in I shall make quick work of furnishing one to every county. by these means I hope to see my own state entirely covered with this valuable race at no expence to the farmers and the moderate one to me of maintaining the flock while doing it. in the meantime I shall have half blood rams the 1st. year, $\frac{3}{4}$ bloods the 2d. & $\frac{7}{8}$ bloods the 3d. to give to my friends. . . .” This was an ambitious program and one which he probably never carried out. But here again, Jefferson is seen at his best, sacrificing his own personal gains for the benefit of the farmers of the state.

The following letters indicate Jefferson’s keen insight into the part played by sheep in farm economy. See also “Spinning and Weaving.”

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello Dec. 2. 1794.

I now place in the hands of Colo. Bell in Charlottesville fifty dollars to be forwarded to you, and have to ask the favor of you to purchase me sheep to that amount. the moment you notify me that they are ready, I will send off for them, so as to receive them from the seller, and not give you so much trouble with them as you had with the last purchase. perhaps I may at the same time send a further sum, for a further purchase. but of this I am not sure, & therefore can only ask you to have your eye on a score more. . . . (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello Feb. 19. 95.

. . . I concur readily in your proposition respecting the Spanish Sheep, and have this day written to mr Morris to know if any circumstances has occurred which might disappoint us of getting them. I may expect his answer in a month, and you shall then hear from me. . . . (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello June 30. 95.

. . . I have lately recieved an answer from Robert Morris relative to the sheep. as the delay requires an apology from me to you, I inclose you his letter containing his apology to me, & stating the present situation of the subject. should you send for them, give me previous notice, & I will send you a letter for [illegible] mr Morris to authorize the application of it's [illegible]. . . . (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

From Commodore John Rodgers

Washington 30th. July 1806.

Having heard Mr Smith, the Secretary of the Navy, say that you were desirous of Convincing yourself of the properties of the Barbary broad tail Sheep; I have in Consequence taken the liberty of sending to your Steward, at this place, a male and Female of the Tripoline Breed; which I beg you will do me the honor to accept. . . . (MHi)

To Commodore John Rodgers

Monticello Aug. 8. 06.

Th: Jefferson returns thanks to Commodore Rogers for the pair of sheep he has been so obliging as to deliver for him, and shall be very glad to propagate them. he presents him his congratulations on his safe return to his country. . . . (MHi)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Nov. 21. 06.

. . . I send by Davy a couple of big tailed rams, which I wish you to take the most particular care of possible. they must not run with the other sheep lest they should be hurt by the other ram. perhaps it will be best to keep them about your own house. I intend to mix them with the others in a way which it will be time enough to explain when I come home. . . . (MHi)

From James D. Barry

June 25. 1807

James D. Barry presents his compliments to the President of the U. S. it has been his wish ever since he got the ram to give him to some Gentleman who would attend to propogate the breed which he thinks will be a useful one and will suit the soil & climate of this country. it is with pleasure he sends him by the bearer, knowing that there is no person in this country who would be more disposed

or who has it more in his power to secure the breed than the President. (MHi)

To Ellen Randolph

Washington June 29. 07.

. . . I am now possessed of individuals of four of the most remarkable varieties of the race of the sheep. if you turn your books of natural history, you will find among these 1. the Spanish sheep or Marino. 2. the Iceland sheep or Ovis Polycerata. 3. the Barbarry sheep, or Ovis laticauda & 4. the Senegal sheep, or that of Bengal which is the same. I have lately recieved a ram of the 2d. kind, who has 4. horns, a round & beautiful animal, rather small. the 3d. or broad tailed, is remarkable for its flavor. I lately had a quarter sent me which I found the highest flavored lamb I had ever tasted. the 4th. or Senegal is supposed to be the original stock of the sheep, it's flavor is said to be equal to that of Venison. tho' I possess only individuals of one sex of the 2d. 3d. & 4th. kinds, yet 4. crossings are understood by naturalists to produce the true breed. I mean to pay great attention to them, pro bono publico (call on Jefferson to translate your Latin). . . . (MHi)

From Joseph Dougherty

Washington Sept. 17th. 07.

. . . Sir, I am doubtful of the ewes having lambs by the 4 horned ram. he is jumping today one that he has jumpd. 5 weeks since the lambs still sucks the ewes which he has jumped 4 and 6 weeks ago. if he is between the sheep and goat perhaps it may be with him the same as a mule. if this is the case the season of the ewes will be lost. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Digges

Monticello Aug. 10. 08.

. . . I am not certain whether I mentioned to Joseph (who has the care of my sheep at Washington) that you were to take a ram lamb; but I think I did, & hope you will have found no difficulty on that score. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Digges

Washington Sep. 20. 1808.

. . . I have got home the Ram Lamb, & for which I am very much obliged to you. He is one of the no-hornd (which I preferred) well shaped & not unlike His wicked Sire in form, shews a mixture with

the Barbary broad tailed & is tolerably well woold though a small sheep. . . . (DLC)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Oct. 17. 08.

. . . as the beginning of Nov. is the best season for driving our sheep home, I would have you leave home for this place about the 30th. or 31st. of this month. I have a Phaeton to send home at the same time, which will require 2. horses. Davy should come also on a horse if you have one or otherwise on a mule. one of you driving the Phaeton, in the rear of the sheep, I expect the other on horse-back can keep them together. there are about 40. my horse, now at Monticello, must be led here, & I am not certain that we shall be able to spare Jack, tho' I wish to do without him here if we can. . . . (CSmH)

From John Cox

Geo: Town Octr 28th 1808

On making application to Mr. Smith about his cape sheep—he informed me that he could not part with the old sheep, that he had made some promises of their issue, which was as yet only a young Ewe & Ram—and agreeable to his bargain one of them belongs to Mr. Peter—he appeared anctious that you should have of the Breed, as his object in bringing them here was to promote the breed of good sheep—he took time to reflect, and has sent me the enclosed note. . . . (MHi)

A. Smith to John Cox

Geo. Town 28th Octr. 1808

On reflection, I do not think I can with propriety promise *immediately* to gratify the wish of the President and yourself, as respect the Cape of Good Hope Sheep, however desirous I may be to do so. I have made a promise or two which, consistent with my own feelings, or those of my friends, I cannot think of retracting.

I shall certainly keep in mind the Presidents request, and shall as certainly give you information as soon as I have the power of meeting it. (MHi)

From William Keough

Washington Feb. 15. 1809.

Your petitioner William Keough begs leave to state to your excellency that in February 1808 in Passing through the President's Square he was attacked and severely wounded and bruised by your

excellency's ram, of which he lay ill for five or six weeks under the hands of Doctor Elsey. . . . (DLC)

From E. I. Dupont de Nemours

Eleutherian Mills, Del. Feb. 23. 1809.

from the different Samples of wool which you have received from my respectable friend and neighbour C. Kirk, you have been able to judge how far the coarse wool of our common country Sheep can be progressively injured by repeated crossing with Spanish rams. My father being so situated as to be enabled to procure the best individuals of that precious breed, will certainly send me some over here, provided he may Succeed in having them received on board of one of the vessels chartered by the government to go to france. If you are good enough to grant the request I have taken leave to [*illegible*] you respecting orders to be given the Ship Mentor, I am confident that some of those valuable animals will be put on board of that vessel. . . . (DLC)

To M. de La Fayette

Washington Feb. 24. 09.

. . . Our embargo, which has been a very trying measure, has produced one very happy, & permanent effect. it has set us all on domestic manufacture, & will I verily believe reduce our future demands on England fully one half. we are all eager to get into the Merino race of sheep. the weight of your fleeces as mentioned in your letter astonishes me. I thought that kind of sheep yielded a very fine wool, but little in quantity. . . . (DLC)

To E. I. Dupont

Washington Feb. 28. 09.

On the reciept of your letter of the 11th. inst. mr Gallatin undertook to write to mr Gelston Collector of N. Y. that we consented to the Mentor's recieving and bringing for you the Merino sheep which were the subject of that letter. . . . (DLC)

To Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours

Washington Mar. 2. 09.

. . . Should you return to the U S. perhaps your curiosity may lead you to visit the hermit of Monticello. . . .

P. S. if you return to us, bring a couple of pair of true-bred Shepherd's dogs. you will add a valuable possession to a country now beginning to pay great attention to the raising sheep. (DLC)

From Joseph Dougherty

City of Washington May 15th. 1809.

. . . I asked him [*Mr. Howard*] if he saw your flock of sheep, he said no, but you were even that day sending to some place for a broad tail ram. Doctr. Thornton has asked me to go to his farm, to chuse one of his best rams of the full bread broad tail for you, we are to go this week, I will wait your instructions to send him to you. . . . I have here two verry fine rams of the Merino sheep, of the three quarter breed. I will inclose here a sample of the wool for your & my good friend Mr. Randolph's inspection. Mr. Dupont would not set a price on them, nor will he ask any pay for them until I make it out of their produce, he sells the same breed at forty dollars, viz. ram lambs. . . . (DLC)

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello May 27. 09.

Yours of the 15th. I have recieved and am thankful to you for the information as to the broad tailed ram, & shall be particularly so to Dr. Thornton if he can spare me one, as I have no chance of getting one in this state. mr Howard was mistaken in supposing I was sending for one. there is no such animal nearer than Washington. will you be so good as to inform me whether the one Dr. Thornton is so kind as to give me is a lamb of this year or of the last. if of this year, I had better not send for him till he is weaned. if older I would send soon: & at the same time the cart might return by Dumfries, which is in the way for the geese. . . . I am very much pleased indeed that you are likely to get so cleverly into the way of raising the Merino sheep. I am sure it will be a very easy business & of great profit. the fine commons of Washington will be of the same value to you as if they were all your own. the members of Congress will be a valuable market to you, & at good prices. as soon as you get the full breed, I shall be glad to get a pair of you at the prices others pay. the privilege of being the first served being a sufficient favor, & thankfully accepted as such. the sample of wool you sent was very fine. my many horned lambs of this year do not yet shew how many horns they will have. the 4. horned one of the last year is equal to his sire. . . . (DLC)

From Joseph Dougherty

City of Washington June 18th. 1809.

. . . I went the other day to Doctr. Thorntons farm to select a ram lamb of this year for you: you may take him from the Ewe the

15 or 20 of Augt. which is about the time that the lambs quits the Ewes; and it will be as soon as necessary to put him to your broad tail ewe: I remember of you saying that Genl. Washington's rule was to put his ewes to the ram at about Michaelmas day: which is the 29 of Septr. Your lambs would then come about the 29 of Feb. but the ewe lambs that come at that time should not be put to the ram until the year following: because if they do go to the ram in the same year they are dropped; it stunts their growth and your flock degenerate. . . . (DLC)

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello June 26. 09.

. . . with respect to the best mode of proceeding with your Merinos, I have no doubt, if you were able that it would be best for you to purchase as many ewes as the rams would suffice for. and I wish I were able to assist you in doing it, as I should do it with great pleasure. but the heavy debt, which on winding up my affairs at Washington, I found I had contracted there, has placed me under great difficulties, & will keep me long in a crippled state, as I have to pay it out of profits of my estate, & the sale of a part of it, which I am endeavoring to effect. your next best method would be I think to recieve ewes to your ram, and be paid for it in ewes. I think it not improbable the farmers would give you one ewe for the season of the ram to another. in this way you would get for yourself the first year half as many as they could cover, & the 2d. year would furnish as many more, after which you would have the whole to yourself. if one ewe for the season of another is too much, you might certainly have one for the season of two. in this way you would be three years getting the whole number of ewes you would want. . . . I am very thankful for the bigtailed ram, & will send for him the last week in August and put him, for this year, only to the ewe which I have of the same kind. I think the beginning of Sep. is the best time to put them together, because the lamb then comes in February. January is generally the severest winter month we have. . . . (DLC)

From Joseph Dougherty

City of Washington July 3rd. 09.

. . . I went the other day to a Mr. Scotts plantation in Virg. 6 miles above the little falls, to look at his flock of sheep and a Spanish ram. a sample of the wool of the Spanish ram is here inclosed. Whilst I was there, we weighed 3 of his best ram lambs

from an iceland ram and Spanish ewes, one of the lambs was dropped of the 15th. of January, and on saturday last, the 1st July: his weight was 122 lbs. that is 12¼ ounces per he has growed each day.

Sir, you say in a letter, that the privilege of being first supplyd with the Merinoes is a sufficient favor, that is not my wish. When your cart comes for the broad tail ram if you have nothing to send by it, if you would think proper to send me some of Mr. T. M. Randolph's ewes such as the one we had here with one ear cut short, ther's another ewe in your flock, which I bought here, with very short fine wool and her tail cut short, she is the finest ewe of the short tailed ones that was here. Sir if you should think of sending any, either yourself or Mr. Randolph let them be of the finest wool, and I will supply yourself and Mr Randolph from your own ewes, which will make verry fine wool the first crop of them and my merino rams. this together with one of your many horn-breed when they become pure, will satisfy me. . . . (DLC)

To William Thornton

Monticello Aug. 24. 09.

Having accidentally mentioned to my former servant Joseph Dougherty my misfortune in losing both my big-tailed rams, he, in his zeal for whatever concerns me, took the liberty of mentioning it to you & informed me you were so kind as to offer to supply my loss with one from your farm. by the cart which goes to bring it, I take the occasion of returning you my best thanks for your kindness, which alone enables me to pursue a favorite object, that of raising this breed pure. . . . (MHi)

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello Aug. 25. 09.

Davy now brings a cart for the big-tailed ram which Doctr. Thornton has been so kind as to offer me. you will be so good as to apply for it, and to instruct Davy how to bring him & take care of him so that he may be in no danger of being hurt. with respect to the Merinos, I had rather put off beginning with them a year or two longer. my farms, which have been leased out during my absence, will return into my own hands the next winter, & will after another year, furnish me convenient separate places for my big-tailed, many horned, & Merinos. . . . [Davy] is to come by Dumfries for a pair of wild geese. . . . (DLC)

From William Thornton

City of Washington 30th. Augst. 1809.

. . . I preserved four of the best ram lambs of my Flock, one of them was unfortunately killed by my neighbour's Dogs, but I desired Mr. Dougherty to pick out for you one of the remainder, & I send you his choice, being a handsome young ram, and with the finest wool. As he informed me that he suspected your Ewe would not breed I desired him to take the Cart to my Farm, and select the best Ewe in my possession, as I could depend more on his judgment than on my own. I will also send four of my best broad tail'd Ewes to Mr. Peter's Cape ram if you should incline to have that Breed; but I am not so partial to those as to the short-legged Sheep which I possess. When my old ram died this Spring my Manager informed me he measured the Tail & it was sixteen Inches across independent of the wool. . . .

I have engaged a Merino ram $\frac{3}{4}$ blood, which I mean to cross with my broad-tail'd breed; and though a ram possessing only one cross of the same blood, I have heard, finds no difficulty in gliding under their enormous Cushions, yet a merino I suppose would be alarmed at such an unnatural mass, therefore I had the tails of my young Ewes cut off, and only lost one, which I am confident was by inattention after the operation. I directed them to be laid on their Backs, and the skin of the tail being clipped toward the root, the tail resting on a Block a broad & sharp axe was applied near the root of the tail (the lower skin still intermediate) and by the stroke of a mallet the tail severed at a blow, the skin was then drawn over the stump & sewed to the other on the upper sides, so as to protect the stump, & leave the parts exposed, and thus they are prepared for any cross. This being done in cool weather subjects the animals to very little if any risk. . . . (DLC)

From Joseph Dougherty

Washington Augt. 31st. 1809.

I recd. yours of the 24th. the 28th. Inst. Davy arrived here on the evening of the 29th. In my conversation with Doctr. Thornton, I mentioned to him the improbability of your broad tailed ewes breeding. he in his usual way, and, always ready to oblige you, readily mentioned that it would be proper to send you a broad tail ewe to be certain which you will receive (I hope safe) together with one of his best rams; he was so good as to give me the choice of his flock for a ram and ewe for you; this for my part I esteem as a great favour for the reason as follows: Mr. R: Brent has a young

ram which appears to be as full bread as Doctr. T's: imported ram which he received as a present from Doctr. T: in Augt 1808. he weighed on the hoof 168 lbs. when one year old. When shorn his fleese weighed 8¾ lbs. for four of his lambs of this year after the best were taken out was sold to the butcher for 16 Dollars, soon in the summer. The butcher (who is an englishman) that bought them, says he never saw as fine mutton, either in England or this country. I am convinced that the broad tail breed may be much improved by proper attentions being paid to them. This never has been the case with Doctr. T's. Flock. they are always poor. I have increased my flock of ewes to fifty and those of the best kind. . . . (DLC)

To Governor John Milledge

Monticello Oct. 10. 09.

. . . I have for you a very fine Iceland ram with 4. horns, who will be sent down the river, as soon as the season restores it's navigation, to Messieurs Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond to be forwarded to mr Newton at Norfolk for you. . . . (DLC)

To William Thornton

Monticello Oct. 11. 09.

I return you a thousand thanks for the fine pair of sheep you have sent me. they arrived in perfect health & so continue and will I trust enable me to get into that breed entirely. I am also well pleased to learn both the manner & success with which you have commenced the removing the tail, for I really believe it must be practiced, however heterodox to the sex it may appear to consider that part as an incumbrance. I think less of the Cape sheep on account of their long legs, & therefore shall not attempt to raise them, however thankful I am to you for the offer of procuring them. . . . (DLC)

From Isaac Coles

Washington Nov. 12th. 1809.

. . . Mr. Boudwic the Partner of Mr. Dupont de Nemours of Wilmington has lately been here, and pronounces the Green Mountain Sheep to be very far superior to those of Mr. Custis. he was surprised at the fineness of the wool, and declared they were worth ten Dollars a head. I mention this as I know they are very inferior to Mr. Randolph's who is probably not apprized of the high value he ought to set on his flock. He agrees to bind him-

self to take from me and to give me one dollar pr. pound for all the wool I will send him from my sheep, provided I will give them a single crop with a $\frac{7}{8}$ th's Merino Ram; and if I will still continue to improve the flock, he will gradually increase the price to two Dollars. he will make this contract for any number of years & for any quantity of wool, considering it always as a cash article. . . . (DLC)

From William Thornton

City of Washington 16th. Novr. 1809.

. . . I am glad the pair of sheep got safe, & I will with great pleasure send some more Fig trees in the way you mention, or by some safe conveyance. . . . I am much obliged by your kind intention of sending me some of the fine Marseilles Fig, which I shall not value merely for their intrinsic worth, but more especially for the sake of the Doner. Capt. Coles informed me of the increase of your Shepherds Dogs, and that it was your wish to extend the Breed. I should have expressed a wish to have a pair, but I knew you had many Friends who would perhaps have the same Inclination, & I thought it better to wait. If hereafter you could favour me with the Breed I should be thankful, for I am very *sheepishly* inclined. I have now to ask of you a very great favour, not solely for myself, but for our Country. My Friend Washington Bowie, Esqr. of George Town a gentleman of great respectability, worth, & honor, at the Instance of General Mason, Mr. Barlow, and some others and myself, has been, within these few Days, induced to send a large vessel from her intended Course, to Spain for Merino Sheep; but well aware of the Difficulty of obtaining them we require the aid of all our influential Friends. We have written Letters to Mr Erving, our Charge d'Affairs, but a few lines from you to him would rouse his energy in our favour, and would lay us all under great obligations. Our Letters may like Sparks of Electricity give a degree of Excitement, but one from you would be like lightning irresistibly pervade his System. The object is of such consequence to this Country that no Effort should be left untried. If Mr. Bowie should succeed he has promised to favour us each with a few at the price they cost, and I will either obtain some for you, on the same Terms (though I did not think it proper to mention this to him, when I proposed writing a line to you on the Subject) or you shall have some of mine, if obtainable. He thinks of sending to Cadiz, where he has good mercantile Friends; though I fear the English will perhaps interfere in an Enterprize so likely to benefit

our Country. If he send to Barcelona (in possession of the French) I fear the Cruisers off Gibraltar & Cadiz may interrupt our modern Jason. Perhaps Tarragona might be better. It will require some advise & caution, & any hint from you will be highly esteemed. A Southern Port will be favourable in obtaining them for the sheep are always driven South in winter. Mr. Bowie will send off his vessel the latter end of next week, which only gives an opportunity for an answer by the returning succeeding post. I am in hopes this may be received in time for it is possible the sailing of the vessel may be delayed a day or two. . . . (MHi)

To William Thornton

Monticello Nov. 23. 09.

. . . I sincerely wish success to the enterprise. at the same time I would rather see some of the French Merinos introduced because theirs have been selected from all Spain, as the finest individuals of the race & indeed from all accounts they are quite a superior race of animals. . . . (MHi)

To George Erving

Monticello Nov. 23. 09.

An American vessel, the property of a respectable merchant of Georgetown, on a voyage to some part of Europe for general purposes of commerce, proposes to touch at some port of Spain with the view of obtaining Merino sheep to be brought to our country. the necessity we are under, & the determination we have formed of emancipating ourselves from a dependance on foreign countries for manufactures which may be advantageously established among ourselves, has produced a very general desire to improve the quality of our wool by the introduction of the Merino race of sheep. your sense of the duties you owe to your station will not permit me to ask nor yourself to do any act which might compromit you with the government with which you reside, or forfeit that confidence on their part which can alone enable you to be useful to your country. but as far as that will permit you to give aid to the procuring and bringing away some of that valuable race, I take the liberty of solliciting you to do so. it will be an important service rendered to your country; to which you will be further encouraged by the assurance that the enterprise is solely on the behalf of agricultural gentlemen of distinguished character in Washington & it's neighborhood with a view of disseminating the benefits of their success as widely as they can. without any interest in it

myself, other than the general one, I cannot help wishing a favorable result. . . . (DLC)

To Isaac Coles

Monticello Nov. 29. [1809]

. . . the books (Turgot's works) as also mr Livingston's treatise on sheep are safely recieved. Genl. Armstrong & M. de la Fayette write me they have hope of getting half a dozen Merinos shipped for me with as many as mr Livingston has there. Fouche the minister par interim of the interior having expressed favorable dispositions particularly as to those intended for me. I have no doubt, notwithstanding the contrary from Philadelphia, that ours are the real merinos, as declared by the Capt. who brought them in. the sheep of that common appellation are of various grades of excellence & ours tho' probably not of the 1st. are of some lower grade of merit. . . . (MHi)

From William Jarvis

Lisbon 20 Jany 1810.

. . . After much exertion I have been able to obtain a few Merino Sheep warranted of the best breed in Spain, and, thinking the climate of Virginia more favourable for their propagation, as more resembling that of Spain than the Northern States, I cannot forbear Sir making you an offer of a Ram & Ewes, both as a mark of my great esteem, & well knowing that the experiment cannot be in better hands; and I pray you Sir to do me the honor of their acceptance. Least Sir the idea of expenses should deter you, allow me to say, that they did not cost me very much, having got them at a reasonable price by the assistance of a Spanish Gentleman. There are two or three large vessels now bound to Alexandria (the only ones bound for Virginia) by one of which I shall try to forward them, with a pair more for Mr Madison. Please to give your directions regarding them. . . . (DLC)

From William Jarvis

Lisbon 19 Feby 1810.

I had the pleasure to address you on the 20th. Ulto. and took the liberty to request your acceptance of a pair of Merino Sheep & that you would give the necessary instructions about them. I now take the liberty to inform you, that I have shipped nine rams & four ewes to by the Ship Diana, Captn Wm. W. Lewis, for Alexandria; out of which Mr. Madison is to select two & you, Sir, another pair. There is little or no difference in the wool of any of

them, of course I have taken the liberty to point out the two youngest rams & the two youngest ewes as those which I think are preferable. The wool of the rams are as fine as any on board, & the ewes are also equally fine & are much larger as to size. The Bill of Lading of those for you, Sir, I inclosed to Mr. Madison, with a Bill of Lading for his. I must appeal to your patriotic virtues to insure all acceptance of this useful animal as a proof of my high sence of what every American indebted to you for your services to your Country. . . . (DLC)

To Lemuel J. Alston

Monticello Feb. 25. 10.

Your favor of the 13 has been duly recieved, & it would have given me great pleasure to have been able to inform you that I possessed the Merino race of sheep, because I should then have certainly had the greater pleasure of furnishing you with them. I did possess a race of Spanish sheep which Robert Morris had recieved as Merinos. they had some valuable properties; but having sent the wool for examination to Philadelphia and Wilmington, it was pronounced to be not Merino. raising sheep myself only for the table & coarse manufactures, I have substituted the Barbary sheep for those above mentioned. the last I possessed of the Spanish race I gave to mr Eppes of your house, and do not now possess a single one of them. . . . (DLC)

To James Madison

Monticello Mar. 25. 10.

. . . Jarvis writes me he has sent us a pair of Merino sheep, each, to arrive at Alexandria. whether he has designated them individually I do not know; but as they are so liable to accidents by the way I propose that we make them a common stock not to be divided till there are a pair for each, should any have died. . . . (DLC)

To William Thornton

Monticello Apr. 27. 10.

Your letter of the 8th. was duly recieved, & I have to return you thanks for the kind offer of Barbary sheep as a mixture with the Merino. I will state to you the stock from which I propose to breed. one of Robert Morris's captains about the year 1792. brought him a pair of what he said were Merino sheep which he smuggled from Cadiz. the ewe died, & he gave me the ram. I bred in & in from that ram 7. years, and ever since his death from his offspring, now 16. years in all. I consider our breed therefore as pure as the orig-

inal. I have had samples of the wool examined at Washington Delaware & Philadelphia. tho' not deemed pure Merino, it is considered as of very superior quality. in fact I suppose the captain had hit not upon the finest race but on a 2d. or 3d. grade. these sheep have long been in great celebrity, & so much in demand that we could scarcely ever kill a ram lamb. from these I propose to raise my stock to be pure, and shall consider the 1st. mixture with this or the half blood, as equal to $\frac{3}{4}$ blood from any other race. it has been as remarkeable for it's hardness as it's wool. I have reserved the pair of dogs for yourself & mr Dougherty, and will send them to mr Madison's as you desire, when I send for my Merinos. besides their wonderful sagacity & never ceasing attention to what they are taught to do, they appear to have more courage than I had before supposed that race to possess. they make the best farm dogs or house dogs I have ever seen. . . . I propose the male of the dogs for yourself, as Dougherty will have more leisure to attend to the raising litters from the female, and may make them an article of profit, not unacceptable to him. . . . (DLC)

From J. H. Hooe

Alexandria May 4. 1810.

I recd. a letter some weeks ago from Mr Wm. Jarvis of Lisbon, in wch. he advised me of his having shiped to my address by the Ship Diana, Capt Lewis, for this Port, some Merino Sheep, a pair of which were intended for the President, and a pair for you.

I have now the honor & Satisfaction to advise that the Ship has arrived in this River after a long passage and she is now grounded about ten miles below, but will I hope be gotton off very soon.

I have just seen the Captain who states that all the Sheep are safe except one Ewe; of course there will be a pair for yr Self and a pair for Mr Madison.

I have this day advised the President of the Diana's arrival, as I have now the honor to advise you, and should he not give directions with respect to the pair of sheep intended for you I shall have them well taken care of till your Instructions arrive, to fulfill which will give me great pleasure.

It gives me great pleasure to announce to you the arrival of these valuable Animals amongst us, being well aware of the importance, which you, as well as every friend to our Country, will attach to it. Mr Jarvis has sent me Seven Rams and two Ewes (besides the two pair intended for the President & yourself), which will be for sale. I shall advertise them by his direction, in Virginia, Maryland &

Pennsa. But I should be sorry Indeed if the Breeders of our own State should not avail themselves of an opportunity which may never recur of propagating these valuable animals.

Mr. Jarvis has allotted Sheep to the Prest. & yourself which are particularly designated, but he has desired that you should make a Choice of the whole, if more agreeable to you & to him. . . . (MHi)

From Joseph Dougherty

Washington May 5th 10.

This moment the President requests me to go below to Alexa. for four Merino sheep, a ewe and ram for yourself and the same for him. I have just time before I go to let you know that I am ready and willing to render you any services in my power and will wait your instructions. . . . (DLC)

From Joseph Dougherty

Receipt to James Madison for payment of expenses for Merino sheep for T. Jefferson.

Four Spanish Merino Sheep to Jos. Dougherty Dr.	
May 7th. 10.	D cts
To freight from Lisbon to Alexa. Va.	24-00
To 5 per. cent. primage	1-20
To freight from below Alexa. to Washington . . .	2-50
To customhouse permits	0-40
To one Dollar for each sheep, claimed by the person that had the care of them on the passage }	4-00
To Tavern expenses two and half Days in Alexa.	4-25
	<hr/>
	Dolls 36-35

(DLC)

To J. H. Hooe

Monticello May 10. 10.

I recieved yesterday your favor of the 4th. informing me of the arrival of the Merinos, and at the same time one from the President undertaking to receive & forward mine with his own. any charges which may have attended their passage, he will be so good as to pay jointly with his own to be reimbursed by me. I thank you sincerely for your kind offers to take care of these valuable animals, and should with equal pleasure render you any service for which occasion should offer. I shall consider the acquisition of this race of sheep as for the public benefit, not my own personal one, & fulfill that end in the best way I can. . . . (MHi)

ANIMALS

From William Thornton

City of Washington May 10th. 1810.

. . . On my return I heard that some Merinos had arrived, among which there were a Male & Female for you, & a pair also for the President. I went to Alexandria to see them, & I have no doubt they are all of the genuine breed, though the wool is certainly not so fine by many degrees as that produced by the Sheep from the Rambouillet Flock, from which Mr. Dupont's ram was imported, and I am confident that the wool improves by crossing with our own sheep in this Country, which I really think one of the finest Sheep Countries in the world. I should include all from New York to the South bounds of North Carolina. But I find those parts which are laved by the Salt water the best, and we must supply salt to which they ought to have free access. I have succeeded in breeding from my broad-tail Barbary Ewes with the merino, & have some of the finest Lambs I ever saw, some of which you may at any time command. The wool of some of my Barbary Ewes is equal to high bred merinos. We are all sheep mad in this part of the Country, and I am really become very *sheepish* myself. . . .

On the subject of Sheep I wish to make you an offer that may perhaps be mutually beneficial. I have about fifty of the various crosses of the Barbary Ewes, including those mixed with the merinos, having parted with all my other Sheep: and considering Judge Peters's in mixing the breed of Merino with the Barbary as the best of all crosses, I am desirous of commencing the merino crosses with the Barbary principally; and if it should meet with your concurrence I would take your Ram & Ewe on the following Terms. I would keep them with my Ewes & get ten or twenty more of the best fine Wooll'd sheep of Chew's Breed, imported from England, or some of those & some of Osborn Sprigg's large long wooled Sheep, as you may most approve & be at all trouble & expense, & breed from them, dividing the offspring annually, or breeding from them year after year, so as to convert the whole into merinos, and whatever money I should obtain by selling the young Lambs, or letting Ewes to the old Ram, should be regularly accounted for, and equally divided; & I should not only solicit but be governed by your advise respecting them. There are six rams now for sale, but my poverty will not permit me to purchase, otherwise it would be to my advantage to possess a Ram. I shall if you agree to these Terms have a Shepherd with them constantly, & have my sheds, &c. prepared in the best & most approved manner, for I am well aware of the value of the breed.

If this proposal meet your wishes I would give you any of my broad-tailed Ewes for their offspring, by which you might extend the breed of these Sheep, while I should be engaged in raising the merinos on our mutual account. . . . (DLC)

From Joseph Dougherty

City of Washington May 14th. 10.

Reflecting on what you wrote me some time ago, that you had not separate inclosures to keep the different breeds of sheep that you have, and that your servants were not to be trusted with the care of so valuable an animal as the Merino Sheep; If sir you have any desire that they should stay here I would keep them for you in any way that you chus. I do not propose this with a view to benefit by it, but I must confess that I should wish to have a lamb from the one of the two rams that I should wish you to have, although it is said by all who see them, that the wool of my three quarter bread rams is equally as fine as the imported rams wool, but the name of the imported is the great thing. I know that when you have your ram there that you will have a great many ewes put to him for thanks. but if you were to let him land here you would benefit by it, and as I do nothing else than pay attention to my sheep, and have not lost any as yet, only some twin lambs that was born of freezing nights. I would pay the same attention to your sheep that I would do to mine own, one word in private, If it was left to me to chuse for you it would be no harm done to you. . . . (DLC)

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello May 24. 10.

I have duly recieved your two letters of the 5th. & 14th. and am thankful for your aid in the safe delivery of our Merinos. the President, on their arrival, had notified me of it and that he would recieve & forward mine to Orange with his own. from thence I can get them here in a day. as soon as I heard of their arrival, I made up my mind, instead of recieving thousands of Dollars a piece for their offspring, to lay myself out for furnishing my whole state gratis, by *giving* a full blooded ram to every county as fast as they can be raised. besides raising from the imported ewe, I shall put as many of my own as the ram is competent to, and as 4. crossings give the pure breed, when that comes in I shall make quick work of furnishing one to every county. by these means I hope to see my own state entirely covered with this valuable race at no expence to the farmers, and the moderate one to me of maintaining the flock

while doing it. in the meantime I shall have half blood rams the 1st. year, $\frac{3}{4}$ bloods the 2d. & $\frac{7}{8}$ bloods the 3d. to give to my friends. any of these which would be acceptable to you, you shall be welcome to. I shall keep my flock under my own eye. I have been obliged to do this for some time with my present race, keeping a person constantly following them, attended by the Shepherd's bitch I recieved from France, perfectly trained to the business. they have now the benefit of as fine pastures as can be, the dog keeping them from injuring the grain in the same inclosures. as Dr. Thornton had asked one of those dogs as well as yourself, I have kept a pair of the first litter, & been constantly on the watch for an opportunity of sending them to you; but I have had none, & see no immediate prospect of one. but as they are now of full growth, and it is very embarrassing to have so many, I believe I must give them to some other applicant, & save a pair of the next litter for you. there is a post rider who comes to Charlottesville from Washington once a week. both of the pair I have kept for you lead very well. if you could engage him to recieve & carry them to you, I would deliver them to him. the female is a very fine animal indeed, full of intelligence and spirit. she could go the first. the dog has got a leg hurt, so that he could not probably go for 3. or 4. weeks. I will keep them till you can write to me, & say whether you can find means of recieving them. . . . P. S. will you propose this to Dr. Thornton who will probably join you in an effort to get them. (DLC)

To William Thornton

Monticello May 24. 10.

. . . I have not been unmindful of your request for a shepherd's dog, & having been also asked for one by Joseph Dougherty, I had reserved a pair of the first litter & have been constantly on the watch for some means of conveying them to Washington. but none has occurred, nor have I any prospect of one, and the dogs being now full grown and it being embarrassing to have so many, I must, I fear, give them to another applicant, and leave you to be provided for from the next generation.

On the subject of the Merinos, I had, before the receipt of your letter, committed myself in another plan. I confess to you that I have not been satisfied with that kind of patriotism the strongest feature of which is to enrich the patriot himself. I propose from the pair of Merinos I am to recieve, and as many females of the common kind as the ram may be competent to crossed till the blood

becomes pure, to give each county in my state a full blooded Merino ram, as fast as they can become produced, leaving to a society of the county to prescribe fair rules for imparting the benefit of his services to the farmers of the county. we have near an hundred counties, and your arithmetic will tell you within what term this geometrical progression will reach the whole. I shall keep the flock directly under my own eye. I have persons now to follow my sheep, & with the aid of the bitch I recieved from France, perfectly trained, they have the benefit of fine pastures in which they could not run but for the facility she gives of keeping them from the grain in the same fields. I hope to live to see my own state covered by this valuable animal without expense to our citizens, & not an oppressive one to myself, and from this I shall feel more satisfaction than thousands of dollars would have given me, extorted from the poor farmers, to which will be added, I am sure, the further gratification of your approbation. . . . (DLC)

From Joseph Dougherty

City of Washington June 1st. 1810.

Yours of the 24th May came duly to hand. The plan you have determined on of furnishing your state with the merino sheep, is another proof of your zeal for the independence of your country, but that is nothing new. Sir, when Colo. Humpheys was in this city some time ago he put us all to silence with the constant sound of patriotism and his great exertions to promote domestic manufacture. Now sir to let that gentleman see what patriotism is, and where it is to be found in its purity will you give me leave to have part of your letter made public, where it treats of method of furnishing your state gratis with ful bread merinoes.

Sir I have made all possible enquiry respecting the post rider you made mention of in your letter, but can hear of none that goes from here to Charlottesville, there is one rider from Fredericksburg to Charlottesville once a week. I can think of no other way of getting the dog you were so good as to give me, but by going for him, and this I would freely do, If my circumstance would admit it. but as I am struggling to pay some money I owe to the bank, and some to Mr. DuPont, I cannot feel any inclination to part with more for any other purpose whatever, although I consider the dog as a very valuable present an would give any thing that I could spare, to get him here, I do not know whether Doctr. Thornton will send for the one you offer to him or not, as he appears to make but light of the present, he would much rather you would give him a merino

ram &c. &c. &c. The Doctr. askd. me whether I would have the male or female. I answered, that which one Mr. Jefferson chuse to give me I would be satisfied with.

Sir I wish to sell one of my three quarter bread rams, and as Mr. J. W. Eppes asked me several times last winter to sell him one of them, I would wish him to have that one of them is now to be sold, I expect to get 500 D. for him, as he is thought by all that has seen both, that he is a finer sheep than any of the fourteen that Colo. Humphreys brought here, or any of the 12 lately from Lisbon, his wool is as fine, in fact said by some to be finer, than any ever seen in this place, his fleece weighs 6 lbs 12. oz. partly washed before shorn and the best English Sheep Shearer in this place assured me that there is more than half pound left on him in shearing, as I do not know where a letter would find Mr. Eppes, will you Sir be so good as to communicate this to him and would wish to have an answer as soon as it could be more convenient, as Mr. John C. Scott of Virginia has offered me 150 Dollars for the season of him, and I believe he would give me 200 Dollars, if I would consent to let him. I will send you a sample of the wool to compare with the wool of your imported ram. . . . (DLC)

From William Thornton

City of Washington 8th. June 1810

. . . I am much obliged by your kindness in reserving one of the Sheep dogs for me, and if not yet disposed of in consequence of not meeting with a good conveyance hither I must request your further kindness in sending them by the messenger you will despatch for your Merinos to the President's, whose manager Mr. Gooch will be so good as to take care of them till he comes up with the President's waggon in the Fall; or Mr. Barry who formerly painted for you will be so obliging as to bring them from the President's where he is to go in a few Days to paint. I am now more desirous of having one of them because I have joined Judge Cranch in the Purchase of a Merino Ram, & he has purchased two others, & made such arrangements with me, as will tend I hope to our mutual benefit. The Rams, 7 in number, which came with yours brought at public sale about \$520 on an average. At New York and Boston they have commanded double the price. If you have parted with the young Dog, and if the Bitch is reserved I should prefer her, and if both are already disposed of I shall be obliged for one of the next litter. If neither are yet disposed of Mr. Dougherty & I shall endeavor to extend the Breed as useful appendages to the breeders of Merinos.

I admire the generous and patriotic use you are going to make of your Merinos, and wish you would permit me to publish an Extract of the Letter you wrote to me, as it would give an excellent lesson to the *Patriots* you so well describe. I should now consider it as a kind of Sacrilege to mention any thing that could in any degree interrupt the progress of your highly benevolent plan: it would rather give me pleasure to promote it. Do you think a mixture of the Barbary Sheep with the Merino would be prized? If so could I offer you any number of Barbary Ewes for a Ewe Lamb of the Merino? I only propose this if you think it would assist rather than obstruct your plan. Or if I were to send a number of fine ram Lambs of the merino out of Barbary Ewes, which I now have by me, of uncommon beauty & the wool I think very fine would they as far as they go fulfil in any manner your benevolent plan. I have four choice ones at your service. Mr. Dougherty says he thinks them the finest Lambs he ever saw! . . . (MHi)

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello June 27. 10.

I duly recieved yours of the 1st. Doctr. Thornton desired me to send the pair of dogs to the President's in Orange to the care of mr Gooch his overseer when I send there for my sheep, & that either mr Barry could carry them when he returned to Washington or the President's waggon. besides this there will be a rider coming weekly from Washington to the President's during his approaching visit to his county seat. I have informed the Doctr. I would do so and that I destined the dog for him, as I thought you would have more leisure to attend to raising genuine litters from the bitch, and might justly make them an article of profit; for those who mean to raise many sheep will be eager to get them. I did not add what however is the truth that the bitch is of much superior character to the dog, of much more sagacity, watchfulness and energy. the bitch I recieved from France was ready trained & is of infinite value in tending the sheep. they are the finest house dogs & Farm dogs I have ever seen. you ask if you may publish a paragraph of my letter? on no consideration whatever. this would shew me as avaricious of praise as they are of money. this is really neither my object nor motive. I think it the duty of farmers who are wealthier than others to give those less so the benefit of any improvements they can introduce, gratis; & I shall have more pleasure in seeing this benefit spread over the country, & being instrumental to it, than all the Dollars would give me. . . . (DLC)

To Gideon Gooch

Monticello Aug. 3. 10.

Mr. Bacon, my overseer now comes for the Merino sheep, & will concur in any division of them agreeable to the President. he mentioned in a letter to me some time ago that there would be a portion of wool to come with them. if you will accept of one half of my part of the wool, it is at your service. the other half is retained as a matter of curiosity. . . . (MHi)

To William Jarvis

Monticello Dec. 5. 10.

. . . in an especial manner, however, I must acknowlege your last favors in putting me on the list of those who were enabled to extend the improvement of one of the most valuable races of our domestic animals. the 4. Merinos are now safe with me here, and good preparations made for their increase the ensuing season. pursuing the spirit of the liberal donor, I consider them as deposited with one for the general good, and divesting myself of all views of gain I propose to devote them to the diffusion of the race through our state. as fast as their increase shall permit, I shall send a pair to every county of the State, in rotation, until the whole are possessed of them. this object will be much accelerated by the great shipments you have made of the same race, and the portion of them offered for sale in this state. the expense and risk you took on your self by this measure, but especially the promptitude with which you availed us of this single opportunity of transferring the rich possession to your own country merits our general acknowledgements, and justifies our wishes that you may be duly remunerated by advantageous disposals of them here. . . . (DLC)

From Joseph Dougherty

City of Washington Dec. 6th. 1810.

I received the bitch which you were so good as to send to me by Mr. Madison's manager sometime ago. the day after I received her, I went from this place to N. York (by water) with 112 imported merinoes, purchased in Alexandria by a Mr. Fitch of N. Y. I have had no opportunity to prove the merits of the bitch since my return from N. Y: will you be so good sir, as to inform me if she has had any practice with any of your dogs that is properly trained. . . . My flock of sheep consists of 65: they are the finest flock I see anywhere. . . . (MHi)

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello Dec. 13. [1810]

. . . I am glad to learn that you are likely to succeed in the porter business. I am confident that of sheep will be found profitable as soon as you can get a proper stock. the late importations of Merinos will of course reduce the extravagant prices at first given; but they will steadily maintain a price of good profit. the bitch I sent you had never had training of any kind. the value of the breed is in their capability of being taught any thing you please. she appeared to me extremely sagacious, as she is with you. I will avail myself of the first opportunity of sending a dog to Dr. Thornton. . . . (DLC)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Mar. 11. 11.

. . . The two last Merino ewes have brought the scab into my flock of sheep, which is now generally infected with it. the oil of turpentine is the principal ingredient in the remedy for it. but it would take more than our apothecaries could furnish here, and at their exorbitant prices. will you be so good as to send me a gallon by mr Randolph's boat. I expect you have recieved 6. tons of plaister for me, which is to be forwarded by the same boat. . . . (Courtesy of Virginius Dabney.)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 15th. Mar. 1811.

. . . I really am beginning to apprehend that the introduction of Merino sheep into the Country may prove more injurious than beneficial, as I understand they have communicated the scab to the flock of almost every person who has them. There is danger I suppose of its spreading as other diseases have done, so as never to be eradicated.

Mr. Graham of this place informs me that he thinks he has lately cured it in his Merinos by steeping one pound of Tobacco in a gallon of boiling water, & rubbing the parts affected well, as soon as it cooled. As this remedy must be perfectly innocent (except perhaps with pregnant ewes) would it not be well to make the experiment. (MHi)

To Wilson J. Cary

Monticello July 28. 11.

Your servant, with 4. lambs for mr Cocke, will recieve a 5th. for yourself. it is the second best of the 5. mr Cocke's are from his

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own ewes, the one destined for you is from mine, the best I had except one. one of your ewes proved to be with lamb when she came; the other missed altogether. the two last merino ewes I recieved brought the scab into my flock, & I lost several. I tried mercurial ointment with no effect. repeated anointings with brimstone & fat have eradicated it, except in a single subject, now separated. none of the lambs have ever had a symptom of it. still you should be on the lookout, because of the possibility. the falling off of the wool and scabs in it's place is the indication, & the ointment immediately rubbed in effects the cure at once. . . . (ViU)

To John H. Cocke

Monticello July 28. 11.

The servant who delivered your letter will recieve 4. ram lambs, 3 of them from the half dozen ewes you sent, the other in commutation for 2. ewes sent by Colo. Fontaine, but which I am sure he never saw, as they were such miserable half grown, diminutive animals that I could not permit them to run with my flock, and sent them to another place. I send a lamb from my own ewes however in exchange for them, & in sending it to you I comply with the request of Colo. Fontaine to mr Randolph. I had a Merino ram & 3. ewes of the three different races, selected by mr Jarvis of Lisbon. the two last of them recieved brought the scab into my flock. I lost one of the ewes by it, and two of them from their ill state of health lost their lambs immediately. I now have therefore but the ram which is a very fine animal, 2 ewes and one ram lamb. the wool of one of the ewes was considered at Washington as superior to any of the samples ever shewn there. we have, with a great deal of trouble extirpated the scab, except in a single individual which I have separated from the flock. none of the lambs have ever had a symptom of it. yet the possibility of it's coming on them renders attention adviseable. the loss of their wool is the first visible indication, & then the scabs appearing on the naked part. a mixture of sulphur & fat rubbed on at once cures the disease effectually. in mine however it had become so inveterate as to need a 3d. & 4th. anointment, having previously bid defiance to mercurial ointment. . . . (DLC)

From Peter Minor

Ridgway Sept. 17. 1811

I have taken the liberty of sending you the enclosed "Project of a Law to encourage the raising of Sheep" in the hope that you will

lend your attention to the subject, improve upon, or modify the scheme & assist us in trying to obtain its passage at the next legislature. The Principal features I have taken from the Pennsylvania Dog Law as it is mentioned by Judge Peters in the Memoirs of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society. I have subjoined some calculations, which I think will not be found extravagant.

Since the introduction of the Merino & other valuable breeds of Sheep, I think it particularly behoves us to guard against their destruction by dogs. But Independent of their propensity to destroy Sheep, why should we not endeavor to diminish a race of Animals which to make the best of them are a nuisance, but when considered in a state of madness are certainly as great a curse as can visit us. (MHi)

To Peter Minor

Monticello Sep. 24. 11.

I participate in all your hostility to dogs, and would readily join in any plan of exterminating the whole race. I consider them as the most afflicting of all the follies for which men tax themselves. but as total extermination cannot be hoped for let it be partial. I like well your outlines of a law for this purpose: but should we not add a provision for making the owner of a dog liable for all the mischief done by him, and requiring that every dog shall wear a collar with the name of the person inscribed who shall be security for his honest demeanor? I believe your calculation of their numbers & cost is far within bounds; & I am satisfied that taking the whole mass of dogs in the state into consideration, the average of what they get fairly & *unfairly* of the food fit for man, would feed a man. are there not as many sheep and hogs annually lost to the owners, by dogs, or with their aid, as there are dogs in the state? the petition to the legislature should I think refer to the wisdom of the legislature whether the law should be general, or confined to the counties only as shall chuse to be named in it, but should pray ultimately that if no other county concurs, it may yet be made the law for the county of Albemarle. . . . (MHi)

From William Thornton

City of Washington 18th. June 1812

. . . I am sorry you have not been more fortunate in raising Merinos. I informed Judge Cranch, that, if the Ram be put to the Ewes in the increase of the moon, the Lambs would be more generally males, if in the decrease females. he tried this with our joint flock of common Ewes, amounting to about 400; for he marked

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every individual, and permitted them only to go to the Ram at stated times, by which he found my statement right in the proportion of 4 to 5. when put in the increase there were 4 Ewes & 5 Ram-lambs, when in the decrease 5 Ewes, & only 4 ram Lambs: & this appears to be more the case in other Animals: for I think I have observed that Mares produce Colts almost to a certainty when put in the increase, & fillies when put in the decrease of the moon. This if true generally, would tend to prove that all animals are lunatics in love.

Yesterday we declared war, and must now manufacture our own Cloths &c. They can be well made some hundreds pr cent cheaper than imported. . . . (MHi)

From William Thornton

City of Washington 27th. June 1812

. . . You mentioned in one of your letters that some of your Sheep had the scab. A strong decoction of Tobacco mixed with some soft soap, & rubbed on them, I think the best mode of killing or curring the Scab: better even than mercurial ointment. Livingston gives a Receipt for it in his Book on sheep. . . . (MHi)

To E. I. Dupont

Monticello Nov. 8. 12.

. . . I am in hopes the Merino race of sheep is so well established among us as to leave you in no danger of wanting that article. I have been unlucky with them. I began with one ram & 3. ewes. one of the ewes died of the scab, and the others for two years have brought me only ram lambs, so that I remain still with only 2. ewes. but I have many half bloods. there is no demand here for the wool, because we have no manufacture of fine cloth in the state. in that of coarse clothing we are going on very prosperously in our families. scarcely a family fails to clothe itself. . . . (MHi)

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello Dec. 25. 12.

. . . the Merino fever has so entirely subsided in this part of the country that the farmers now will not accept of them, because they produce less wool & less suitable for the coarse manufactures they want, than the sheep they possess, and there is no market for the wool in this state. I hope that the convenience of the Wilmington & Philadelphia markets to your neighborhood will have prevented the depression we experience, & by keeping up the demand, have rendered your undertaking profitable. . . . (DLC)

To Jeremiah Goodman

Monticello Feb. 5. 13.

Your letter of Jan. 12 never reached me till the day before yesterday. the ram of Merino blood sent to Poplar Forest is half blooded from a ewe of my Spanish breed. a full blooded ram lamb is never sold for less than 50. D. the half blooded generally at 20. D. but as my object is not to gain, but to benefit our citizens by enabling them to get into the breed, I have never taken more than 10. D. here for a half blooded ram. whether the trouble of sending this one to Bedford merits more you can settle with the purchaser & return him the surplus. . . . (DLC)

To Joseph Dougherty

Monticello Aug. 15. 13.

. . . The Merino fever is so entirely spent, that our country people will not even accept of them; preferring those breeds giving most wool to what gives the finest. . . . (DLC)

To Judge Harry Innes

Monticello Sep. 18. 13.

Your information is correct that we possess here the genuine race of Shepherd dogs. I imported them from France about 4. years ago. they were selected for me by the Marquis Fayette, and I have endeavored to secure their preservation by giving them always in pairs, to those who wished them. I have 4. pair myself at different places, where I suffer no other dog to be; and there are others in the neighborhood. I have no doubt therefore that from some of those we can furnish a pair, or perhaps two, at any time when Judge Todd can send for them; he giving me some notice to seek out a litter in a proper state for travelling. there are so many applications for them that there are never any on hand, unless kept on purpose. their extraordinary sagacity renders them extremely valuable, capable of being taught almost any duty that may be required of them, and the most anxious in the performance of that duty, the most watchful & faithful of all servants. but they must be reasonably fed; and are the better for being attached to a master. if they are forced by neglect & hunger to prowl for themselves, their sagacity renders them the most destructive marauders imaginable. you will see your flock of sheep & of hogs disappearing from day to day, without ever being able to detect them in it. they learn readily to go for the cows of an evening, or for the sheep, to drive up the chickens, ducks, turkies, every one into their own house, to

keep forbidden animals from the yard, all of themselves and at the proper hour, and are the most watchful housedogs in the world. (MHi)

To George Washington Jeffreys

Monticello June 12. 17.

I have to acknowledge your two letters of Apr. 8. & May 11. on the subject of the broad-tailed sheep. it is to be observed that there are different races of them, very distinct, & very different in merit. three of these have fallen under my observation. 1. those from the Cape of good hope with broad tails turned up like that of a nicked horse, long legs, light bodies & slight fleeces. 2. those from Algiers, of somewhat less stature and better form & size. and 3. those from Tunis, of low stature, round bodies, full fleeces of good quality, hardy, thrifty, always fat, and of high flavored flesh. it must have been of these last that Genl Baton brought to this country. I recieved myself a ram and ewe, brought in one of our vessels from Tunis direct. but the ewe would never breed, her massive tail never admitting the commerce of the ram. I have bred from the ram, in and in for ten years past with a different race, and have found that when a ewe gets to be $\frac{7}{8}$ pure blood, the same obstacle becomes so enlarged as to prevent further procreation. I continue this breed for the use of the table, and because the wool is as good as that of our ordinary sheep. I have Merinos in a separate situation: but their wool cannot be used for coarse purposes, and there is no demand for it here, which renders them less profitable than others. I have in still a distant situation, another Spanish breed, which, yielding to the broad-tail as to the table, is in other respects the most valuable of all hardy, heavy-bodied, heavy-fleeced, and of a good staple for country service. it is the best cross for the broad-tailed breed. (DLC)

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello May 28. 18.

. . . I now however send you one [*Merino ram*] of full blood, born of my imported ewe of the race called Aguerres, by the imported ram, of the Paular race which belonged to the Prince of peace, was sold by order of the Junta of Estremadura, was purchased and sent to me in 1810. by mr Jarvis our Consul at Lisbon. the Paular's are deemed the finest race in Spain for size & wool taken together, the Aquerres superior to all in wool, but small. . . . (MoSHi)

From Edmund Bacon's Reminiscences

"Mr. Jefferson was very fond of all kinds of good stock. The first full-blooded Merino sheep in all that country, were imported by Mr. Jefferson for himself and Mr. Madison, while he was President. They were sent by water to Fredericksburg. Mr. Jefferson wrote me to go with Mr. Madison's overseer at Montpelier, Mr. Graves, and get the sheep. He said he knew no better way to divide them, than to draw for the choice; and the one who got the first choice of the bucks, take the second choice of the ewes. When we got to Fredericksburg, we were greatly disappointed. The sheep were little bits of things, and Graves said he would not give his riding-whip for the whole lot. There were six of them—two bucks and four ewes. He had the same instructions in regard to dividing them that I had; so I put my hand into my pocket, and drew out a dollar, and said, 'Head, or tail?' He guessed, and I got the first choice. There was a good deal of difference in the bucks, and not much in the ewes. I got the best buck. He was a little fellow, but his wool was as fine almost as cotton. When I got home, I put a notice in the paper at Charlottesville, that persons who wished to improve their stock could send us two ewes, and we would keep them until the lambs were old enough to wean, and then give the owners the choice of the lambs, and they leave the other lamb and both of the ewes. We got the greatest lot of sheep—more than we wanted; two or three hundred, I think; and in a few years we had an immense flock. People came long distances to buy our full blooded sheep. At first we sold them for fifty dollars, but they soon fell to thirty, and twenty; and before I left Mr. Jefferson, Merino sheep were so numerous, that they sold about as cheap as common ones.

"Some years afterwards he imported, from Barbary, I think, four large broad-tailed sheep. I have forgotten their names. He sent these from Washington in his own waggon, which had gone there with a load from Monticello. These sheep made very fine mutton, but they were not popular—did not disseminate, and ran out in a few years." (Pierson, *Monticello*, pp. 53-55)

GOATS

ALTHOUGH Jefferson listed "Goats" among his "Aphorisms, Observations, Facts, in husbandry," and allotted one-third of a page to them in his *Farm Book*, he left practically no information as to what part they played in his plantation economy. In his Account

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Book for January 13, 1776, he jots down that he "pd Colo Lewis's Mat for bringg goats 1/6." And in the *Garden Book* for July 24, 1777, he writes that "kids are fit for the table from 3 weeks to 3 months old." This is the same statement that occurs in the *Farm Book*. In an inventory of stock taken at Shadwell on January 10, 1795, there are listed ten goats.

HOGS AND PORK

Hogs were of immense importance to Jefferson's operations on his plantations. They produced the staple meat for his slaves, and for his white and black workmen. In many of his contracts with overseers and workmen, Jefferson agreed to furnish a definite amount of pork in addition to other obligations. Hams and bacon supplied the chief meat for the table of the Jefferson family. This meat was supplemented by beef and mutton. Jefferson, for his own use, preferred either beef or mutton to pork. But he was not averse to a good ham and always bought the best if they were available. While he was President he often bought as many as twelve dozen at a purchase. Quantities of these hams came from Hanover County and from Smithfield, Virginia, which even in those early days was of considerable reputation for curing good hams. Jefferson, of course, cured his own hams, but they rarely supplied his needs, so that he had to make up this deficit by buying hams from others. The smokehouse at Monticello was at first located on Mulberry Row, but about 1802 it was moved to one of the rooms in the Southeastern Offices. Lard was also an important product obtained from hogs, and it was used for cooking as well as for oil in lamps.

Hogs ranked first in numbers of the animals raised on Jefferson's farms. In 1794 there were ninety sows, boars, shoats, pigs, and bacon hogs, raised at Monticello, one hundred and four raised at Shadwell, and one hundred and ninety-four raised at Poplar Forest. The number of hogs increased or decreased from year to year depending on the number killed for meat, the number that were stolen or lost, and the number that died of natural causes.

Jefferson's hogs were allowed, like his cattle, to roam and feed in the woods and open fields throughout the year. This natural food was supplemented with corn chiefly, but sometimes with other small grains and potatoes. He writes in the *Farm Book* that "the young hogs require a bushel of corn a month for 4 months, their 1st. winter, & no more till they are put up to be fattened, then 1½ barrel. this makes him cost 2B-1½b but to this should be added 2.

bushels eaten by the young hogs which are lost, and which make a part of the cost of those brought to slaughter." Writing to Jeremiah A. Goodman, his overseer at Poplar Forest, on December 23, 1814, he states that "we have tried this year the grinding the corn for the fattening hogs, & boiling the meal into mush. it is surprising how much sooner they have fattened. we think we have saved one half. . . ."

Jefferson's mark for his hogs in Albemarle County was a crop & slit in the right ear and an underkeel & slit in the left ear. He does not tell what mark he used for the hogs in Bedford County.

Jefferson mentions only two breeds of hogs raised at his plantations. On June 1, 1807, he wrote to Mrs. Randolph, ". . . will you tell mr Randolph that I have found here the pure breed of Guinea hogs, and shall endeavor to send on a litter of the pigs when my cart comes in autumn. . . ." He later sent this breed to Poplar Forest. And on August 31, 1811, he received a "boar pig of the Chinese or Parkinson breed" from Peter Carr. Edmund Bacon in his reminiscences states that Jefferson imported a fine hog called Calcutta. Jefferson does not mention this breed in any of his letters or account books.

LETTERS AND MEMORANDA ON HOGS AND PORK

From Account Book, 1771

Dec. 2. lay in 1500. lb pork for 7. workmen 8. months, which will last from Jan. 1. to Sep. 1. when beef may be bought. this is allowg at the rate of 300 lb of pork per man.

From George Jefferson

Richmond 12th May 1801

. . . I have engaged about ten dozen hams for you from a Colo. Macon of Hanover, who has the credit of curing the best bacon in the neighborhood. . . . I have likewise got the favor of an acquaintance to write to Smithfield, to enquire if any are to be had there, & suppose he will in a few days receive an answer. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 1st. June 1801

. . . We have at length heard from the person in Smithfield (Mr. George Purdie) of whom enquiry was made sometime ago respecting hams. Mr. P. is a person remarkable for curing good bacon; he writes that he has not any of his own, but that he thinks he can get from among his neighbors such as will suit your purpose. We

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have therefore requested that if he can procure such as you describe, he will get twelve dozen and send them to Mr. Ashley to be forwarded to you as before. . . . (MHi)

To Edmund Bacon

May 13, 1807.

. . . Pay great attention to the hogs and sheep. We must get into such a stock as to have 30 killable hogs every year, and fifty ewes. . . . (Pierson, *Monticello*, p. 64)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Mar. 15. 16.

. . . I send by the cart a boar & sow pig, Guinea, for the plantation, being the breed I wish to get into there as soon as possible. they take little more than half the corn to fatten them & breed much faster than the common hog. . . . (MHi)

To Craven Peyton

Monticello Nov. 14. 19.

The last year was the only one of my life that I ever had pork to spare. this year as usual we have hardly enough for our enormously large family, being equally deficient in the carcasses as well as the means of fattening. I should have been very happy to have supplied you had it been otherwise. . . . (DLC)

From Joel Yancey

Poplar Forest Novr. 19th. 19

. . . I shall fatten 70 good Hogs certainly, which I have now in the pens, and there are 5 others, which are a little shy & which I have no doubt we shall get in a day or two, so that you may safely calculate on 75 hogs, 41 at B. Creek and 34 at Tomahawk, we have 25 or 30 more that would make good pork, but we can't spare the grain to fatten them, there is some mast sufficient I think (with a little corn to keep them gentle) to support them this winter & spring, and they will be large by next killing. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Poplar Forest 12th. Decr. 19.

. . . We shall begin killing the pork tomorrow and I think you will be pleased with that I shall prepare for Monticello, the 35 hogs will weigh I think nearly 5 thousand, 2 loads per a waggon, so that your waggon will be very great accomodation to us, I shall

be glad it could go down as soon as possible on account of the roads. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Poplar Forest 31st. Decr. 1819

Your waggon arrived here on the 24th. by it I received a cask of cyder and wine which I stored away in the deep cellar. I should have started them back with the pork on Wednesday last, but we had some fixing to do, not expecting your waggon till after Xmas, which we could not finish, till yesterday, they are now loaded but as it is late in the evening and the weather so bad, I have directed them to stay here tonight, and make a very early start in the morning. . . .

Jerrys load

1 Hhds. 105 pieces pork.

1 Barrel Shad & 1 cask of lard weighing 119 lbs gross

Deeks

Hhd. 105 pieces pork

1 jerken butter weighing 70 lb. gross

54 lb. soap.

(MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Poplar Forest Decr. 22. 1820

Jerry arrived here last Evening about 4 oClock, with one of his mules very lame and complains much about badness of Roads, I had every thing ready, and should have loaded Wednesday night, had they come, but they now will be a day later than you expected, I hope to get them off this morning by sunrise, the pork turn'd out very well, and has been distributed as you directed, the 23 hogs picked out for Monticello, and which you will receive by the waggons, weighed 3020 lb. nett and very nice, the face, back bone, and leaf fat, will average 30 lb. to each hog, so that you will not receive more than about 2300, exclusely of the lard, 2 kegs butter 85 lb and 102 lb. gross, 150. lb. lard, 18 pr old bacon, 51. lb. soap and 2 beeves, the Dfl steer, could not be taken, the overseer (Miller) with 3. or 4 hands, was in pursuit of him yesterday and the day before constantly, but could do nothing with him, I will have him taken, and broke, if possible, and sent down in March, with the other beeves and muttons, the waggons will have about 2000 lb. each will be as much as the teams can draw in bad roads, please send our people off immediately after the holidays, as we shall be in great want of the waggon till its return. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Dec. 9. 21.

In directing the distribution of the pork for this season I believe I omitted to state that 10. hogs should be kept for my use at Poplar Forest as usual. if there is any old bacon left it will be acceptable here when the waggon brings the pork. you will be so good as to inform me on what day our waggon should be there to join Dick's in bringing the pork, butter &c. I propose to send Phill back to work in the shop with Will, that Dick's James who now smites for Will should go into the ground in the place of Randal, and Randal return to live here, and that these exchanges should be made when the waggons go & return. . . . (MHi)

From Edmund Bacon's Reminiscences

"About the time the first sheep were imported, Mr. Jefferson imported six hogs,—a pair for himself, Mr. Madison, and General Dearborn, one of his secretaries. He often visited Mr. Jefferson. He was a large, fine-looking man. I remember his coming to my house once with Mr. Jefferson, to look at my bees. I had a very large stand; more than forty hives. Those imported hogs were the finest hogs I have ever known. They were called Calcutta hogs. They were black on the heads and rumps, and white-listed round the body. They were very long-bodied, with short legs; were easily kept; would live on grazing, and would scarcely ever root. They would not root much more than an ox. With common pasturage, they would weigh two hundred at a year old; and fed with corn, and well treated, they would weigh three or four hundred.

"Mr. Jefferson didn't care about making money from his imported stock. His great object was to get it widely scattered over the country, and he left all these arrangements to me. I told the people to bring three sows, and when they came for them, they might take two and leave one. In this way he soon got a large number of hogs, and the stock was scattered over that whole country. He never imported any cattle while I was with him. We could always get remarkably fine cattle from Western Virginia." (Pierson, *Monticello*, pp. 55-56.)

Overseers & Laborers.

Tenants

OVERSEERS

OVERSEERS were of the first importance in Jefferson's economy. He was dependent on them for the management of all of his plantation affairs during his absences; and even when he was present, they did most of the supervision. During his absences Jefferson was in more or less contact with his overseers by letters and memoranda giving detailed instructions on what he wished done. But even with the explicit directions that Jefferson gave them, they did not carry out his plans according to his instructions. Returning to Monticello in 1794, after several years' absence, he wrote to George Washington on May 14 of that year that he found "on a more minute examination of my lands than the short visits heretofore made to them permitted, that a ten years' abandonment of them to the ravages of overseers, has brought on them a degree of degradation far beyond what I had expected."

The overseer's job was a difficult one. The following list of his duties at Monticello in 1805 gives an example of his responsibilities. Writing to Wilson Cary Nicholas, on June 5, Jefferson says, "the providing every thing for a family of about 40. negroes resident at Monticello; every thing for my family on my occasional visits, hiring and overlooking 10. or 12. laboring men employed in a little farming, but mainly in such other works as I have, superintending 10. or 12. nailers, providing their coal, selling the nails &c. and some attention hereafter to a grist mill kept for myself. these are the charges. . . ." These duties, excepting that of the nailery and the mill, were more or less typical for the other plantations. In Bedford County, tobacco farming on a larger scale was added to the duties mentioned above. (See *Garden Book*, pp. 40-41 and 45-46 for "Articles for contracts with overseers.")

In Albemarle County Jefferson hired overseers at Monticello, at Shadwell, at Lego, and at Tufton; while in Bedford County they managed the plantations at Poplar Forest, at Bear Creek, and at Tomahawk. Before he sold his land holdings in other counties there were probably overseers at these plantations, but, with a few exceptions, there is no record to show who they were.

From 1778 to 1786 three different stewards, namely, Thomas Garth, John Key, and Mr. Ballow, managed Jefferson's affairs at

Monticello, and probably also those in Bedford County. They appear to have performed about the same kinds of work as that done by the overseers. The distinction between overseer and steward is never clear in Jefferson's use of the terms.

The following list gives the names of most of the overseers and stewards who served at Monticello, at Shadwell, and at Poplar Forest. The names of other overseers who managed affairs at Elk Hill, at Bear Creek, at Tomahawk, at Lego and at indefinite places such as "on the eastern side of the river," will be noted in the letters and memoranda which follow.

MONTICELLO

Thomas Garth, Steward, 1778-1782. Mr. Garth served Jefferson at other times in the same capacity.

John Key, Steward, 1782-1784.

Mr. Ballow (Christian name not given), Steward, 1785-1786.

Mr. Clarke (Christian name not given), Overseer, 1786-1787.

Mr. Franklin (probably Bernard Franklin), Overseer, 1788-1790.

Mr. Rogers (Christian name not given, but probably John), Overseer, 1791.

Mr. Clarkson (Christian name not given, but probably Manuah Clarkson), Overseer, 1792-1793.

Samuel Biddle, Overseer, 1793-1794.

Hugh Petit, Overseer, 1794-1796.

George, Overseer? (probably a trusted slave), 1797-1799. (See letter Randolph to Jefferson, Feb. 3, 1798.)

Richard Richardson, Overseer, 1800.

Gabriel Lilly, Overseer, 1800-1805.

J. Holmes Freeman, Overseer, 1805-1806.

Edmund Bacon, Overseer, 1806-1822.

SHADWELL

Mr. Chisolm (Christian name not given), Overseer, 1783-1785.

No Overseer named, 1786-1791. (Probably Mr. Clarke, Mr. Franklin, and Mr. Rogers, overseers at Monticello were in charge.)

Mr. Rogers (Christian name not given; probably the John Rogers who was at Monticello in 1791), Overseer, 1792-1793.

Eli Alexander, Overseer, 1794-1795. (He later leased Shadwell.)

William Page, Overseer, 1795- ?

Bowling Clark, Overseer, 1789-1801.

Burgess Griffin, Overseer, 1801-1811.

Jeremiah Goodman, Overseer, 1811-1815.

Joel Yancey, Overseer and Director of Overseers at Bear Creek and Tomahawk, 1815-1821.

Mr. Gough (Christian name not given), Overseer, 1821- ? .

During Jefferson's sojourn in France and until June, 1791, after he returned to Monticello, Nicholas Lewis had the general direction of Jefferson's business and plantation affairs. After Martha Jefferson married Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., whenever they made their home at Monticello, Jefferson depended on Mr. Randolph to help in the general direction of the plantations.

The following letters and items from the Account Books show some of the complex conditions with which Jefferson had to contend in managing his several plantations.

From Account Book, 1774

Octo. 11. agreed with mr Cox to give him £30 for over-looking my plantations at Elk-hill & Crank's the year following, but told him it was £5 too much & more than I could give again.

From Account Book, 1777

Oct. 18. agreed with H. Cox to continue overseer at Elkhill & superintendent at Gilliam's for 1778 for £75.

From Account Book, 1781

Nov. 30. agreed with Richd. Gaines to act as overseer for me over all the plantations on the North side the Rivanna for two nineteenths of what shall be made the ensuing year, & to keep the Smith's accounts and collect them for 5. percent on what he shall collect.

From Account Book, 1782

July 22. agreed with Bennet to continue in Bedford as my overseer next year. same terms.

From Account Book, 1783

Sep. 24. Agreed with John Key to serve me as steward another year for £80.

To Nicholas Lewis

Paris Feb. 6. 1786

. . . mr Mazzei tells me that mr Key has left my service, but he does not know who succeeded him. I hope mr Key left with you the general instructions I gave him; so that his successor may have knowlege of them. if he did not, & you cannot recover them, be so good as to inform me of it, and I will send a new copy of them: because I would wish the steward to keep them constantly under his eye. if you have them I would beg the favor of you to direct the Steward to lay them before him & write me article by article through the whole of them what is done. with respect to matters of account, if he could send me a list of all the monies received and paid since my departure, it would suffice to give me general information. the care of my trees, replanting them, & extending my grass grounds are objects of great concern to me. they are the more so as they are things which cannot be created in a moment. while I am absent they can be growing as fast as if I was present, so that all that time is saved to me. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Garth

Richmond March 7. 1790.

The situation in which I have left Colo. Nichols. Lewis leaves me not without pain and doubt for the event of his disease. I hope the best, but it may turn out otherwise. besides the general loss which will be sustained by such a death, mine will be particularly great, as I have left all my affairs in his hands. the letters I receive from the President are so pressing to go on to New York that I cannot wait the event of mr Lewis's illness nor even make any arrangement in case of his loss. I must therefore in that case beg that you will supply his place for me till I can have leave to come home or take some other final measure. I would not wish you to give yourself any trouble which may be avoided. the principal will be to sell & pay off the crop of tobo. & wheat now on hand, and to call in some balances of which he had made out a list. I send him from hence a list of the paiments to be made from these funds. mrs Lewis can give you full information in all cases. your interference in this case will lay me under great obligation, as you see that I am so circumstanced as to be unable to make any other arrangement, and I shall cheerfully & thankfully make you any compensation you pray and at any event relieve you from it in the fall. . . . (MHi)

To Nicholas Lewis

Philadelphia June 26. 1791.

. . . the last part of your letter shall be last answered. it is with infinite regret, my dear Sir, that I learn your purpose of withdrawing from the direction of my affairs. my confidence in you has been so entire, that since they have been in your hands I have never had an anxiety about them. I saw indeed that you took a great deal more trouble about them than I could expect or wish, & I feared it would lead you to an entire relinquishment of them. instead of having a right to urge a continuance of such a drudgery on you, it is my duty to be thankful that you have submitted to it so long, and I am so, sincerely and thoroughly. . . . (MHi)

To Samuel Biddle

Philadelphia June 18. 1793.

It is agreed between mr Samuel Biddle & myself that he shall overlook certain parts of my affairs in Virginia as explained in a letter to him of Dec. 12. 1792. for which I am to pay him one hundred and twenty dollars a year. his wages are to begin the 1st. day of September next, & he is to proceed to Virginia about the middle of October. he is to carry his bedding. I promise to provide him half a dozen fly chairs, a table, pot &c. the carpenters to fix up little conveniences for him. to find him a horse, 5 or 600 wt. of pork, or rather mutton &c. equivalent. (MHi)

From Account Book, 1794

Nov. 18. Petit comes into my service as overseer @ £30 a year.

From Account Book, 1795

Nov. 24. Page comes into my service as overseer at Shadwell & Lego at £35. a year & 500 lb pork.

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Belmont Feb. 3. 98.

. . . Agricultural affairs proceed both at Montio: and Shadwell: George is steady & industrious—Page I think is as anxious about his duties as any overseer I ever knew. The thorough confidence you place in the companion of tradesmen is less abused than I expected but I am still convinced that being under no command whatever they will become idle and dissipated tho' I am clear that it confirms them in honesty. (MHi)

From Wilson Cary Nicholas

Warren Augt. 12th. 1801.

I have informed B. Griffin that you are disposed to employ him to manage your estate in Bedford, he desires me to inform you that he will be at your house by the 16th. instant. I have told him that you are willing to give the 12th. part of the crop, which I think full enough for twenty five hands. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Jan. 4. 1802.

. . . as he [*Lilly*] cannot read, I will pray you to read for him.
. . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington June 5. 05.

I recieved a letter yesterday from Lilly which gives me great desquietude. he has hitherto been on wages of £50. and £10. additional for the nailery. he writes me that he cannot stay after the present year for less than £100. certainly I can never get a man who fulfills my purposes better than he does: and if a moderate advance, as from 60. to £75. would have sufficed, I would have given it. but to £100. is a larger jump than I am willing to take if I can find another who will answer my purposes. do you know, or can you recollect one who would, and who could be got on Lilly's present allowance? I do not wish the least intimation of this matter to any mortal; and shall withhold answering Lilly till I hear from you. . . . (DLC)

From Account Book, 1811

July 2. agree this day with E. Bacon that his wages shall be £40.

Aug. 4. agreed with Jeremiah Goodman to serve me next year as overseer in Bedford over a plantation & 16. hands, for which I am to give him 200. D. a year, & all other articles to stand as by our original agreement.

William Ballard & Jefferson

William Ballard engages himself to serve Thomas Jefferson as an overseer at his place called Tufton during the year ensuing, to commence the 1st. day of December next and faithfully to do his duty in that capacity, and the sd Thomas Jefferson agrees to find him six hundred weight of pork, corn bread sufficient for himself & family, and a barrel of flour, and moreover allow him sixty five pounds as wages for the year, paialbe on the sale of the

crop of wheat or flour which shall be made by him. Witness their hands this 18th. day of July 1813.

William Ballard
(MHi)

Th: Jefferson

To Joel Yancey

Monticello July 10. 15.

. . . with respect to the overseers, you know I placed them absolutely at your command. do as you please on that subject without waiting to consult me. if you can rub thro' the year with them (and I expect certainly you may with one, if not both) it will be better than to be embarrassed with a law suit: for the wages are not the only damages which may be claimed, and costs would probably be high, especially if sued here. the best overseer I have ever employed leaves this place this year for a fault which perhaps he might not contract at a new place. it has lost him here the respect of those under him. if you should not have a better offer, we may consider, when I come up, whether we may trust him, if he should not get new business in the mean time which he will easily do here. . . .
(MHi)

From Account Book, 1819

Feb. 1. E. Bacon pays for me this day 180. D. to John W. Wilson in part of his wages as overseer at Tufton in 1817. which being his own money is a charge against me. 32. D. still due to Wilson.

Apr. 28. settled with Jacob W. White [*Poplar Forest*] due to him 290.08 as overseer 1818.

From Joel Yancey

Poplar Forest Novr. 19th. 19

. . . I have engaged two overseers for the next year and agreed to furnish Bishop at Tomahawk with 500 lb. pork and Robert Millar at B. Creek with 400 lb. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 6th. September 1820.

I have been anxiously expecting you at the P. forest for sometime past, or should have written you sooner, Since Mr. Randolph was here it has been reported that he had taken management of your Estate here for the ensuing year, that he intended to send up Overseers, indeed he mentioned to me himself when he was here last, that something of the kind was talked of between you and

himself, I wish to know the fact, as it is getting late in the season to get good overseers and you can't do without, and as it is my duty should you desire it to engage them for you. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Jan. 4. 21.

I have for sometime been becoming sensible that age was rendering me incompetent to the management of my plantations. failure of memory, decay of attention and a loss of energy in body & mind convince me of this; as well as the vast change for the better since my plantations have been put under the direction of my grandson T. J. Randolph. his skill, his industry and discretion satisfy me that it will be best for me to place all my plantations in Bedford as well as here, under his general care instead of my own. as myself therefore he will consult and plan with you on the course of our crops and plantation proceedings generally, and in all things you may consider him as myself. and I am sure you will have more satisfaction in consulting with him who will understand the subject than with myself who did not. be so good as to hurry your flour & tobacco down and always to drop me a line when either goes off; that I may know how to draw. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford Jan 14th. 21.

Your letter by Mr. Randolph I received a few days since, and have particularly observed the contents, in transferring your authority over your plantations here to your grandson, I presume you did not include even the present year, and that your motive was, to give me an opportunity to withdraw, which I without hesitation did immediately to Mr. Randolph, and I can assure you that no man in Virginia will be more pleased should he succeed here as well as he has done in your estimation in Albemarle, I have done the best I could, and I know I could do no better under the direction of Mr. Randolph or any other person, I have long been sensible, that my attention to your affairs, took me too much from my own, and that I have been by no means a gainer by it. I am satisfied also, notwithstanding more might have been done, and Acts of providence have happened, that you, when you come to make a comparison, with the appearance of your plantations now and their producing order five years ago, you will acknowledge, that some improvements have been made here also, (tho not equal to those in Albemarle) independent of the increase and conditions of the

stock, I promised Mr. Randolph upon his insisting, and saying that the business, and consequently you, would be injured, by my withdrawing immediately, as he was not provided with a manager, to continue to do what I can for your interest & happiness, till you procure one which I hope will be with as little delay as possible. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Jan. 27. 21.

I recieved by my grandson of the 14th. and cannot say that I have recieved anything which has given me more pain. nothing on earth was farther from my intention than that it should be considered as intended to give you an opportunity to withdraw. it was sincerely meant, as it was expressed, to be a withdrawal of myself from a superintendence to which age has rendered me incompetent and transferring it to a younger member of my family, who would have the same interest which I had myself in taking care of every tning for the family. I wished to install him at once into a substitution which the ordinary course of nature must shortly do itself. and I beg you to be assured that I have been ever so impressed with the assurance of your zeal, care & direction of my affairs that I should have considered your withdrawal at any time as a misfortune, and especially this time and that it should be brought about by what was so differently intended. I value your friendship too much to withhold this explanation and I hope you will suffer this misconception to pass off as if it had never happened, and to leave no shadow of the impression on either of our minds. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello July 26. 21.

. . . I mentioned to you in a former letter that I had committed all my plantations to the management of my grandson, finding myself quite unequal to that business. Capt. Peyton had always been his correspondent and he finds it more convenient to do all his business thro' a single hand. I mention this to shew that the change has not proceeded from any change of confidence or friendship to yourself. these are undiminished: but that I have no longer any business of that kind to do. . . . (DLC)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 22nd Decr. 1821

On Sunday last Mr. Gough and his aid young Bagby arrived

at Poplar Forest to take charge of your concern for the ensuing year agreeably to an arrangement previously made between him and Mr. Thos. J. Randolph and on Tuesday Evening Mr. Randolph came himself and handed me your letter of 9th. Inst. but as my authority ceased as soon as he took possession, I gave him the keys made him acquainted with the contents of your letter, and took my leave of the business, which has employed almost the whole of my attention for six years and six months. I regret extremely that I have not been more successful in my managements, but it I know has not been for the want of the full exertion of all possible desire to give satisfaction to you, but I still hope and believe, that the profits of my labors, will be better understood and felt hereafter. In taking leave of your affairs I must beg to return you my highest acknowledgements for the friendship and politeness you have shewn towards me during the whole of my superintendence, as it will afford me the greatest satisfaction during life, and that I shall always feel the strongest desire for the happiness and prosperity of yourself and every branch of your family whom I am acquainted, and ever be proud to render any service in my power as a neighbor or friend to you or them as long as I live. . . .

At the request of Mr. Randolph I have undertaken to settle the shop accts and little debts in the neighborhood, which are but few and accounts to you on him, according to your pleasure. The wheat as you have been informed did not turn out more than a $\frac{1}{3}$ what I expected. I was deceived owing to the quantity of chaff and false grains, that blew off with the chaff. never was such an indifferent crop in Virginia before since my recollections. after saving 344 bushels, paying the overseers, their share, which was only $26\frac{1}{2}$ bushels, reduced our receipts in the mills to 260 bushels, the proceeds of which I shall pay Mr. Robertson agreeably to your order there is as I believe 20 or 30 bushels still in the barn, but fit for nothing, except the stock, the corn turned out nearly what I expected, at Tomahawk 210 barrels and at B. creek 257 barrels, total 467 barrels and I think there was upwards 400. put in the houses, it was all accurately measured, and sorted besides there was about 30 barrels of lost corn as numbered which answers well for stock. Mr. Randolph and Mr. Gough with me have examined the Tobo and seem to be pleased with the quality, I do not know their opinion of the quantity, but the overseers were confident there would be upwards 30,000 lb. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Jan. 2. 22.

I recieved duly your favor of Dec. 22. and felt sincere satisfaction at the assurances it expressed of your continued friendships. of this indeed I never entertained a doubt. nor that this was the governing principle of your endeavors to promote my interests. these I saw plainly were faithful & zealous always, and gave me therefore unbounded confidence in your care of my affairs. These were some times baffled by droughts the ravages of insects and other accidents not within human controul which have placed me under embarrasments for a while, and the extraordinary failure of the wheat crop here as well as there the last year make them greater at present than usual. not being able from this circumstance to furnish you the sum you need for the purchase of a house servant I shall very willingly let you have Lucy at a fair valuation by neighbors, if she is *willing* to be sold, as I have little doubt she would be. she would certainly prefer the situation of a house servant under mrs Yancey & yourself and so near her friends to working in the ground under an overseer. if she consents therefore you can take her immediately and the price may be settled at my next visit. indeed I should be very glad to pay the whole sum I owe you by a sale of as many acres of land adjoining you as would amount to that and by a line parallel with our present line. but perhaps we may not have the same idea of present values. as nearly as I can judge by prices here & wherever else I have heard of, lands, negroes and other property seem to settle down at about one third less than what they were 3. or 4. years ago, and as the merchants recover from their embarrasments the price of produce is steadily on the advance and will establish stably the price of property. this is within my convenience and power at present, but may not be after the present year. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

26 May. 22.

Mr. Bowcock was overseer for you last year at Tomahawk, and was entitled to sixteen barrels of corn as his share, which at the request of Mr. Randolph I bought of him for use of the plantations at two dollars pr. barrel. . . . (MHi)

To William F. Gordon

Monto.

. . . the nature of our estates where the proprietor is absent,

where he is an unskilful manager when present as I have been, and finally recieving from the hand of a friend such a coup de grace, as I did, left scarcely unexpectable the arrears into which I fell. . . . (MHi)

LABORERS

JEFFERSON's laborers were either his own slaves or slaves hired from other owners. In addition to laborers Jefferson also engaged workmen of varying skills, such as carpenters, brick- and stone-masons, blacksmiths, haulers, and joiners. The slaves by working under these men often acquired skills of their own and in turn could replace the workmen. The wages paid by Jefferson for hired labor is best shown by extracts from his Account Books. They reveal the tremendous fluctuations in the amount of money paid for various services from year to year.

Jefferson's own laborers were assigned to jobs according to their talents and ages. The majority of them worked in the fields, for farming was the backbone of his plantations.

From Account Book, 1770

Sep. 15. Jacob Millar is to work for me this winter @ 25/ per month. I find him.

From Account Book, 1773

May. 21. George Manly began to work for me ye 18th of this month. we made no agreement but I shall be willing to give him from ten to twelve pounds a year.

From Account Book, 1782

Jan. 5. Giovannini da Prato receives 176 lb pork nett. he is to have for his & his wife's year allowance 600. lb.

Jan. 6. I am indebted to Giovannini 20 barrels of corn for the year 1781. I do not charge him any money or other thing furnished him. I am to give him & his wife for year beginning Dec. 12. 1781. £20. hard money, & to find them meat as above & corn.

Oct. 25. agreed with B. Kindred to continue another year without his son. I am to give him 500 lb meat, 5 Barr. corn, ½ bush. salt & fodder as usual. he is to have half the earnings of the shop. for the last year he is to have ⅝ & 1⅜ of the earnings.

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Jan. 25. 98.

. . . I thank you for your interference at Monticello & Shadwell. I had directed the managers at both to apply to you for your counsel when at a loss, and have only been prevented by the state of your health from asking a more onerous attention. George needs to be supported & Page to be moderated. Davy and John also to be questioned as to their progress in the execution of my written instructions. Richardson (whom I expect here daily) wrote me word he had hired 3. hands for me, & expected to get some more. they are to work with John. you will of course take Isaac when you please. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Edgehill Jan: 3. 1801.

. . . Lillie has failed in hiring, except one single labourer; they could not be had under 25.£ any where & difficulty for that: his exertions were what might have been expected of him but the great price in our neighborhood & the impossibility of persuading them to come up from below, which the facility of hiring everywhere makes allways a condition, have rendered them vain. Craven arrived on the 31. Dec. with his family servants & farming stock. He found the house quite unfinished & was much dissatisfied, but the exertions the Carpenter & all of us have made to render him comfortable make him now tolerably contented. . . . not confiding much in Powels engagements & having abandoned all hope of Lillie & hiring hands I directed him to take the lads from the shop, leaving 3 full fires of the boys with Burwell at their head. If Powell does come they can be returned in a moment; untill he does, they will be better employed, such as are fit for it, at the axe than, wholly without control, in idleness & mischief, about the shop. They will soon make excellent Axe men and the work undertaken for Craven will be advancing with the winter. I have directed Lillie to look himself to those who remain at the nailery, for their work; Dinsmoor keeps account of the nail rod and nails. It was absolutely necessary to do something without waiting to consult you for the Nailery was all in confusion, Lillie without a hand and Craven in despair because the work to be done for him was standing still. I have done the best possible in the case and do not doubt you will be satisfied tho you may make other arrangements when you write again. . . . (ViU)

From Account Book, 1805

Mar. 28. Richd. Barry, painter arrives & begins work @ 30. D.
pr. month.

TENANTS

. . . I think it will always be best to let tenants pay rather too little than too much. otherwise they will remove or break. I doubt whether it will not be better to leave the renewal of the lease to be negociated during it's course, as circumstances may change so materially. . . . *Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph, Philadelphia, March 18, 1793*

“. . . I am therefore strengthened in the idea of renting out my whole estate; not to any one person, but in different parts to different persons, as experience proves that it is only small concerns that are gainful, & it would be my interest that the tenants should make a reasonable gain. . . .” This declaration of Jefferson’s plans for leasing his plantations was written from Paris to Nicholas Lewis on July 29, 1787. Jefferson was in need of money to pay his ever-increasing debts and the plan formulated above seemed a way out of this trouble.

Before leaving for Paris in 1784, Jefferson had leased a small portion of his lands. It does not appear that any of them were leased by Mr. Lewis during Jefferson’s stay in France. While Secretary of State, Jefferson made plans to lease Elkhill, in Goochland County, and to lease all of his lands on the Shadwell side of the Rivanna River. If he succeeded in these leases, he planned to extend the same system to his Bedford plantations.

The following letters, indentures, and memoranda give Jefferson’s terms for leases, the location of the land rented, and to whom it was leased. They further show the difficulties involved in the transaction of leases, and they especially show Jefferson’s lack of talent to make them a successful venture. See also “Tenants” in the *Farm Book* and “Tenant Farmers” and “Overseers” in the *Garden Book*.

To Nicholas Lewis

Paris July 29. 1787.

. . . I had observed that by a statement in your letter of March 14. of the probable proceeds of the crop of 1785 (about 50 hogsheads of tobacco) that the profits of the few house servants &

tradesmen hired out were as much as those of the whole estate, & therefore suggested to you the hiring out the whole estate. the torment of mind I endure till the moment shall arrive when I shall not owe a shilling on earth is such really as to render life of little value. I cannot decide to sell my lands. I have sold too much of them already, and they are the only sure provision for my children. nor would I willingly sell the slaves as long as there remains any prospect of paying my debts with their labour. in this I am governed solely by views to their happiness which will render it worth their while to use extraordinary cautions for some time to enable me to put them ultimately on an easier footing, which I will do the moment they have paid the debts due from the estate, two thirds of which have been contracted by purchasing them. I am therefore strengthened in the idea of renting out my whole estate; not to any one person, but in different parts to different persons, as experience proves that it is only small concerns that are gainful, & it would be my interest that the tenants should make a reasonable gain. the lease I made to Garth & Mousley would be a good model. I do not recollect whether in that there was reserved a right of distraining on the lands for the whole rent. if not, such a clause would be essential, especially in the present relaxed state of the laws. I know there was in that no provision against paper money. this is still more essential. the best way of stating the rent would be in ounces of silver. the rent in that lease, tho expressed in current money, was meant to be 11.£ sterling & titheable. when we consider the rise in the price of tobacco, it should balance any difference for the worse which may have taken place in the lands in Albemarle, so as to entitle us there to equal terms. in Cumberland, Goochland, Bedford, where the lands are better, perhaps better terms might be expected. calculating this on the number of working slaves, it holds up to us a clear revenue capable of working off the debts in a reasonable time. think of it, my dear Sir, & if you do not find it disadvantageous be so good as to try to execute it, by leases of 3, 4, or 5 years: not more, because no dependence can be reposed in our laws continuing the same for any length of time. indeed 3. years might be the most eligible term. the mill should be separated from the lease, finished, & rented by itself. all the lands reserved to my own use in Garth & Mousley's lease should still be reserved, and the privileges of that lease in general. house negroes still to be hired separately. the old & infirm, who could not be hired, or whom it would be a pity to hire, could perhaps be employed in raising cotton, or some other easy culture on

lands to be reserved; George still to be reserved to take care of my orchards, grasses &c. the lands in Albemarle should be relieved by drawing off a good number of the labourers to Bedford, where a better hire might be expected & more lands be opened there. I feel all the weight of the objection that we cannot guard the negroes perfectly against ill usage. but in a question between hiring & selling them (one of which is necessary) the hiring will be temporary only, and will end in their happiness; whereas if we sell them, they will be subject to equal ill usage, without a prospect of change. it is for their good therefore ultimately, and it appears to promise a relief to me within such a term as I would be willing to wait for. I do not mention the rate of hire with a view to tie you up to that, but merely to shew that hiring presents a hopeful prospect. I should rely entirely on your judgment for that, for the choice of kind & hopeful tenants, & for every other circumstance. . . . (DLC)

To Nicholas Lewis

Paris July 11. 1788.

. . . I am much pleased that you approve of my plan of hiring my estate. besides that the profit will be greater, it will enable me to see a fixed term to my embarrassments. for the same reason I would prefer money to tobacco rents, because my engagements for annual payments must be in money. yet if you think the greater assurance of punctual payments in tobacco overbalances the advantage of a fixed sum in money I leave it to your discretion. one piece of information however I must give you, which is that there is no prospect that the European market for tobacco will improve. our principal dependance is on this country, and the footing on which I have got that article placed here, is the best we can ever expect. in the leases therefore, tobacco on my own estate, or of the best warehouses cannot be counted on at more than from 20/ to 22/6 currency the utmost. but I am in hopes my dear Sir, that more can be obtained per hand than 12£ currency, which you mention. I found my hopes on these considerations. I rented to Garth & Mousley as well as I recollect for £11. sterling a hand, tobacco then from 18/ to 20/ the hundred and the legal exchange 25. percent. tobacco is now ten per cent higher & legal exchange raised 5. per cent. this entitles us at present to ask £15. currency a Hand. I never knew exactly what Garth & Mousley made. they only told me in general that they had made about a good overseer's or steward's levy each: suppose this 75£ each & calculate it on the number of workers they had, and it will prove how much more

worth is a working hand with the land and stock thrown in, than without them. add to this that there is the addition of Hickman & Smith's lands in Albemarle (about 1000 acres) and that the lands in Bedford are much better for tobacco than those of Albemarle were when Garth & Mousely rented them. I only mention these considerations to enable you to demonstrate to those who enter into conference on the subject that a higher sum than £12. currency may be reasonably asked; but not to tie you down, for certainly I had rather rent for £12. currency than not to rent at all. I think I suggested in my former letter the necessity of stipulating a right to distrain when the rent is not paid. it might be a still greater security to stipulate also that their tobaccos shall be delivered at certain warehouses in your name, so that you may receive the money from the purchaser when the tenant has failed to pay. I come over to your advise, Sir, to sell my lands in Cumberland & Goochland, and have accordingly desired mr Eppes to join you in doing it. as to the prices, I leave it to your discretion. I never had a direct offer for those lands, because I never meant to sell them. but from overtures made before a shilling of paper money had issued, I supposed I could get 1500£ for Cumberland and the same for Elkhill. this was before I purchased Smith's. . . . the check on the tenants against abusing my slaves was, by the former lease, that I might discontinue it on a reference to arbitrators. would it not be well to retain an optional right to sue them for ill usage of the slaves or to discontinue it by arbitration, whichever you should chuse?

. . . one word more about my leases. I think the term should not exceed three years. the negroes too old to be hired, could they not make a good profit by cultivating cotton? much enquiry is made of me here about the cultivation of cotton; and I would thank you to give me your opinion how much a hand would make cultivating that as his principal crop instead of tobacco. Great George, Ursula, Betty Hemings not to be hired at all, nor Martin nor Bob otherwise than as they are now. . . . (DLC)

To Jacob Hollingsworth

Philadelphia Feb. 18. 1793.

. . . I have not yet received any letter from mr Biddle. I wish he could find tenants enough for 2000 acres, that being the whole I wish to rent in that part of the country. it would enable them too to settle the different lots among themselves more to their mind, and to proportion the rent of each to it's comparative value so as

that while I should receive a quarter of a dollar the acre upon the whole, they should pay some more some less according as their lot should be more or less good. in like manner they might then have the whole of the laborers now on the lands, paying me 50. dollars a year for every man & woman of the whole, but they dividing them to their mind, and contributing more or less according as each should have the more or less valuable laborers in their lot. this I think would be just and satisfactory to all. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Feb. 18. 1793.

. . . I am in hopes of procuring tenants in Maryland for all my lands on the Shadwell side of the river at a quarter of a dollar the acre, to be rented for 7. years, and to hire the negroes on the same lands for 25. dollars averaged, from year to year only, so that I may take them away if ill treated, the business is not yet concluded, and therefore I would wish it to be not at all known. . . . as soon as Congress is over I shall go, if I have time into the neighborhood (at the head of Elk) where the business is on the carpet, and try to conclude for myself. I propose to parcel the lands in tenements of from 200 to 400. acres each. If I succeed in this, I should expect to be able to extend the same system to Bedford. the husbandry about the head of Elk is in wheat & grazing: little corn, & less pork. this I think is what would suit us best, for which reason I turned my attention to that quarter, & also because the labour there being performed by slaves with some mixture of free labourers, the farmers there understand the management of negroes on a rational & humane plan. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Mar. 18. 93.

. . . you doubt whether I do not let my lands too low. I try this two ways, & think I do not. first, every 100 acres with one negro will bring me 50 dollars, which is more than I ever made, and is 10. dollars more than Garth & Mousley paid me; & it is certain they made a very small profit. secondly suppose a tenant and his wife & four negroes to occupy a farm of 400. acres, or a tenant & his wife & 2 negroes to have one of 200. acres, the rent will be about 15. dollars on each labourer, which I believe is as much as the labourer can spare for the land he works, reserving a moderate & reasonable price for the labour he bestows on it. I was allowed but 50/ a hand by my father's executors for the hands of my

brother who in 6. or 7. years totally destroyed the upper tract of my land on the East side of the river, when it was the richest peice of tobacco land in the neighborhood. I think it will always be best to let tenants pay rather too little than too much. otherwise they will remove or break. I doubt whether it will not be better to leave the renewal of the lease to be negociated during it's course, as circumstances may change so materially. . . . (DLC)

To Jacob Hollingsworth

Philadelphia Dec. 4. 1793.

I received last night your favor of the 2d. inst. informing me you had employed Eli Alexander to superintend my business, on the terms proposed, finding him the same furniture which I supplied to mr Biddle & paying his travelling expenses there, & that he will set out by the 15th. inst. I agree to the terms, confiding that he will make his travelling expenses resonable. he had better go by water to Richmond, from whence there are waggons returning nearly empty to Charlotsville which is two miles from my house. . . . (ViU) (Copy)

[October 1. 1799.]

This indenture made on the first day of October 1799. between Thomas Jefferson of Monticello in the county of Albemarle on the one part & Craven Peyton of the same county on the other part witnesseth that the said Thomas hath demised & leased unto the sd Craven a parcel of land containing four fields of his farm called Shadwell in the same county, which fields are known by the names of the Southfield, Westfield, Eastfield & the Yard, the three first mentioned of the said fields being bounded by, & comprehending their present fences, & containing each of them forty acres, & the said Yard being bounded on the West by the South and West fields, on the North by the public road, on the East by the Eastfield, & on the South by a line to be run due East & West so as to make the said Yard include forty acres: to have and to hold the said parcel of land with all it's appurtenances unto the said Craven his executors & administrators from the 15th. day of this present month of October for the term of five years to be counted therefrom: yielding and paying yearly for the same to the said Thomas & his heirs the sum of one hundred & sixty dollars in the gold or silver coin of the United States, the first paiment of one hundred and sixty dollars to be made on the 15th. day of October in the year one thousand eight hundred, and a like paiment on the same

day in every year after during the same term: and if it shall happen that the said yearly rent or any part thereof be unpaid for the space of six months after it is due, that then it shall be lawful for the said Thomas or his heirs into the said premises to reenter, & the same to have again, repossess & enjoy as of his former estate: and the said Craven doth covenant with the said Thomas that he will yearly & every year during the term hereby granted pay the said Thomas the yearly rent of one hundred & sixty dollars before reserved on the days herein before limited for payment thereof, & that he will pay all taxes, levies & assessments laid or to be laid by public authority which shall become due for the premises demised during the said term: and it is covenanted between the said Thomas & Craven that if it shall happen that the value of the gold or silver coin of the United States, or the quantity of the precious metal in them which shall constitute the dollar be increased or diminished by public authority during the said term, or any other thing be made a lawful tender except the said coins now by law established, that neither party shall take advantage or suffer loss by such change, but that the rent may & shall be paid and received still in the same coins now by law established; each party expressly renouncing for himself the benefit of any law which may be made to authorize such payment or demand in such substituted money or money of substituted value: and further that if (this renunciation notwithstanding) the said rent or any part thereof shall yet be paid or demanded by lawful authority in any money or substance having more or less of pure gold or silver in its composition and estimated value than the present gold or silver coins of the United States, then this demise shall be ipso facto determined, & the sd Thomas shall of the premises be resumed & repossessed, either with or without entry made as of his former estate: And the said Thomas reserves the use of the road between the said South & Westfields & through the Yard to the public road for himself & all persons having occasion to use the same as a communication between the said public road & his lands in the South side of the river: And the sd Thomas doth covenant that he will allow to the sd Craven during the term aforesd sufficient timber to be cut & taken by the said Craven from any part of the woodlands of the sd tract of land called Shadwell lying between the Eastfield and the public road & Eastern boundary of the said land, or between the sd public road & the private road leading from the ford through the demised premises as before mentioned, for firewood, fencing, repairs & utensils for the use of the farm: and that his stock shall

have free range on all the uninclosed woodlands of the said Thomas on the same side of the river: and the sd Craven covenanteth that he will keep the fences & gates on the premises in good repair & so deliver them at the determination of the lease; that he will also keep the houses built or to be built in repair except against the decays of time; that he will keep the said yard constantly in grass, & not suffer the same to be broke up, that he will divide the said fields called Southfield, Westfield & Eastfield into five equal shifts of twenty four acres each; that no one shift shall be put into Indian corn more than once in the said term of five years; that each of the sd shifts shall rest from culture & pasture two years during the sd term of five years neither of which shall be next after a year of Indian corn; but it shall be lawful for him during the said two years that any shift shall be entitled to rest to put the same into peas, clover or other grass to be cut, & not pastured on the ground; that a breach in any of these covenants respecting the mode of employing & cultivating the farm shall be deemed waste, and that he shall not have the power to assign this lease to any person without the consent of the said Thomas. And the parties do mutually covenant with each other that all the obligations, burthens & benefits herein stipulated in their own names shall be binding on & result to their respective heirs, executors & administrators in like manner as if they had been specially named in every several covenant. In witness whereof the said Thomas and Craven have hereto set their hands & seals on the day & year first above written.

Signed sealed & delivered

Th: Jefferson

in presence of

Craven Peyton

Jas. Dinsmore

Robt. Bolling

Richard Richardson

(County Papers, Albemarle County Court House)

[Aug. 22. 1800.]

Heads of agreemt. between John H. Craven & Th: Jefferson committed to paper by way of memorandum to be reduced to form hereafter.

The sd Thomas leases for 5. years to the sd John H. Craven five fields of land of his tract on the West side of the Rivanna of one hundred acres each cleared and to be cleared, the names of which fields are specified in a paper in the handwriting of the said Thomas delivered to the sd Craven; & also forty five negroes whose names

are also specified in a paper in the handwriting of the sd Thos. delivered to the sd John H. Craven. The sd Thos. will sow for the sd John H. this fall one hundred acres of wheat, where he has corn & tobo. now growing; he will deliver to him all his stock of cattle & hogs, attached to the premises, all the work-horses, such of the mules as are not wanting for himself; corn & fodder as to be hereafter more particularly fixed, prepare a house for him, & in the course of the winter remove the negro houses to a place to be agreed on.

The sd Craven will pay the sd Thomas annually a rent of three hundred & fifty pounds Virginia currency, deducting the first year fifty pounds in lieu of another hundred acres of wheat which ought to be sown, but cannot. he will observe respecting the lands & their culture the general covenants contained in the leases of the sd Thomas to mr Peyton & to John & Reuben Perry, and the conditions annexed to those leases: with respect to the negroes he will feed & clothe them well, take care of them in sickness, employing medical aid if necessary: he will in the last year of the lease sow two hundred acres of wheat where the sd Thomas shall direct, the sd Thos. finding seed for one hundred thereof, he will restore horses, mules, cattle, hogs, houses & fences equal in value to those he shall have received, both to be estimated by men mutually to be chosen. should the negroes be treated with unreasonable severity, or not reasonably taken care of, the sd Thomas shall have a right to refer it to mutual arbiters whether the lease shall not be determined and the conditions on which. he reserves the right of passage to & from his house along the usual roads. this lease to commence on New Year's day ensuing. In witness whereof the parties hereto set their hands this 22d. of August 1800.

Th: Jefferson
Jno H. Craven

Witness Randolph
Philip Darrell
(MHi)

[Sep. 20. 1803.]

Articles of agreement made & concluded between Th: Jefferson and John H. Craven, both of the county of Albemarle.

It is agreed between these parties that the lease of lands & other property of the sd Thomas at Monticello, originally made by the sd Thomas to the sd John H. for five years, & now existing, shall

be renewed and continued from the end of the sd five years for the term of four years more in addition to the said five, and shall be considered as if it had been an original lease for nine years, all the covenants & conditions therein provided for the course of five years being hereby extended to the additional four years: that the rent during the four additional years shall be uniformly the same as provided for the 2d. 3d. 4th. & 5th. years of the preceding term, and the rotation of crops through which each field was to go in the first five years shall be continued for it uniformly in the same course through the four additional years.

In consideration of the young labourers grown & growing up, it is agreed that after the 1st. day of August 1804. the girl called Fanny, daughter of Ned, shall be withdrawn from the lease, and return into the possession & service of the said Thomas: that he may also withdraw any other young female now under the age of titheable when he shall find proper, delivering the girl called Ursula, not now in the lease, in exchange for her: and that after the 31st. day of Dec, 1808. he may withdraw the man called Ned, the elder, delivering in lieu of him a labourer of equal value.

The said Thomas agrees also to underpin & plaister the house inhabited by the sd John H. to wall up the cellar under the same which shall be dug by the sd John H. & to build a shed round the barn in the course of this & the next year.

The division fence between the two parties shall be maintained at their joint & equal expence: and each party covenants at the desire of the other to execute a formal lease of the purport of the above agreement. Witness our hands this 20th. day of September 1803. (MHi)

The 5. fields leased to Mr. Craven

	as.	
No. 1. the Riverfield	33 $\frac{2}{3}$	
Indian field	52 $\frac{2}{3}$	to be cleared 1800-1
to be cleared adjact.	13 $\frac{2}{3}$	
	<hr/>	
	100	
No. 2. Morgan's fields	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	
to be cleared adjact.	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	to be cleared 1801-2
	<hr/>	
	100	

OVERSEERS. LABORERS. TENANTS

No. 3. Oatfield	40	
The Tuft	17¾	
Highfield	40	to be cleared 1802-3
adjact. to be cleared	2½	
	<hr/>	
	100	
No. 4. Franklin field	45	
Poggio	32	to be cleared 1804-5
to be cleared adjact.	23	
	<hr/>	
	100	
No. 5. Longfield	40	
Park	20	
Slatefield	40	
	<hr/>	
	100	

The order in which they are to be tended

	1806 1801	1807 1802	1808 1803	1809 1804	1805
No. 1. Indian		corn	wheat	clover	peas
2. Milton	peas	wheat	corn	wheat	clover
3. Tufton	clover	peas	wheat	corn	wheat
4. Poggio	wheat	clover	peas	wheat	corn
5. Meadow	corn	wheat	clover	peas	wheat

(MHi)

Alexander's Lease for Shadwell

Alear [*Alexander*]

takes upon lease the whole of the 8. fields at Shadwell of 40. acres each heretofore laid off & leased with so much of Lego, as he shall prepare & inclose for culture between Shadwell & the lands part thereof leased to J. W. E. In considn of the lands being out of order & scarcely inclosed
the 1st. year he pays no rent;
the 2d. year he pays rent for only half of Shadwell.
the 3d. year he pays rent for all Shadwell.
the 4th. for all Shadwell & so much of Lego as he shall have prepared & inclosed all at 1. D. pr. acre.
at Lego he may clear 8. as. annually where both parties shall agree,

paying no rent for it the 1st. year, but 1. D. an acre every year after. he covenants during his term to have all the leased lands well inclosed & so to leave them at the end of his term.

lease to commence 1805. & end to continue 10. y.

rotation to begin on putting in 3d. crop.

(MHi)

This indenture made on the day of 1806. between Thomas Jefferson of Albemarle on the one part & Eli Alexander now of the same county on the other part witnesseth, that whereas the sd Thomas & Eli did on the 21st. day of July 1805. enter into articles of agreement for the lease of certain lands in the same county of the sd Thomas to the sd Eli of the contents & description therein stated, on the rents, & other conditions & stipulations & during the term also therein specified, which articles are hereto annexed, and are declared to make a part of this deed. Now these presents witness that the sd Thomas for the considerations in the sd articles expressed does hereby lease the sd lands to the sd Eli his exrs & administrators; to have & to hold the same from the 1st. day of December in the year 1805. last past for & during the term of seven years thence next ensuing yielding & paying for the same to the said Thomas & his heirs the rents in the sd articles reserved, to be paid in the gold or silver coin of the United States at the terms therein agreed on, with a power to the sd Thomas of distraining for the same or any part thereof whensoever it shall be due & unpaid: and if it shall happen that the said yearly rent, or any part thereof shall be unpaid for the space of one whole year after it is due, then it shall be lawful for the sd Thomas or his heirs into the premisses to reenter, & the same to have again, repossess and enjoy as of his former estate. and the sd Eli doth covenant with the said Thomas that he will yearly & every year during the term hereby granted, pay to the sd Thomas the said yearly rents so agreed on & reserved on the days limited for paiment thereof; & that he will pay all taxes, levies & assessments laid or to be laid on the said lands demised by public authority, & which shall become due for the same during the sd term. and it is covenanted between the sd Thomas & Eli, that if it shall happen that the value of the gold or silver coin of the US or the quantity of the precious metals in them which shall constitute the Dollar be increased or diminished during the sd term, or any other thing be made a lawful tender, except the sd coins, & at the rates now by law established, neither party shall take advantage, or suffer loss by such change, but that the said

rent may & shall be paid & recieved still in the same coins, & at the same rates as now by law established; each party expressly renouncing for himself the benefit of any law which may be made to authorize such paiment or demand in such substituted money, or money of substituted value.

And the said Eli doth covenant with the said Thomas that he will keep the houses built or to be built on the premisses in repair except against the decays of time & except against fire where the same shall not have happened through gross negligence or wilful design: that after the harvest of 1807 no one of the fields demised shall be put into Indian corn more than once in any term of five successive years during the lease, that each of the sd fields shall rest from culture (except in clover or peas) two years during every term of five successive years, neither of which shall be next after a year of Indian corn; that he will during the term permit to the sd Thomas & to all persons having occasion of communication with him or his possessions at Monticello free & reasonable use of the gates & roads on the premises serving as communications between the said possessions or with the public roads. and especially of the road passing between fields heretofore called Westfield & Southfield & through the Yard to the public road. And it is agreed between the sd parties that the sd Eli, his exrs or admrs shall not have power to assign this lease or any part of it to any person without the consent of the sd Thomas; and renewing, as they do hereby renew all the covenants in the said Articles of agreement contained and not repeated or expressed in these presents, & making the same as they do hereby make them a part of these presents, they do mutually covenant that all the obligations, burthens & benefits herein, or therein stipulated in their own names shall be binding on & result to their respective heirs, exrs & admrs, in like manner as if they had been specially named in every several covenant. In witness whereof the said parties have hereto set their hands and seals on the day and year first abovementioned.

Signed, sealed & delivered in
presence of
(MHi)

To Eli Alexander

Monticello Apr. 17. 09.

Being much pressed by mr Higginbotham for a debt I owe him, and towards the discharge of which I promised him my rents, I paid over to him immediately the 200. D. you paid me the other

day, & must solicit the paiment of the balance of rent due since the 1st. day of December last. this I trust the sale of your crop of wheat will have enabled you to do, and that the request will be deemed justified not only by my own necessities, but by the consideration that rent is the first money which ought to be paid out of the proceeds of the land. . . . (MHi)

To Eli Alexander

Monticello Dec. 22. 09.

When I met with you on Lego the other day I had not been on the lands before for 9. years, and was not from recollection of the ground perfectly possessed of the questions between us. I have since rode over them again & again with care. it will appear to any person on view of the ground, 1. that you have not *cleared* an acre; the distinction between clearing & belting being too familiar to every one to be confounded. 2. that you have not *inclosed* an acre; the suffering the dividing fence between Shadwell & Lego to go down, & instead of it the running another diagonally through Lego, no more incloses these grounds than they were before between the Shadwell fence & Pantops fence. 3. I cannot admit that I ever gave consent to clear in the center of the Lego tract, & thereby, for a very pettyfogging portion of rent render the whole tract useless to myself. I do not remember the conversation in which you suppose I gave the consent, nor the particular terms of description you used as to the lands you wished to clear; but I remember we had a conversation & that I understood the lands to be such as the lease contemplated, *adjacent to Shadwell*, and on riding to the ground I see the very lands on the Shadwell line, which were intended in the lease, are still uncleared. I observe too that you have cultivated, probably every year, a considerable portion of lands on the Shadwell tract which were not leased to you. the lease there was expressly confined to the 8. fields of 320. acres.

For the sake of concord I will make this proposition, that you will retire within the original *words & intention* of the lease, to wit, the 8. fields of 40. acres each on Shadwell with a liberty to *clear* on the part of Lego *adjoining to Shadwell* (which are the very words of the lease) 10. acres a year *to be fixed adjacent to the former clearings* by agreement between the parties, (which are also the words of the lease.)

For my part I will agree that you may take the crop of wheat you have sowed this year on the belted lands, & will release you from the claims of rent for the lands you have belted or cleared up

at Lego, or cultivated on Shadwell outside of the 8. fields, which lands on the outside were not leased to you. these claims of rent would be of 10/ an acre for all the lands of Shadwell which you have cultivated outside of the 8. fields, & for every year they have been cultivated, this being the rent agreed on for the 8. fields, to wit 5. D. for 3. years culture. also a Dollar an acre for the year 1809 for all you have belted or cleared on Lego. this might indeed be extended to the whole you say you have *inclosed*, whether cleared or not; the very words of the lease saying that for the 4th. & succeeding years you shall pay *1. D. for every acre which you shall INCLOSE on Lego* between Shadwell & Hickman's branch. in this way, for the trouble of belting certain lands & cleaning up others and making a fence through Lego instead of keeping up the one on the Shadwell line as ought to have been done, you will have the crops of tobacco, corn & small grain you have taken off of them, a release of several years rents for the lands of Shadwell cultivated without permission of the lease, and of the trespass thereby committed.

Should this proposition not be accepted, that I propose reference to Arbitrators, without delay, who shall go & decide on a view of the grounds, and for this purpose I will concur with you in meeting the appointment. . . . (MHi)

[Jan. 1. 1810.]

Mr. Craven by the lease to him is bound to sow 50. acres of clover the last year of it.

2. fields of 100. as. each in wheat, one of them on fallow the other after corn. the particular fields to be sown result from the rotation stipulated, if that has been faithfully observed.

he is to return

horses of the value of	£ 91-
cattle	124-10
hogs	7-6
carts, ploughs & utensils	31-14

Pork 1500. lb

Corn 245. barrels

Tops. stacks of 70½ feet running measure & ordinary height
a house body full 20. f. square 9. f. high.

blades. the roof of the same house full
a middle sized stack of do.

Straw. from 350 bushels of wheat. (mr Craven has given his whole straw on the condition of our putting it up; which is an execution of this article.)

Shucks. 4. railed pens 10. f. square 6 f. high
The valuers Kemp Catlet & D. Higginbotham.
day of delivery Jan. 1. 1810.

(MHi)

To Eli Alexander

Monticello Jan. 17. 10.

When I saw you at court I requested you would not meddle with any grounds without the 8. fields of Shadwell till we should settle our difference as to Lego. yet in my ride to-day I percieve you have ploughed a considerable piece of ground outside of those fields. if we cannot settle this question between ourselves, or by disinterested neighbors, I shall not decline the umpirage of the law, although an amicable one would be more acceptable. indeed it would be very contrary to my wishes that force should be introduced between you & me, yet I must say that I will not let my property be taken without any consent on my part. I must therefore declare that if you enter on the tract of Lego for the purpose of cultivation before we settle our question, I shall consider it as an act of force, and will meet it with force. in the meantime I am ready at any moment to settle it. . . . (MHi)

From Eli Alexander

Shadwell Feby 6th. 1810

Yesterday at Monticello, I omitted to Consult you with respect to a pease of ground which I wish to Clear at Shadwell, of about two or three acres, for the purpose of fire wood and rails. there is very little timber on it owing in part to the waggs men Committing depredations when encamping at the place, as also rails taken from it at different times to repair the fencing burnt by them. the ground lyes between the public Road and the deviding fence between Shadwell and Mr. Randolph amediately opposite to a pease of ground which Mr. R. cleard last winter. adjoining to the said fence. the spot of ground is one half of it all most clear as to timber. I think from its situation a proper place to be cleard. as I am in amediate wont of rails for the lower end of the plantation, I must there fore put the cutters to giting them, as the weather is such that we can do but little else. please say to boy whither it meets your approbation. . . . (MHi)

To Eli Alexander

Monticello Feb. 7. 10.

Our lease withheld the right of clearing within the limits of

Shadwell for a reason well considered, that there is not now as much woodland on the tract as will maintain it in fences and firewood. it gives a right to cut rails & firewood leaving the smaller growth to supply it's place in time, and being it's only chance of supply renders it indispensable that that should be left, and the clearings no where extended beyond the limits of the eight fields. I observed on the Chapel branch along the public road side a number of large trees which had been felled, & left, sufficient to furnish much firewood. should you wish to clear this year for tobacco & can find proper ground on Lego adjoining to Shadwell I will at any time ride over for the purpose of agreeing with you on the place, on a view of it. . . . (MHi)

To Eli Alexander

Monticello Feb. 12. 10.

Mr. Randolph will ride with you any day you please to the lands on Lego, & confer on the accomodation you propose. any thing which he thinks I might agree to without too much injury, I shall willingly agree to.

In order to furnish you with proper evidence of the grounds which on Saturday last I agreed you should clear, I observe that the opening of the Upperfield over the road at Shadwell has been extended across the Shadwell line Northwardly into Lego, in a long, narrow and crooked opening, following chiefly the side of the hill on the West side of the Shadwell branch. it is on the West side of this opening, contiguous to it, and abreast all along the further part of the opening that you proposed & I have consented to your making a clearing this year. . . . (MHi)

To Eli Alexander

Monticello Feb. 20. 10.

Mr. Randolph has communicated to me your propositions of compromise which he committed to writing from memory. to some of them I accede, to some I cannot.

1. I consent to your retaining the open grounds between Shadwell & the road you described for 2. years.

2. to your having the crop of wheat you have sown in the belted lands.

3. to your tending in tobo this year the other belted lands which were in tobo. last year.

But 1. to sow wheat in the belted lands last mentioned after taking a crop of tobo. from them this year is totally inadmissible.

2. I do not agree to your planting corn, your last year, out of course, in the ground between the public road & the Culpeper & Shadwell branches & in a portion East of the Shadwell branch, & returning them to me in this exhausted state.

3. you propose that you should pay no more rent than 320. D. from the beginning of 1810. meaning, I suppose, for Shadwell. to which I answer, that you will pay me that rent for the 8. fields, & if I should consent to your cultivating any parts of Shadwell in addition, you must pay rent in addition. . . . (MHi)

[N.D.] [1810]

The points on which Th: Jefferson insists with mr Alexander are the following, & he will, opposite to each, quote the very words of the lease.

WORDS OF THE LEASE

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1st. that the <i>part</i> of his tract of Lego leased to mr A. was <i>adjoining</i> to Shadwell | 'that the sd Eli shall have on lease etc. a <i>part</i> of his tract of land, called Lego, <i>adjoining to Shadwell</i> .' |
| 2. that he had a right to clear but 10. acres in the whole, & these were to be <i>new</i> lands. | 'that the sd Eli shall be free, if he chooses, to clear 10. <i>acres</i> of <i>new</i> lands in the tract called Lego' |
| 3. that the places of clearing were to be <i>adjacent</i> to the <i>former clearings</i> as well as to Shadwell | 'the places of clearing being to be fixed <i>adjacent</i> to the former clearings' |
| 4. that they were to be fixed by <i>agreement</i> between us. | 'by <i>agreement</i> between the said parties' |
| 5. that he was to have no right to any but what he had <i>cleared, cleaned & inclosed</i> . | 'that for the 4th. year he shall pay 1. D. an acre for every acre which he shall have <i>inclosed</i> on the tract called Lego etc. at the same rate for every year after during the lease.' |
| | 'and that the lands to be <i>inclosed</i> at Lego shall after the 1st. year of that <i>inclosure</i> pass thro' the same rotation, each year's <i>clearing, cleaning</i> and <i>inclosure</i> being to be considered as one field.' |

It is evident therefore from the very words of the lease, & these are found in every part of the instrument so as to shew the sense through the whole, that the *part* of Lego leased to mr Alexander was

to be *new* lands only;
not exceeding ten acres;
to be *adjoining* to Shadwell,
and *adjacent* to former clearings;

to be fixed by *agreement*;

to be *cleared, cleaned, & inclosed*,

& each year's clearing, cleaning & inclosure was to be considered. one field

to pay 1 D. pr. acre rent, & go through the rotation prescribed.

Now it is insisted that Mr. A. has not *cleared, cleaned & inclosed* one acre and more particularly not an acre within the above descriptions.

the difference between *clearing* and *belting* of lands is too familiar in common use, & too well understood, to be confounded together by any body. what other terms could have been used, but those of to *clear*, & to *clean* up, if the parties meant that the timber should be cut down & cleaned up? mr Alexander has *belted* some new lands, two or three times more than the 10. as. allowed him: and in the center of Lego, instead of being *adjacent* to Shadwell. he has cleaned up some briery lands; but these were *old lands* which he had no right to enter on.

he has not *inclosed* one acre. there was a fence run through Lego from the river to the road, by mr Lilly, and there was a fence along the public road across the whole tract. these remain as they were, except as decayed by time, & except also that mr A. has moved the former one so as to throw the lands he belted on the Shadwell side. he has made no inclosure on the river. he has, without leave, run a fence across the lands of Shadwell not leased to him, down to the river, so as to make a stoppage. but the grounds he claims on Lego are entirely open to the stock from the opposite side of the river, & from above & below, swimming around his stoppages. and now that I must remove both the stoppages to make a mill-path for my Lego farm, the grounds will be entirely open. but the fences made by Lilly, & the river by the creator, are they inclosures made by mr A? can it be said, in the words of the lease 'that *he* has inclosed'?

I further deny that one foot of the belted lands has been fixed on by any consent or agreement of mine. mr Alexander quotes his own memory in the affirmative & I mine in the negative. the affirmative then must be proved.

Under the permission to clear 10. acres, mr Alexander claims a right to clear 10. acres annually. so were I to give him a bond for the £100. he might call on me to pay him £100. annually & forever.

Mr. Alexander lays much stress on the words '*between Shadwell & Hickman's branch*' in this article of the lease 'and that for the 4th. year he shall pay in addition at the rate of 1. D. an acre for

every acre which he shall have inclosed on the tract called Lego between Shadwell & Hickman's branch' &c. certainly it was one part of the description of the lands on Lego leased to him, that they were to be between Shadwell & Hickman's branch: that South of Hickman's branch being leased to mr Eppes, but is this the only circumstance by which they are described? were they not also to be adjoining Shadwell, adjacent to the former clearings, where it should be agreed between him & me &c. is he to separate one single circumstance of description, disregard all the others, and make this a lease to him of all the lands between Shadwell & Hickman's branch, which are two thirds of the whole tract? and claim 600. acres under a lease of 10. acres? certainly every agreement is to be construed as that every expression in it may have some effect, & all be construed together. the *10. acres* leased to him were to be *on Lego, between Shadwell & Hickman's branch, adjoining to Shadwell, adjacent to former clearings, where he & I should agree, to be new lands to be cleared, cleaned up & inclosed* by him. all these are expressions of the instrument, all make parts of the description, and the lands leased to him must agree with all the terms of the description. we are not to separate one feature of the description, and go against all the rest.

The conditions of my lease to Craven are established as to this lease so far as they respect lands, & so far also as they are not altered specially by this lease. it may properly therefore be referred to in explanation of any doubtful expressions in this. it particularly shews that nothing but the fields in cultivation, as included within their fixed metes and bounds, was leased. that as to whatever was outside of these bounds, the lessee had no right but to get fencing & firewood and range for his stock in the uninclosed woodlands. in no lease did I ever allow a tenant any other right outside of his fields, for which alone he paid the taxes, as I did for all the residue of the lands retained by myself.

The questions which will occur to the consideration of the arbitrators in making up their judgment in this case will be
What are the circumstances necessary to entitle mr Alexander to occupy any lands at Lego?

Must they not be *new* lands?

adjoining to Shadwell?

adjacent to the former clearings?

cleared & cleaned up, not belted?

inclosed by him?

fixed on by *agreement* with Th. J: as to the places

of clearing? and according to the decision of the arbitrators, they are requested to state specifically the parcels of land on Lego, if any, which, by all these titles, or by such as they think essential, mr Alexander has required a right to occupy. (MHi)

To William D. Meriwether & Martin Dawson

Monticello Mar. 7. 10.

A difference of opinion having arisen between the subscribers as to the construction of the words of a lease we wish to settle it amicably by a reference to persons in whose judgment & impartiality we have unqualified confidence. it is of yourselves we ask the favor to become our arbitrators, and to your reward we agree mutually to submit. we are sorry to add that the question cannot be understood or decided but on a view of the ground. can you then make it convenient to meet us at Shadwell at 10. oclock tomorrow morning? it may take perhaps two hours to ride over the ground, after which you can take the papers and decide at your convenience. the advance of the season, & the grounds being to be put into culture by the one or the other party has obliged us to propose so short a day. your favor herein will greatly oblige Gentlemen

Your most obedient servants

Th: Jefferson

Eli Alexander

(MHi)

From W. D. Meriwether

March 7th 1810

Agreeable to your request I will attend with Mr. Dawson at Shadwell tomorrow morning at ten oclock, if the day should be fit to turn out. and if it should be a bad day I will attend the day after. (MHi)

From W. D. Meriwether & Martin Dawson

March 8th 1810

We William D. Meriwether and Martin Dawson, Mutually Chosen as Referees by Thomas Jefferson and Eli Alexander for the purpose of awarding, if at all how fair the Articles of Agreement entered into Between the said Jefferson & Alexander on the 21st. day of July one Thousand Eight Hundred and five Conveys to the Said Alexander as tenant the Lands belonging to the Said Jefferson laying Between the Shadwell tract lots, forth in Said Article of agreement and Hickmans Branch. we are of opinion that the Said

Alexander hath the Rights of Cleaning up and tending *all* the Lands belonging to the Said Jefferson Between the Shadwell tract and Said Hickmans branch, that hath been once Cleared and tended paying one Dollar p. Acre Per year after the first crop that is made on the part so cleared up—we are of opinion that the Said Alexander hath the right under said Agreement to clear only ten Acres of new Land during his occupancy, Between the Said Shadwell Land and Said Hickmans branch on the tract called in Said Agreements Lego—which ten Acres is Already cleared and more. Given under our hand March 8th. 1810.

W. D. Meriwether

M. Dawson

(MHi)

To Eli Alexander

Monticello May 27. 10.

Having been obliged to purchase corn this year to the amount of 1200. D. and great engagements on that account becoming due at our next court & from thence to the 1st. of July, I had otherwise arranged with mr Higginbotham to whom your last year's rent had been destined, so as to avoid myself of it for these pressing calls and I counted on the receipt of it not only from the advanced season of the year, but on a knolege that you had disposed of a sufficiency of your crop, and it is certainly understood among all men that rent is the first debt to be paid out of the produce of the land. I sent mr Bacon to you to inform you of my necessities for our ensuing court & with 110. D. in part he brought me a very unsatisfactory answer as to the balance that it was *impossible* for you to pay it then, or to fix any definite time. I can only answer this by declaring another impossibility to wit, that I cannot do without it beyond that term, or so many days after it as I can persuade my corn creditors to give you. my engagements to them are fixed, & tho' under any circumstances which would admit delay, I should be very unwilling to take any measure which should injure your credit, yet the preservation of my own is a superior consideration. corn is always a ready money article. it was delivered me on a short credit from a confidence in my word. this I cannot sacrifice for any considerations, & therefore am obliged to say in peremptory terms that I cannot admit of a longer delay than above mentioned. I hope then that you will take effectual measures to relieve me from the difficulties I am under, and from the painful necessity of further requisition. in this confidence I assure you of

my earnest desire to avoid it, & of my best wishes to yourself.
(MHi)

[January 1, 1818.]

Memmo of an agreement between Thos. Jefferson & Thos. J. Randolph for the lease of the Tufton & Lego plantations of the sd Th: Jefferson with all the negroes, stock and utensils upon them.

The lease is to continue five years. the negroes are to be maintained, clothed and their taxes and levies paid by the lessee, the land taxes by the lessor.

The lessee is not to be restricted in the cultivation of the land, it being understood that he shall cultivate it as he does his own, giving it the same advantages from manure, clover & plaister.

He is not to permit any person to be concerned in the cultivation of the land, as subtenant, partner or otherwise, nor hire out any of the negroes.

The utensils & stock (horses excepted) shall be inventoried as delivered to the lessee, and shall be returned at the end of the lease in number & kind, & in such condition as they shall happen to be, without particular valuation. the horse to be valued, and equal value to be returned at the end of the lease. and an equal quantity of the fall grains to be left sowed as is recieved, and of each equal in kind.

The remainder of the corn made in 1817. after taking out two hundred & sixty barrels, the rye, seed oats, two thirds of the blade fodder, all the tops, shucks &c. to be left for the use of the places, of which, at the end of the lease, the lessee is to return equal quantities. of the pork fattened at the commencement of the lease 3500. lb is to be left for the use of the places, & an equal quantity returned at the end of the lease.

The lessor is to furnish barrels for his rent flour, recieving the offal of the flour as an equivalent. The lessee is to pay to the lessor an annual rent of 350. barrels of flour, in the usual proportion of fine & superfine, 260. barrels of corn, 4000. lb of pork, 20,000 lb of hay or fodder, 300. bushels of oats, 70. bushels of potatoes, 20. bushels of turneps, 30. lambs, 6 beeves fatted, fresh butter as has been usually had from the plantations for daily use, straw for litter for the stable, & for cutting as food for the horse.

This lease began on the 1st. day of January last, and is signed by the parties this day of 1818.

Th: Jefferson

Th: J. Randolph

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

A list of the negroes delivered & included in the lease, & the stock and utensils:

at Tufton		at Lego		at Tufton
Bagwell		Bartlett		1. work horse 10. y. old 4f-9I.
Minerva		Charles		one eye
Willis. born	1806	Davy Bedford		1. do. 11. y. old 4 f 11 I. high.
Archy	08.	Eve		1. do. 12. y. old. 4 f. 10. I. high
Jordan	11.	Joshua born 1806.		1. do. 13. y. old 4 f. 10. I. one
Ben		Burwell	09.	eye
Lilly		Evelina		2 middle sized mules. 4 f. 4. I.
Lucy	11.	James Bedford		1. very small do. deformed.
Dick Bedford		Rachael		8. work oxen, small, with yokes
Dick Ned's		Joe	01	7. cows.
Abram		Lanea	05	3. heifers 3. y. old
Esther		Gloster	07	3. steers 3. y. old
Lindsay	13.	Washington	10	1. heifer 1. y. old
Sucky		Edmund	13	11. calves of last spring.
Isaiah	1800.	Lindsay	16	42. ewes. none old
Jerry jr.	.02	Lucy		7. breeding sows
John Bedford		Robin	05.	44. sucking pigs.
Virginia		Sandy	07	14 shoats.
Robert	11	Molly	14	2. ox carts & chain
Amanda	15.	Melinda	16.	1. horse cart
Maria		Milly	97.	5. large & 7. small ploughs much
Marshal	14	Sandy	13.	worn
Martin	16	Moses Bedford		7. pr plough gear.
Mary Bagwell's		Nanny. Bagwell's 1800		3. pr wedges
Washington	05.	Robert		9. poll axes
Nancy		Scilla		9. mattocks
Ned jr.		Jamy	11	13. hilling hoes
Philip		Miles	16	2. stake hoes, for post fences
Rachael		Solomon		5. coulter
Eliza	05.			2. large iron toothed harrows
Ellen	08.			
31		29		

At Lego

1. work horse 10. y. old 4f-10I.
one eye
1. do. 15. y. old 4. f 8. I. one eye
1. small mule
1. mule colt. 6. months old.
4. work oxen small
2. cows
3. heifers 3. y. old
1. steer 3. y. old.
4. yearlings & 1. bull.
19. sheep

6. breeding sows.
32. shoats
6. poll axes
2. mauling axes
3. mattocks
8. hilling hoes
4. large & 5. small ploughs
3. coulter
6. pr plough gear
1. lock chain
1. stretch chain

PROVISIONS

2. pr wedges	1. reap hook
4. scythe blades & cradles	1. stake hoe for post fence.
2. grass blades	1. half bushel & 1. peck measure
1. large iron toothed harrow	1. frow
1. ox cart	10. bags
1. wheat fan.	1. clover seed box

(MHi)

Provisions

JEFFERSON’S plantations were not wholly self-supporting. He was often compelled to purchase provisions of all kinds from merchants and from his neighbors. This was especially true in those years when droughts or other disasters cut short the corn and the wheat crops, or ruined the pasture lands for cattle and sheep grazing, thereby reducing the meat supply.

Meal, flour, molasses, fish, pork, and probably field peas were the staple provisions for Jefferson’s laborers and workmen. Beef was doled out at certain times. When in season, they ate snaps and cymilins. Flour was a delicacy to them, as Jefferson mentions in the *Farm Book* that “the laborers prefer receiving 1. peck of flour to 1½ peck of Indian meal.” In the bread list for 1817, in the *Farm Book*, a woman suckling a child was given 1¼ peck of flour, a man having neither wife nor mother was given 1¼, and all others were given a peck. In a memorandum to Jeremiah Goodman, overseer at Poplar Forest, he writes on September 8, 1813, that “the people have asked for a little flour for their labors in harvest. give half a peck to each person.” Fish were bought every year and issued to the laborers.

It is not known whether coffee to drink or spices for seasoning were given the laborers. They did, however, receive a fixed amount of salt. In the same memorandum mentioned above, Jefferson tells Mr. Goodman to “let the people have hereafter a fixed allowance of salt; to wit, give to their breadmaker a pint a month for each grown negro to put into their bread; and give besides to each grown negro a pint a month for their snaps, cymilins & other uses. this will be a quart a month for every grown negro.”

Jefferson’s household, in addition to the staple provisions, was supplied with ham, beef, veal, lamb, guinea fowl, chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys. Wheat bread instead of corn was the chief

bread, and there was an abundance and a variety of vegetables. Coffee and tea, as well as wines, were drunk. Desserts or cheeses often finished off the meal.

See "Corn," "Wheat," "Pork," "Negroes," and "Slaves," in the *Garden Book*.

From George Jefferson

Richmond 1st. June 1801.

We have at length heard from the person in Smithfield (Mr. George Purdie) of whom enquiry was made some time ago respecting hams. Mr. P. is a person remarkable for curing good bacon. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington Feb. 8. 1803.

. . . be pleased also to send these by the first *safe boatman* a hogshead of molasses. I say *safe boatman* because nothing is so liable to adulteration by them as molasses. the wine should also be confided to trustworthy hands. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington Feb 11. 05.

. . . will you be so good as to send to Monticello a hogshead of best molasses but in a double case in sound & good condition or it will be no better than a hogshead of water when it arrives there. . . . (MHi)

To Jeremiah A. Goodman

Monticello Dec. 10. 14.

I now send James with a small cart and 2. mules for the salt, which I am in hopes you have had packed in *strong* barrels, or such as can be well strengthened. I do not think he can bring more than 10. bushels, which with their barrels will weigh 700. lb. the rest of the salt (5. bushels) and the butter must come by the waggon at Christmas. . . . it will be well for you to accompany James to Lynchburg & see the salt put on board. he may rest a day at Poplar Forest. . . . (DLC)

FISH

FISH and pork were the important meats for Jefferson's slaves and workmen, and fish varied the diet from pork and beef for Jefferson's own family. Fresh fish, caught from the Rivanna River and from the neighboring fish ponds, no doubt, furnished a supply of

PROVISIONS

this food for the summer months. One can easily imagine the banks of the river lined with slaves, after work was done—and maybe before it was done—catching a mess of fish. But for the winter supply Jefferson bought barrels of salted fish which came chiefly from Richmond. Twelve barrels of herring and one barrel of shad were usually ordered. Six barrels of herrings were sent to Bedford County and six barrels of herring and one barrel of shad were sent to Monticello; the barrel of shad was undoubtedly for Jefferson's table.

The salted fish were rationed to the Negroes; two fish were considered a ration. Jefferson found fish much cheaper to buy than pork. He mentions in the *Farm Book* under "Labourers" that "a barrel of fish, costing 7. D. goes as far with laborers as 200. lb. of pork worth 14. D."

See "Fishes" and "Fish Ponds" in the *Garden Book*.

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Jan. 31. 96.

. . . the death of T. Pleasants of 4. mile creek, announced in the papers deranges my plan of being furnished with fish for my people: and my want of acquaintance in Richmond leaves me at a loss to whom to apply. I have been well supplied from Darmstads but the fish were previously examined by T. Pleasants. I should imagine that on being informed I would take from him every year, he would take pains to serve me well. still I should be at his mercy for price & quality & I do not know his character. if Russell deals in that article, I might trust to him for my annual supply. I must ask your advice on this subject, which your knolege of these & other traders in that article, and opportunities of conferring with them will enable you to give me. . . . (DLC)

From Account Book, 1799

June. 7. Wm. Johnson has brought up for me 17. barrels of fish wt. 3927. lb @ 3/ pr. C.

To George Jefferson

Monticello June 12. 09.

. . . our wants through the year would be about 900. to 1000 lb of sugar, brown & white, from 100 to 200 lb of coffee, about 25. lb of tea, 15 to 20 barrels of fish, besides the smaller articles of French brandy, syrup of punch, rice, barley &c. . . .

I begin with asking a supply of 50. lb of coffee. Bourbon or E. India would always be preferred, but good West India will give

satisfaction, always excepting against what is called Green coffee which we cannot use. . . . (MHi)

To Joseph Darmsdatt

Monticello July 9. 10.

I recieved last night yours of the 6th. the price for the fish is indeed very high; and discouraging; but the necessity of it is still stronger. I will therefore desire you to send me a dozen barrels, one half to Milton, the other half to Lynchburg according to my former letter. (MHi)

Thomas Jefferson Esqr.

Bought of Joseph Darmsdatt

1812

June 24	12 Barrels herrings 6¼	75.00
	1 Barrel of Shads	6.50
	Toll of 13 Barrels 7½	1.35
	Drayage of 2 Loads . . . . .	.50
		<hr/>
		\$83.35

According to your order I have sent 6 Bbs Herring to Mess Brown & Co. to Lynchburg, & shall send 6 Bbs H & 1 Bb shad to Milton by mr Randolph's Boat. . . . (MHi)

Preparation of Ground

FALLOW

UNDER "preparation of ground" Jefferson lists Fallow; Green Dressings—vetch, buckwheat, turnips; and Manure—folding, long dung, rotted dung, marl, and gypsum.

Jefferson included one or more fallows in nearly all of his schemes for crop rotations. His practice was to plant clover or some other ameliorating crop and to follow it with the main crop, such as corn or wheat. He rarely left his fields to lie fallow by growing up in weeds.

Jefferson got his idea of fallowing with clover from Dr. George Logan of Pennsylvania. He wrote to Thomas Mann Randolph from Philadelphia on July 28, 1793, ". . . He [*Logan*] thinks that the whole improvement in the modern agriculture of England consists in the substitution of red clover instead of unproductive fallow. he says that a rotation which takes in 3 years of red clover instead

PREPARATION OF GROUND

of 3. years of fallow or rest, whether successive or interspersed leaves the land much heartier at the close of the rotation; that there is no doubt of this fact, the difference being palpable. . . .”

He described his other kind of fallowing in a letter written to John Taylor, of Caroline, from Monticello on December 29, 1794, “. . . It might be thought at first view, that the interposition of these ameliorations or dressings between my crops will be too laborious, but observe that the turneps & two dressings of vetch do not cost a single ploughing. The turning in the wheat-stubble for the turneps is the fallow for the corn of the succeeding year. The 1st. sowing of vetches is on the corn (as is now practiced for wheat), and the turning it in is the flush-ploughing for the crop of potatoes & peas. The 2d. sowing of the vetch is on the wheat fallow, & the turning it in is the ploughing necessary for sowing the buckwheat. These three ameliorations, then, will cost but a harrowing each. . . .”

Arthur Young's experiments on plowing, noted by Jefferson in the *Farm Book*, do not give us information as to how widely Jefferson practiced fallowing by plowing or tilling the ground without sowing it with some crop. This method he probably used also.

See “Fallows,” “Plowing,” “Rotation of Crops,” and “Crop Rotations,” in the *Garden Book*.

GREEN DRESSINGS

VETCH

Jefferson wrote to George Washington on June 19, 1796, “. . . But the true winter vetch is what we want extremely. . . .”

Jefferson planted clover and vetch at Monticello early in the occupancy of his Little Mountain. But he did not become enthusiastic about either of them until his retirement in the 1790's. He included vetch in his rotation in 1794. It was to be planted in the fall and to be plowed under in the following spring. He planned later, when he could get it, to substitute vetch for peas and potatoes.

Jefferson received seeds of vetch from William Strickland in the fall of 1797. They were sent to Thomas Mann Randolph the following spring, with instructions not to plant them until the next autumn. Jefferson does not tell us what success he had with these seeds or how long his enthusiasm for vetch lasted. It does not appear that vetch became a permanent part of his crop rotations. Although it was an ameliorator to the soil, it certainly never replaced clover for that purpose on Jefferson's farms.

To William Strickland

Philadelphia Mar. 12. 97.

I have been long in acknowledging the receipt of your favor of May 28. 96. than I would have been but for the constant expectation of procuring the seeds you desired (one kind of which was to be sent for to Kentucky). this, the Buffalo clover, is in a packet which accompanies this letter: as also the wild-pea which you wished to receive, & I promised to send you. I have added some seeds of a plant I have never seen, but which we suppose to be a Vetch of some kind. it is known no where but at the antient settlement of Bermuda hundred & Varina. it comes up in the [*illegible*] lands, produces a most heavy crop, lives thro the winter keeping the cattle & horses which feed on it fat without any other food. and as it was the 2d settlement made in Virginia, I suspect it to have been brought from Europe & to have preserved itself there. but this is mere conjecture. it grows abundantly in mr Randolph's farm at Varina, but he had never seen it in blossom so as to decide satisfactory what it is. we propose to cultivate it this year in our orchards which suit it best as it grows well among trees & is perennial, & I send you some seeds for experiment also. the oil shrub of which mr Bartram spoke to you, grows near the medicinal springs at the foot of the Alleghaney. I have made many attempts to raise it at home both from the seed & plant, but without success. if I can ever succeed to establish the plants in my garden you shall be furnished with them. the seeds you were so kind as to deliver to mr Donald for me have never come to hand. probably they have fallen into the hands of the sea-rovers who infest the ocean, and harass in their peaceful pursuits those who are less mad & less unjust than themselves. I still retain much anxiety to get the *true winter* vetch. mr Young seems to doubt whether you possess it in England, because he has observed you have none which does not suffer greatly by the cold. our winters are more severe than yours & still more likely to injure that plant, unless it be of the hardier kind. . . . (DLC)

From William Strickland

York Aug: 16th: 1797.

The largest bag contains, what I believe to be the true winter vetch, grown in this neighborhood under my own inspection. The small bag is of Perennial Darneb grass, (*Lolium perenne*) commonly called Rye grass; the box is filled up with *Trifolium* (*arvarium*) Hop trefoil, or Hop Clover. The first I send according to

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your request; the two last merely to fill up the box with something that possibly may be useful. The ryegrass is much cultivated here; tho not a good grass it is very valuable on account of producing early herbage & hardiness; it is frequently sown among the red clover, in the manner & for the purpose that Timothy is in America; I saw an instance of its being cultivated in America where it throve greatly. The Trefoil is also much cultivated, sown with a crop of grains after the manner of red clover; and frequently mixed with Ryegrass. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Mar. 8. 98.

. . . there goes with these things a box just recieved from mr Strickland, containing a bag of *true* Winter vetch & some hop-trefoil. the vetch is not to be sowed till autumn, the hop-trefoil immediately. John may chuse a patch somewhere within his inclosure, as the object would be only to gather seed for it, if found worth attention. . . . (DLC)

From William Strickland

York July 16th: 1798.

. . . The seeds you sent me under the name of Varina Vetch & which in your last letter you inform me that Mr. Randolph apprehends to be an *Ononis* hitherto undescribed, proves to be a more valuable plant than any nodiscript would probably have turned out. in it you have what you have been so earnestly wishing for, the true winter vetch; it is the *Vicia sativa* in its wild state the parent of a numerous progeny of cultivated varieties, the mere effects of the industry of man, improving upon & diverting the course of nature to their own advantage; the Parent having become so completely naturalized to your climate as to grow spontaneously, there is no reason to suppose that the cultivated descendant will not thrive equally under your ardent sun; but should it prove otherwise there is little difference between the winter vetch, we cultivate, & the original vetch, the spontaneous product of our fields, that in my opinion he that has the last may be satisfied, as it will answer every purpose of the other. . . . (DLC)

BUCKWHEAT

It is not known to what extent Jefferson planted buckwheat on his plantations. The plant appears in several of his schemes of rotation of crops, sometimes as a by-article, and then again in the

main pattern of rotations. It was always planted as an ameliorator for the improvement of the land. The plants were allowed to reach vegetative maturity and they were then plowed under as a green dressing. He probably also grew enough to make flour for table use.

George Washington was, at first, enthusiastic over buckwheat as an ameliorator of the soil, but after experimenting with it for some time he concluded that it had drawn as much from the soil as it had given to it. One might believe that Jefferson came to the same conclusion. Buckwheat is planted rarely in Albemarle County today.

See the following pages in the *Garden Book* for further references to Jefferson's use of buckwheat: 194-195, 199, 203, 208, 218, 221-222, 246, 360, 474, 478, 641, 647.

To Nicholas H. Lewis

Philadelphia Apr. 4. 1791.

. . . On enquiry from many farmers I find that Buckwheat unless critically managed does injury to lands. they consider white clover, not too much fed, as the best improver of lands. you know how much I have at heart the preservation of my lands in general, & particularly the hill side where my orchard is, below the garden, & round the North side of the hill. I will therefore repeat my request to have as much white clover seed gathered & bought as can be, and sowed first in the orchard, & then in other places as formerly recommended. . . . (CSmH)

TURNIPS

Under "Preparation of ground," in the *Farm Book*, Jefferson lists "fallow," "green dressings," and "Manure." He classifies vetch, buckwheat, and turnips, under "green dressings." He usually planted turnips, as well as hemp and pumpkins, on new clearings of land. But in 1794 he was planning to carry out an experiment suggested to him by Judge Parker, ". . . That is, to turn in my wheat stubble the instant the grain is off, and sow turneps to be fed out by sheep. But whether this will answer in our fields which are harrassed, I do not know. We have been in the habit of sowing only our freshest lands in turneps, hence a presumption that wearied lands will not bring them. But Young's making turneps to be fed on by sheep the basis of his improvement of poor lands, affords evidence that tho they may not bring great crops, they will bring them in a sufficient degree to improve the lands. I will try that experiment this year, as well as the one of buckwheat. . . ."

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Jefferson never included turnips in his rotation of crops, but always considered them as by-articles. They were used as food for Whites and Blacks, and were also used to feed cattle and sheep.

The following kinds of turnips were planted by Jefferson on his plantations: early, early Dutch, English, forward, Frazer's, new, Hanover, long French, lopped, rose, summer, and Swedish. See *Garden Book* for further references to turnips, in addition to the ones given below.

To Benjamin Vaughan

Monticello June 23. 19.

. . . I have to add my thanks, and to pray you to present them to mr W. O. Vaughan, not only for the seed of the Swedish turnep he was so good as to send me, but for the useful practical information which accompanied [it] as to the culture. the sowing of the ordinary turneps immediately after harvest, being the practice here, and thought to be approved by experience, I divided the seed mr Vaughan sent me, sowing one half in my garden as soon as I recieved it, and reserving the other for a later sowing. the first is up & past danger from the fly, and I have little doubt of it's preference. my own experience of the late sowing of this kind of turnep has sufficiently proved to me that it furnishes in that case no root at all, altho' much sallad in winter. . . . (DLC)

To Mr. Callis

Monticello Dec. 2. 25.

I have been informed by some of our neighbors that you have been fortunate enough to make turnips to spare & for sale. if so I shall be very glad to become a purchaser of 10. or 15. bushels. will you be so good as to let me know if you can spare that much and the price. if you have them I will send a cart in 2. or 3. days with the money, and be thankful for the supply. . . . (MHi)

MANURE

D U N G

. . . When earth is rich it bids defiance to droughts, yields in abundance, and of the best quality. . . .—*Jefferson to Martha (Jefferson) Randolph, Philadelphia, July 21, 1793.*

Jefferson used dung, marl, and gypsum or plaster, for fertilizers. Dung and gypsum were used extensively, while marle, which is a

deposit consisting of clay mixed with calcium carbonate in varying proportions, was probably used rarely, as he does not mention it except in this one place in the *Farm Book*.

Jefferson used dung in three different stages of decomposition—fresh or long dung, half putrified or short dung, and well-rotted dung. He does not state which condition of the dung he found most beneficial for his crops.

Jefferson probably used very little manure of any kind on his lands in the early days of farming at Monticello and at his other plantations. The new cleared land was plentiful and rich and brought forth abundant crops. He expressed this idea in a letter to George Washington on June 28, 1793. He wrote, “. . . Manure does not enter into this, [*a good farm*] because we can buy an acre of new land cheaper than we can manure an old acre. . . .” But later, after the soil had been robbed of its fertility by successive crops of corn and tobacco, fertilizing his soil became a necessity.

Jefferson often followed a green dressing of buckwheat with dung in his crop rotations. In a plan of crop rotation which he sent to Thomas Mann Randolph on July 28, 1793, he wrote, “. . . 3d. wheat, & after it a green dressing of buckwheat, and, in the succeeding winter put on what dung you have.” By 1798, through practice and observation, Jefferson came to the conclusion that both manure and a green dressing played a part in the fertility of the soil in crop rotations. Writing to William Strickland, of York, England, he notes, “. . . But it is well known here that a space of rest greater or less in spontaneous herbage, will restore the exhaustion of a single crop. This then is a rotation; and as it is not to be believed that spontaneous herbage is the only or best covering during rest, so we may expect that a substitute for it may be found which will yield profitable crops. Such perhaps are clover, peas, vetches, etc. A rotation then may be found, which by giving time for the slow influence of the atmosphere, will keep the soil in a constant and equal state of fertility. But the advantage of manuring, is that it will do more in one than the atmosphere would require several years to do, and consequently enables you so much the oftener to take exhausting crops from the soil, a circumstance of importance where there is more labor than land. . . .”

In a letter of December 29, 1794, to John Taylor, Jefferson conceived “. . . a moveable airy cow house, to be set up in the middle of the field which is to be dunged, & soil our cattle in that thro’ the summer as well as winter, keeping them constantly up & well littered. . . .” See “Rotation of Crops” in Notes to *Farm Book*

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for evidence that Jefferson carried out this idea of a movable cow house.

See "Dung," "Fertilizer," "Manure," "Crop Rotation," and "Rotation of Crops," in the *Garden Book*.

PLASTER

PLASTER OF PARIS, GYPSUM

. . . plaister . . . is become a principal article of our improvements, no soil profiting more from it than that of the country around this place. . . .—*Jefferson to Richard Peters, Monticello, Mar. 6, 1816*

Although plaster was introduced into Virginia as a soil dressing as early as 1784, and notwithstanding the fact that Jefferson undoubtedly knew something of its advantages to soils, he did not become enthusiastic about its use until after John A. Binns published in 1803 his "Treatise on practical farming." Mr. Binns began the use of plaster as a soil dressing on his farm in Loudoun County, Virginia, in 1784. He tested its value on different kinds of soil, and its effect on various kinds of crops: corn, clover, wheat, rye, barley, and other grains. In 1803, after experimenting with the benefits of plaster for nineteen years, he published his "Treatise." In this book he brought out the fact that "gypsum, clover, and deep plowing," were the backbone of his success in farming in Loudoun County. This became known as the "Loudoun System" and was practiced widely in Virginia and beyond.

Jefferson, after reading Mr. Binns's book, became an eager follower of his method. He was so favorably impressed with what Mr. Binns had accomplished in Loudoun County that in 1803 he sent copies of the book to John Wayles Eppes, Thomas Mann Randolph, John Sinclair, and William Strickland, all first-rate farmers.

Jefferson was serving his first term as President when Mr. Binns's book was published. As he had leased most of his lands to tenants before taking office, it was not until after he retired from the Presidency that he began to use plaster on his lands. On February 8, 1810, he ordered six tons of it from John Hollins, of Baltimore, and says that "we find plaister as beneficial to our lands as perhaps to any whatever." From year to year Jefferson ordered many tons of plaster and as late as April 10, 1826, he received

notice from Bernard Peyton that he was sending one-half ton to him.

Jefferson bought the plaster in lumps and crushed and ground it into powder in his mills. He also ground plaster for the farmers in the neighborhood, charging a toll of one-eighth, but his using the same millstones for grinding plaster that he used for grinding grain became so objectionable to many farmers that he gave up the practice, thereafter grinding only for his own use. In Bedford County he had either to buy the plaster already ground or to pay a mill in the neighborhood to grind it for him.

Jefferson had plans for building a mill on the opposite side of the river from Shadwell Mills, for the sole purpose of grinding plaster for toll. He also began digging a canal to carry water from the river to this mill. It is doubtful that he completed either project.

The following letters and memoranda and those under "Plaster" in the *Garden Book* give what is known about Jefferson's use of this fertilizer.

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington June 14. 1803.

. . . I inclose you a copy of Binns's pamphlet on Plaister of Paris.
. . . (DLC)

To William Strickland

Washington June 30. 1803.

. . . knowing your love of agriculture and your skill in it, I could not pretermitt the occasion of sending you the inclosed pamphlet on the use of Gypsum by a mr Binns, a plain farmer, who understands handling the plough better than his pen. he is certainly somewhat enthusiastical in the use of this manure: but he has right to be so. the result of his husbandry proves his confidence in it well founded, for being poor it has made him rich; the county of Loudon too in which he lives exhausted & wasted by bad husbandry has from his example become into the most productive one in the state of Virga, and it's lands from being the lowest sell at the highest price. these facts speak more strongly for his pamphlet than a better arrangement & more polished phrases would have done. were I now a farmer I should surely adopt the Gypsum. but when I found myself called from home for 4. y. certain & perhaps for 8. I leased the farms in which I had begun the course of husbandry you saw, only obliging the tenant to continue the same. he does so in a good degree, and I have reason to be contented with the result. . . . (DLC)

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From John Sinclair

Edinburgh [*Scotland*]

Jan. 1. 1804

. . . As to the Plaster of Paris, which Mr Binns so strongly recommends, it is singular, that whilst it proves such a source of fertility with you, it is of little avail, in any part of the British Islands, Kent alone excepted. I am thence inclined to conjecture, that its great advantage must arise from its attracting moisture from the atmosphere, of which we have in general abundance in these Kingdoms, without the intervention of that agent; and the benefit which has been found from the use of this article in Kent, (one of the driest Counties in England) tends to countenance this hypothesis. (DLC)

From Account Book, 1805

July 5. gave Thos. Davis ord. on the bank US. for 34.86 for plaister machine.

To John Hollins

Monticello Feb. 5. 1810.

. . . I am become a mere farmer devoted to it from interest & inclination. we find plaister as beneficial to our lands as perhaps to any whatever, & there is not at present one bushel to be got at Richmond, our only market for it. my necessities call for half a dozen ton, in order not to disappoint my expectations of the produce of the year, reasonable or visionary. will you be so kind as to have that quantity shipped for me by some vessel bound to Richmond, addressing it to Gibson & Jefferson, who will pay the freight. the cost I will remit myself as soon as you shall be so good as to make it known to me. as there is a great difference in the quality, you can probably get some one to chuse it who is a good judge. the advancing season obliges me to ask your kind attention to send it by the first vessel. . . . (DLC)

To Nathaniel Ellicott

Monticello Mar. 24. 11.

. . . I am desirous of erecting a mill or machine for pulverising plaister of Paris on a small scale, to be moved by water. I remember your being kind enough to shew me your mill once but I do not retain it's construction in my memory. I think it was on the principle of the powder mill, with pestles lifted by cogs inserted in a horizontal shaft, & falling by their own weight on the stone placed in a trough. was it a single trough common to all pestles or was

there a distinct trough to each pestle? what the size of the trough? the dimensions and weight of the pestle & of what material, wood or iron, made? the length of the cog inserted into the shaft to lift the pestle, & of that inserted in the handle of the pestle? at what distance is the pestle placed from the side of the shaft? how many cogs to each pestle, or in other words how many strokes does the pestle give for each revolution of the water-wheel? how near are the pestles to one another? how high are they lifted? is this pounding the only operation necessary or are there other previous or subsequent operations? some idea of the quantity pounded by each pestle in a given time, and indeed I am ignorant of every thing about it, even of the outline of the framing in which the works are contained and confined; so that the more extensive the information you will be so good as to give me, and the more minute, the greater will be the obligation, and especially adapting your advise to the small scale to which I shall confine myself. there will not be offered more than 40. or 50. tons a year for grinding. half that quantity has already destroyed an excellent pair of mill stones for me, so that I am tired of that mode. I propose to place an overshot wheel for this machine, below the water wheel (an overshot) of my mill to recieve it's water by a prolongation of the same water-trough, & to be in operation only when the mill is idle. . . . (DLC)

From Nathaniel Ellicott

Occoquan 28 March 1811

I have before me your letter of Enquiry of the 24th. As you seem to wish your manufactory of Plaster upon a small scale I am very Inclined to think that the new mode of breaking it by a Cast Iron Screw firmly fixed Immediately over the mill hopper is much more simple, and much cheaper. but if you wish (tho you say not) to go upon a large scale, I have always been of opinion that hard knocks is the best suited to breaking any kind of stone Expeditiously. But if you beat with pestles your flour cannot run while you beat with the same shaft, it Creates too much jarring upon Every consideration I would Recommend the screws upon your scale, and altho I have often seen them at work, I am not at the moment able to describe the fixtures to your satisfaction.

Oliver Evans of Philadelphia Casts and sells those screws, and will ship you one to Richmond with Directions to fix it up if you request. If I did not fully believe this mode would suit you better than the one I possess, I would with pleasure give you a minute direction of the pestle Plan, and if you should determine not to use

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the screw but to use the pestle I will do myself the pleasure of Complying with your future wishes. . . . (DLC)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello June 7. 15.

. . . I shall take timely care to procure you 6. tons of plaister which will suffice for 160. acres. in the meantime it will be well to ascertain whether any mill in the neighborhood will grind it for us. it adds immensely to the expense if we are to grind & *barrel* it before and makes transportation higher. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello July 18. 15.

. . . The toll for crushing and grinding plaister is uniformly one eighth here. I have ground for the neighborhood at my mill & always recieve that, and it is willingly paid. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Feb. 20. 16.

. . . I learn from Richmond that the Lynchburg boatmen refuse to take up plaister under 22½ D. the ton. this puts the use of it there with us out of the question for the present year: I have not bought therefore for that place. . . . (MHi)

To Richard Peters

Monticello Mar. 6. 16.

. . . we are indebted to you for much of our knolege as to the use of the plaister, which is become a principal article of our improvements, no soil profiting more from it than that of the country around this place. the return of peace will enable us now to resume it's use. . . . (DLC)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 10 Novemr. 17.

. . . I have forwarded by Mr. Johnson's Boat . . . one of your seven Tons Plaister of Paris which I procured of excellent quality delivered on the Basin at \$9. . . . (MHi)

To Craven Peyton

Monticello Mar. 15. 18.

The injury which the grinding of plaister does to the mill, and the offence it gives to our bread customers have obliged me to make it a rule to grind plaister for nobody but myself. it shall be done for you however on this occasion. but my water wheel has given

out, and we are now engaged in renewing it. this will not be completed till about a week before which time I wish your plaister to be in place, as the first thing with the new wheel will be to grind a parcel for Jefferson and myself, and it is best to make a single job of that grinding. as soon as I can finish my canal on this side of the river I intend to devote the mill I have begun there to the grinding of plaister for toll. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Eston Randolph

Ashton Friday Night 20th. March 1818.

. . . As I understand your Toll Mill is under repair, and the neighbors were in great distress to get their Plaister ground, will you suffer us to grind it. we are nearly out of business, and it will aid us a little at the close of an unprofitable season. it will otherwise go immediately to Campbell's who is making preparation for it.

Mr. Colclaser has ground quantities of Plaster, and positively asserts that it injures the Stones less than corn, other farmers experienced in the business express the same opinion, and I believe it to be fact. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Dec. 25. 19.

. . . With respect to the canal, I look to the grinding plaister as the thing which is to produce us crops and improve our lands, and that therefore we should think it a lasting compensation for shortening a particular crop somewhat. yet I would not sacrifice a crop, but divide the work. I think the canal will employ *your whole force* about a fortnight. the dam sometime in addition. give what time you can spare without too much injury, and if it does not finish it, lay it over till you have more time. work on it, for example, one week in the first instance, and see what progress that makes, and form your estimate on that. whatever you decide on for the best in your own judgment, I shall be satisfied with. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 10 Apl. 1826

The half ton Ground Plaister you order, in yours of the 6th: is this day forwarded, by a Boat, to Shadwell mills. . . . (MHi)

Plants

WHEAT AND FLOUR

WHEAT AND TOBACCO were Jefferson's money crops. He depended on them for money to pay his ever-increasing debts and to sustain his plantations in Albemarle and Bedford Counties. The money received from the sale of wheat and tobacco was never sufficient to meet the demands of his creditors so that he was constantly devising other ways to meet his debts. These new ways rarely succeeded well enough to clear him of them. Wheat gradually replaced tobacco in Albemarle County as a money crop, because the soil was better suited for its culture than it was for the culture of tobacco. In Bedford County the soil was suitable for the culture of both wheat and tobacco, but it was more suitable for tobacco. Wheat, then, became the money crop in Albemarle County, and tobacco became the money crop in Bedford County.

The sowing of wheat often began in August and continued into December, but the limits of sowing varied each year with the seasons. Practically all of Jefferson's wheat was winter-grown. The number of acres of land allotted to wheat was also a variable one. In 1795 there were 350 acres at Monticello and Shadwell sown in wheat, while in 1796 there were only 300 acres sown. Droughts, Hessian flies, smuts, and rusts were constant enemies to the abundance of the wheat crop. When these four enemies combined their destruction in one season, the crop was a total failure.

The wheat harvest usually began in the latter part of June and often continued into August. The working force consisted of cradlers, binders, reapers, stackers, and gatherers. There were also cooks and water carriers. After the wheat was cut, it was gathered and stacked around a granary. At Monticello, Jefferson, instead of building one large granary to receive all of his wheat, built several small ones, one in each of his seven fields of forty acres. The granaries consisted of two rooms, twelve feet square each, with an open passage between them. The threshing machine was next placed in the open passageway and, as the wheat was threshed, the grain and chaff together were placed in one of the rooms. The wheat remained there until winter when a wheat fan replaced the threshing machine in the passageway, and the wheat was cleaned from the chaff and thrown into the other room. Here it was stored until carried to the mill to be ground into flour.

Before 1806, when Jefferson completed his manufacturing mill

at Shadwell, his Albemarle wheat was hauled by wagons to Milton, transferred there to bateaux, and then carried to Richmond and sold. After the establishment of his manufacturing mill, his wheat was ground into flour, placed in barrels made at Monticello, and shipped by bateaux directly down the river to Richmond. Jefferson had no manufacturing mill at his plantations in Bedford County so that, if he wished to sell flour instead of wheat, it had to be ground at local mills. In either case the flour and the wheat had to be hauled eleven miles to Lynchburg and there placed on boats and carried to Richmond. Occasionally he sold his wheat and flour in Lynchburg, but since the Richmond market usually paid a higher price, he preferred that place to Lynchburg.

The number of barrels of flour produced at his mill varied from year to year, depending on the amount of wheat produced. In good years there were between five and six hundred barrels produced, while in bad years the number might fall to two hundred barrels. In addition to the flour produced from his own wheat he received quarterly, from the tenant of his mill, fifty barrels of flour as rent for the mill. This rent flour was rarely paid on time so that the collection of it became another problem added to the many that Jefferson had to solve.

The flour market was a fluctuating one. Some years the flour brought good prices, as much as \$15.00 per barrel; while in other years the price would drop to less than \$3.00 per barrel. The flour was graded by its quality as superfine, fine, middling, or unsalable. The superfine brought the highest price.

In order to distinguish the source of the flour sent to market, Jefferson used the following brands on the barrels: SHADWELL MILLS, for the rent flour; SHADWELL MILLS plus a T, for his own crop flour; and MITCHELL, or P. F., for the flour from the Bedford plantations.

Jefferson had many problems to overcome in manufacturing flour and in getting it to Richmond. He was never able to get a perfectly satisfactory tenant for his manufacturing mill. In the drought seasons and when ice was formed in the river there was not water high enough for the boats to pass and his flour would be held up for months at the Shadwell mill and at other places along the river. The occasional breakdown of machinery or a freshet might cause even greater delay and loss.

The following chronological letters and Account Book entries give an interesting picture of wheat growing and flour manufacturing, with the fluctuating prices of both, at Jefferson's planta-

tions in Albemarle and Bedford. References to wheat and flour in the *Garden Book* complete the picture.

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello July 7. 1791.

. . . the Wheat which before this is all secured, is uncommonly fine. The Wheat throughout the country is of a superior quality this year & the whole quantity produced is supposed to be at least $\frac{1}{2}$ greater than the most favorable year has ever given. $\frac{7}{8}$ Dollar is the price at present of the Wheat of the last crop in Richmond. $\frac{5}{6}$ has been offered for the new. Colo. Lewis supposes that there are at least 3000 bushels here & at Shadwell. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia July 17. 1791.

. . . I am happy to hear the crop of wheat is likely to turn out well. 3000 bushels of wheat will be of double the value of tobo. made by the same hands at the same places the last year, which was a favorable year too: and when we consider that the first year of transition from one species of culture to another is subject to disadvantages, it gives favorable hopes of the change in future. it is an additional proof that 100 bushels of wheat are as easily made as 1000 lb of tobo. the last 22. hhds shipt by mr Hylton are arrived here. tobo. of the first quality in France has got to 45/9 Virginia money the hundred. . . . (DLC)

To James Maury

Philadelphia Aug. 30. 1791.

. . . The crops of wheat in America have been remarkeably fine. a drought about the time of harvest & since that, has afflicted certain parts of the country beyond anything known since the year 1755. Albemarle is among the most suffering parts. corn is there now at 20/. there have been fine rains lately which will recover the tobo. in some degree, but the corn was past recovery. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Mar. 18. 1792.

. . . I am sorry to inform you that you have lost considerably by the Weevil both in Albemarle & Bedford. I do not know exactly the damage at Poplar Forest but at this place except 500 bushels which were ground early in Autumn the wheat has been so injured as to be unfit for flour & has been purchased by Colo. Lewis for his

distillery at ½ Dollar per Bushel. In disposing of it thus you have been fortunate. I have now 816 bushels at Varina which is so injured that a person who engaged the purchase of it in September refuses to take it off my hands at any price. Instead of 297£ which I should have derived from it at the moderate rate of 5/ per bushel, I am told that when converted into *Shipstuff* or *Seconds* it may yield me 60 or 70£. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Mar. 31. 1793.

. . . private letters strengthen the idea of a civil war in England, and of a very general war through Europe. I am in hopes that the first step of France will be to open her colonies to our commerce freely. this with the situation of Europe must ensure a great price for our wheat for years to come. the present price here is 120 cents, and there being a hope that the distresses for many will begin soon to abate we may expect the sale to become very brisk. the spring sales of wheat are so much higher than those made in the fall that I think we should submit to any degree of distress to gain the advantages of the farmer. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Aug. 12. 96.

. . . Robertson informs me he has got out about 500. bushels of wheat, & supposes himself half done. he goes on with his fallows at the same time with two ploughs & thinks the fallows & wheat treading will be finished about the same time, to wit, a fortnight hence, when all his force will be turned in to seeding. our treading machine will be finished today and will get to work next week, so that by the next post I can inform you of it's success. it bids fair at present. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Jan. 9. 97.

. . . it is the general opinion here that the wheat is so much killed that it will not be worth reaping. many propose to plant tobo. in their best wheat fields. I have determined to put tobo. into my new lands that we may have something made. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Dec. 16. 1797.

. . . I have a letter from the first mercht. at Cowes informing me that in consequence of the bad weather during harvest, the quality

as well as quantity of their wheat will be low: that wheat had risen from 6/6 sterl. to 8/ & 9/ and probably would get up to 10/ sterl. the bushel: and that we may count on 8/6 at least through the whole season. you will see the extract in Bache's paper, wherein I had it inserted for the information of both the merchant and farmer, and it may not be amiss to let our neighbors of both description know that the extract is genuine, from me, & to be relied on. . . . (CSmH)

From George Jefferson

Richmond May 28th 1798.

. . . I have made enquiry respecting the price of wheat & flour as you requested, & find that flour sold in January last at 7\$: for fine, & 7½\$: for superfine. a small quantity of the latter I myself sold at that price. wheat about the same time sold as high as 7/6 for red, & 7/9 for white. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 23d. June 1799

I have made enquiry respecting the price of flour at the time you mention & find that the highest *current* price was 6½\$ for fine & 7\$ for supr. fine. . . . (MHi)

To Maria (Jefferson) Eppes

Monticello July 4. 1800.

. . . our harvest has been a very fine one. I finish today. it is the heaviest crop of wheat I ever had. . . . (ViU)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 13th June 1808

I have lately received from Lynchburg 100 Bbls of your flour. 35 bbls of it I have sold to John F. Robertson of Manchester at 4¼\$ at 60 days. . . .

This sale I made without knowing the flour was inspected in Lynchburg. for the balance I could not obtain the same price without having it reinspected here, as that inspection is not in good repute. I preferred selling at ⅙ less to John Lesslie on the same time. (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington June 19. 08.

I yesterday sent from hence the packages noted in the inclosed bill of lading, to be forwarded up the river. the system of plunder

which our watermen carry on with respect to whatever of mine is put into their hands, and which they say is a matter of right, induces me to wish that these packages, and all others of mine hereafter may be reserved & put into the care of mr Randolph's watermen. their credit with the family, the certainty and responsibility on detection, will give a security which we can have with no others. the amount of this expense too in a year is not inconsiderable. . . .

The sale of the flour mentioned in your last letter is a matter I wish to remain between yourself & mr Griffin, to whom be so good as to render the account, and apply the money as he shall direct without it's entering into my account. . . . (MHi)

To Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

Poplar Forest Feb. 17. 11.

. . . I have sold my tobo. here for 7. Dollars: but my wheat is in an embarrassing situation. the dam of the mill in which it is has now broke a second time, and the Miller refuses to deliver my wheat back altho he had promised in that event to redeliver it. it will take another month to mend his dam, by which time the price and the river both may fail us. I propose to make another formal demand of it, & if he refuses, I may have parted with my crop for a lawsuit instead of money. besides that he is not able to pay all who are in my situation with him. I expect to obtain his final decision within a few days. . . . (MHi)

To Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

Poplar Forest Feb. 24. 11.

. . . my whole crop of wheat has been put compleatly out of my own power, and the miller who had recieved it has, by twice losing his dam, become insolvent and has delivered over his mill to a person more able to carry it on, but who will need him to repair it. I have a hope of getting possession of 1100 bushels of my wheat, out of 1400. I have promises of it. . . . (MHi)

To Skelton Jones

Monticello Mar. 4. 11.

. . . I was under the necessity of visiting, in a very inclement season, a possession I have in Bedford, near 100. miles from this, where I have continued from January till the beginning of the month, endeavoring to get my crop there prepared and sent to Richmond as early as possible. I have the prospect that in 3. or 4. weeks my flour will be ready and sent down, till which I have

no funds at my command in Richmond or elsewhere. as soon as this shall put it in my power, I shall with pleasure furnish you the accomodation you ask, should not these delays, unavoidable on my part render it too late for your purpose. being now merely a farmer, without other resource than the annual incoming of the crop of the year, like my brethren in that line, I have the command of money but at that season accompanied too with the accumulated calls of the year for it's application. . . . (DLC)

From Gibson & Jefferson

Richmond 7th. April 1811.

. . . we received a few days since fifty six barrels of your flour all S. fine. sales were made on Monday at $9\frac{1}{2}$ \$, but in consequence of a large quantity coming down at once the price has fallen to $9\frac{1}{8}$ \$. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 9th. May 1811

. . . We have received since our last 138 Bbls of your flour, 45 of it being from Lynchburg. Although the price is $\frac{1}{2}$ \$ above your limit, it is dull at that, which has prevented our making any further sale for you. if we were to go out and force a sale on an unwilling purchaser, it could only be done at a reduced price. There are not infrequently losses sustained in this way by persons compelled to sell immediately, at $\frac{1}{4}$ \$ p. barrel. we shall lose no opportunity of disposing of yours at a fair price.

I inclose you an account of fines against Shoemaker for which he is liable to you. his flour the Inspector informs me is frequently light. His barrels are not lined, which obliges us to have it done. the law does not compel the miller to do this, but custom compels the seller: or if he does not do it, a greater deduction is frequently made in the price than it would cost. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 23d. May 1811.

Flour having become more & more unsaleable from the date of my last, I found it impracticable to effect any further sale of yours at $9\frac{1}{2}$ \$ in money, and was therefore induced to sell the whole of it (288 barrels) to Brown & Rives at that price, on a credit of 60 days, adding the bank discount. As however we were not authorized by you to make a sale on credit, we enter it to your account as if it had been actually made for cash, taking upon ourselves the risk of getting the paper discounted, as we should any

other risk, had there been any other, but in the present case you know there is not. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 20th June 1811

I inclose an acct. of the sale of 547 bbls of your flour, together with your acct current to this day . . .

You can likewise if you think proper draw for the probable amount of 54 barrels of flour received within these few days from Lynchburg, which I have not been able to sell, although very anxious to do so, both from a wish to close the sales of the whole together, and from a fear of holding it at this advanced season of the year, lest it spoil. I suppose however that it has been but lately manufactured, and will therefore be safe for a short time at any rate. At present there is no demand whatever: no one will purchase except at a price greatly under the value, sales of small parcels having been made as low as \$8.¼. . . . (MHi)

To Dr. George Callaway

Monticello Sep. 21. 11.

My wheat made at Poplar forest the last year was delivered at your mill under a contract made by yourself with mr Griffin to give me a barrel of flour warranted superfine at the Richmond inspection for every five barrels. when your milldam was carried away, I pressed for a relinquishment of the bargain, and redelivery of the wheat, making reasonable allowance for diminution of quantity. you declined doing it. when the dam was carried away a second time I pressed the same thing again, but you again refused it, & the bargain was thus doubly and trebly insisted on, on your part. the quantity delivered you was 1397 bushels, which at 5. bushels to the barrel, entitled me to recieve 279 $\frac{2}{5}$ barrels of superfine flour. I have recieved however but 232. barrels (some of which was not superfine) so that 47 $\frac{2}{5}$ barrels are still due to me. I sold what I recieved at an average of 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ Dollars in Richmond, which netted me 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ D. a barrel. this on 47 $\frac{2}{5}$ barrels amounts to 367D., 35c. Mr. Griffin informs me that on application for what is due you referred him to mr Mitchell. but be pleased to observe, Sir, that I did not make the contract with mr Mitchell, and cannot of right be turned over to him; altho' I shall willingly accept his assumst if he will give it: but this he declines. I am not without a due consideration of your misfortune in the loss of your dam, and not disposed therefore to an over rigorous adherance to all the

rights which the bargain gives me. but you must be sensible that 367D. 35c would be a greater sacrifice than could in reason be expected from a mere stranger. I have desired mr Griffin to call on you personally & ask your final answer; which I hope will be so reasonable as to relieve me from any adversary proceedings, which it would be painful for me to engage in. . . . (MHi)

From William & Reuben Mitchell

Lynchburg 25th. Sept. 1811.

Mr. Griffin call'd on us yesterday for a settlement of the crop of wheat purchased of you, but we lament to find our understanding upon the subject at variance. we thought we had been expressive, and that Mr. Griffin had understood our bargain; to give a specific price and the rise for forty days was what we never thought of or intended. Our offer, and what we supposed to have been accepted by Mr. Griffin, was for him to price at any time within the forty days, but not that he should look back at the end of forty days and make choice of the highest price. we proposed to Mr. Griffin to submit the Memo. expressive of our bargain to any Gentlemen either here or in Richmond and their construction of the matter as expressed should be decisive. . . . (MHi)

To William & Reuben Mitchell

Monticello Oct. 6. 11.

Your letter of Sep. 25. was brought me by our last post. I was certainly not aware that any question could arise on the terms of our agreement. mr Griffin had brought me your first proposition of 2/6 less than the Richmond price, which I declined, but told him that if you would give within 2/ of the Richmond price, the best which should be given within a reasonable number of days, you should have the wheat. when he returned he informed me he had sold to you on those terms allowing a space of 40. days, and within 2/ of the best price within them, and handed me your paper. I barely read it, and considered it's import to be as he explained it: and on a careful revisal of it now, it clearly bears that construction. however, no difficulty can occur where neither party desires no more than what is right. be so good as to give your note payable in Richmond on the 5th. of the next month, for the sum you consider as due, without prejudice to my ulterior right, and when I come up, which will be towards the middle or last of the ensuing month, if we cannot bring our minds to the same understanding of the agreement, let honest and disinterested men decide for us

what it really was. I have desired mr Griffin to transmit your note to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond who will receive it's contents & apply them agreeably to engagements I had entered into for the 5th. of Nov. in expectation of recieving this money then. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 8th. Decr. 1811

. . . We have some days since sold 50 Bbls of your flour at 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ \$. by the last accts from New York, some little advance in price may be expected here. You will of course give directions respecting the sale of what you may yet have to come down. . . . (MHi)

To Captain Mathew Wells

Monticello Mar. 11. 12.

Understanding from mr Randolph & others that you are disposed to undertake to carry flour from the Shadwell Mills to Richmond at half a dollar a barrel, I send the bearer with this letter to inform you that I have at those mills about 234. barrels of flour, 120. of which are now ready, about 60. will be ready by the return of the boats from the 1st. trip, and the residue not till after the 20th. of April. I shall have also 4. or 5. hhds of tobo. to be got ready as fast as the weather permits. You shall have the carriage of all this if you can take off the first 120 barrels immediately, or, if your boats are absent, then their first return home, and the rest as it will be ready. I shall further have annually about 5. or 600. barrels to carry down which, if I find punctuality I shall be willing to send by your boats. While carrying the present parcel I have no doubt you will readily get other loading from Milton if you chuse to undertake it. be pleased to write me by the bearer whether I may rely on you & on what day your boats will be here. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Apr. 12. 12.

. . . I am sorry a load of my flour has turned out so badly. the mill will have to make it up in good flour in addition to 100. barrels I am still to recieve from it and forward. it is unlucky that the embargo catches me with so much unsold. I expect however that as soon as the merchants have had time to fix on a channel of vent, it will rise again. . . . (DLC)

PLANTS

To James Madison

Monticello May 25. 1812

. . . Flour, depressed under the first panic of the embargo has been rising by degrees to 8½ D. this enables the upper country to get theirs to a good market. . . . crops of wheat are become very promising, altho' deluged with rain, of which 10. Inches fell in 10. days, and closed with a very destructive hail. . . . (DLC)

June 12. 1812

Gibson & Jefferson's acct. of the flour recd June 12. 1812

date of sale

1812. Feb. 12.	59. Barrels superfine
Mar. 25	34. x midlings
	3. struck do.
28.	59. superfine
	1. fine
June 8.	12. fine
	57. x midlings
	8. struck do.
	3. Bar. ship stuff 'on hand which they cannot
	dispose of at any price.'
	235. Bar.

in the whole

117. Bar. Superfine
13. fine
91. x midlings
11. struck do.
3. shipstuff unsaleable
235.

(DLC)

To James Madison

Monticello Aug. 5. 12.

. . . our farmers are cheerful in the expectation of a good price for wheat in autumn. their pulse will be regulated by this and not by the successes or disasters of war. to keep open sufficient markets is the very first object towards maintaining the popularity of the war which is as great at present as could be desired. we have just had a fine rain of 1¼ I. in the most critical time for our corn. the weather during the harvest was as advantageous as could be. . . . (DLC)

To Jeremiah A. Goodman

Monticello Aug. 9. 12.

Jame Hubbard delivered your letter of the 30th. some days ago and proposes to set out on his return tomorrow. I am happy to hear your crops are likely. the wheat when threshed must remain in it's chaff in the barn until we can dispose of it. with this view I should be glad if before I go up you could get from the different millers the terms on which they will grind it for me, for I have no idea of selling it there. it will be well to have permission to deliver as early as suits our convenience, to have the flour delivered to us the beginning of Octob. or as soon after as we can get boatmen to take it down, and that the flour delivered shall pass inspection at the Richmond inspection. if each will give his terms in writing, embracing these articles, or such of them as they will agree to, I can decide as soon as I come up whose terms I will prefer. . . . (DLC)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Jan. 21. 13.

. . . I am this day waggoning 120. barrels of flour (2 boat loads) to Milton to be ready at the return of the Milton boats. every boat of that place started with loads on a tide happening about the 3d. inst. and were taken in the ice before they got out of the river. we hope they were released by the thaw of 3. or 4. days ago, and by their return I hope to have a 3rd. boat load ready; and after that a boat load every ten days, that being as fast as we can prepare barrels. . . . (DLC)

To James Madison

Monticello Feb. 8. 13.

. . . that grain is got to two Dollars at Richmond. this is the true barometer of the popularity of the war. . . . (DLC)

To Samuel J. Harrison

Monticello Apr. 3. 13.

. . . I have about 450. barrels of flour in Richmond unsold. but having no doubt that the enemy will withdraw from the bay now that the equinoctial gales are over, I count on a speedy & good sale. they would certainly act against every principle of common sense or interest to remain there. for while they close the Chesapeake & Delaware not a barrel of flour can go to the W. Indies or the Peninsula. & they are starving too their favorites of Boston. New york had exported all her surplus beyond the wants of the

army so that no supplies can be had but from the Chesapeake & Delaware. . . . (MHi)

To Gibson & Jefferson

Monticello Feb. 26. 13.

By a letter of the 12th. inst. from my manager in Bedford he informed me that his first load of flour was engaged to start from Lynchburg on the 15th. inst & that the whole would be sent off the same week. there are there about 140 barrels. from this place I have at length got off 60. barrels by Johnson who will now continue steadily to carry it down till all is done. the quantity here will be a few barrels under 300. and to prevent any delay on his return I have had it deposited at Milton, so that his boat need never delay an hour. as to the sale I must leave it to your discretion. the price at present I am told is low, and will probably continue so while the enemy's squadron remains in the bay. . . . (DLC)

To John Barnes

Monticello Apr. 25. 13.

. . . I have between 4. and 500. barrels of flour caught at Richmond by the blockade, not a barrel of it sold. my hope is that the enemy will prefer withdrawing out of the capes and cruising on the coast to catch something rather than lie where they do & catch nothing. . . . (DLC)

To James Madison

Monticello Mar. 10. 14.

. . . Our agriculture presents little interesting. wheat looks badly, much having been killed by the late severe weather. corn is scarce, but it's price kept down to 3. D. by the substitute of wheat as food both for laborers and horses, costing only 3/6 to 4/. they begin to distill the old flour, getting 10. galls. of whiskey from the barrel & consequently more than we can get at Richmond for the new. tobacco is high, from it's scarcity, there having been not more than 1/3 of an ordinary crop planted the last year. this year there will probably be 2/3. . . . (DLC)

To Col. William Watts

Monticello Aug. 5. 14.

. . . having, as I informed you, desired mr Gibson to make sale of my flour in his hands (400. Bar.) for what he could get; and this I have constantly urged. by our last mail however he informs

me that he has offered it at 3¼ Dollars & cannot get that, nor at this time can it be sold for any thing. . . . (MHi)

To John Barnes

Monticello Aug. 20. 14.

Immediately on receipt of your favor of July 29. I wrote to mr Gibson desiring him to make sale of my flour for whatever he could get for it in cash. it had been laying on hand since Christmas in hopes of a rise of price. he accordingly made sale of it for 2. D. 61. c. a barrel which netted me for my wheat 48 cents a bushel. he informed me at the same time he could not sell at all for ready money, & had sold at 60. days that I might draw on him in the meantime. . . . (DLC)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Jan. 2. 16.

. . . what you mention of the boat load of 35. barrels of flour mentioned in mine of the Oct. 28. not having been delivered, is the first notice I have of that failure, and the 2d. time I have been misinformed in the same manner. the tenants of my mill are bound to deliver their rent of fifty odd barrels a quarter at Richmond, and assured me on the former occasion that 58. and on the latter that 35. barrels had actually gone from there to be delivered in Richmond on my account. it seems however that their destination had been changed by the way. my crop of flour here has been waiting a rise in the river. Gilmer is engaged to carry it down, and promises if there is not rain in a few days he will take it by half loads to Columbia & whole from there. this increases the expence of transportation. my crop here has been an indifferent one, & that in Bedford worse. should it not enable me to take my whole note out of the bank, it will furnish enough to pay up all the curtailments which the bank may require for the year. . . .

P. S. having got 800. bushels of wheat into the ground here & in Bedford and aiming at a tolerable crop of tobo. there I hope at length to get freed from the difficulties which embargoes, war, heavy taxes & short crops have kept me laboring under for the last three years. . . . (Courtesy of Mr. Lloyd Smith, Madison, N.J.)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Oct. 16. 16.

Johnson's boat, and one of mr Eston Randolph's went off yesterday afternoon with between 90 & 100 barrels of flour for me &

would haul their boats round Magruder's locks, which by unloading & reloading, they say, is practicable. Johnson on his return will take off another load for me. in Bedford as we are 11. miles from the Lynchburg mills, and our horses all engaged in putting in wheat I could direct only one boat load at present, which mr Yancey promised to have sent off without delay. this & those which went from here yesterday will be with you before the last of this month, & the other from here nearly by the same time. my desire is that so much of these may be sold at the current price as will answer my bills on you, which will be presented about the last day of this month chiefly. . . . (DLC)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 16 Jany. 1817.

I hand you inclosed acct. sales of 175 Bbls Flour net proceeds \$1571.15. with your acct Current to the 1st. Inst. Shewing Balance in my favor of \$942.57 which I trust you will find correct.

I have this day disposed of the remainder of your Flour say 93 Bbls Superfine & 9 Bbls Fine to Mr. McLeslie the Superfine at 13¾ \$ & the Fine at 13¼ \$ on 60 days credit. . . . (MHi)

To James Madison

Monticello Feb. 8. 17.

. . . apprehensions are entertained for our wheat, which looks wretchedly. but the fine autumn and month of Dec. may have enabled it to push it's roots beyond the reach of frost. the tobacco fever is over and little preparation making for that plant. . . . (DLC)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Apr. 1. 17.

. . . Mr. Yancey informs me the Bedford flour is delivered but dreadfully short of expectation in quantity. I do not understand this miscalculation of his. he writes me the tobacco was all nearly ready, and I have pressed him to send it immediately, so that it may soon be with you. we have here about 80. barrels of flour, which Johnson promises to take down at his next trip. I consider this as the best month *generally* for selling flour, & therefore wish you to dispose of it as soon as you please for the price of the day. so also of the tobacco as soon as recieved. but all this will not make both ends meet with me for the present year. the drought of the last was so disastrous that the scanty wheat crop it yielded scarcely buys the corn which it failed to yield almost entirely. unless the

bank & yourself can indulge me in one or two thousand Dollars additional for the year to come, I shall be much distressed. on this subject I can be more precise when my flour and tobacco shall all be sold, and the amount known to me. . . . (MHi)

To Archibald Robertson

Poplar Forest Apr. 25. 17.

This being the season in which the farmer recieves the fruits of his year's labor, it is that also in which he is to pay attention to his debts. no debt of mine gives me more anxiety than that to yourself, in which I have had great indulgence. two years of embargo and non-intercourse, 3 of war, and 2. of disastrous drought have successively baffled my wishes to be reducing it. the failure of our corn crop, which with myself in Albemarle was almost total, and great here also, has absorbed so much of my other produce of the last year as, with the taxes and current expences of the plantation to leave me very little indeed for antecedent debts. on a view of these, my hope is that I may perhaps be able, when all is at market and sold to pay you about 1000. D. to keep down the increasing amount until the better management under which my plantations now are, and better crops may enable me to do what I so much wish. one or two full crops would place me compleatly at ease. so far that of the present year looks well. in the course of the ensuing month my wheat and tobacco will all have been sold, and you shall then hear from me with all the effect in my power. . . . (ViU)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 1st. May 1817.

. . . 46 barrels of your flour received by Mr. Johnson 14th. Ult. were condemned as unmerchantable, having been made (so says the Inspr.) of smutted wheat, these have been sold at 11½ \$ on 60d/. Int. added. there remains yet on hand 84 bbls: fine and 53 sur. fine. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello June 23. 17.

. . . I hope all my flour is sold for whatever price it would bring. on general ground I think April the best month for selling, but never to pass over May, because of the competition of the new crop. accidental circumstances may however sometimes controul the general course. . . . (MHi)

PLANTS

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 23d Feby 1818.

. . . on the 6th. Inst. I received 50 bls. flour by E. Randolph's boat, which I sold to A. L. J. Otis at $10\frac{1}{2}$ \$ on 60d/, and on the 16th. I received by Willm. Johnson's boats 107 bls (77 Sr.f: 30 fine) of which I have sold 46 bls Sr.f: at $10\frac{1}{2}$ \$ cash, and should have been much pleased to have included the whole, it is declining to the North, and of course very dull here, 10 \$ is offer'd. sales I understand were made on Saturday at $10\frac{1}{4}$ \$ on time, our Millers are giving $13/6$ and in one instance $14/$ for wheat of course they cannot afford to take less than 11 \$. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Mar. 14. 18.

Your's of the 5th. has been recieved. I prefer sending the flour to Richmond. it is more convenient to concentrate all my funds in one hand; and it also increases confidence in my correspondent, so that if at any time I have occasion to overdraw, he knows himself sure of recieving the funds. Lynchburg too is no wheat market. while they were offering $9/$ there it was and is $13/6$ and $14/$ at Richmond. Billy will set off this day or tomorrow, but I prefer sending this letter by mail. . . . (MHi)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 30th. May 1818

. . . Mr. Thomas E. Randolph has sent down by his own boat, twenty seven barrels flour on your account, which have been ducked by the breaking of the boat, I have not yet been able to dispose of them, but shall do so, as soon as possible. . . . 1st. June. I have sold your 27 bls. damag'd flour to L. I. Crump at $6\frac{1}{2}$ \$. I got the Inspector to examine the quality, who said that if sound he could not have passed them for more. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Sep. 10. 18.

. . . my grandson tells me he sent you on my account 50. Bar. flour in Aug. the river being low we are obliged to send half loads to Columbia, where we lodged 50. barrels of flour some days ago, and yesterday we loaded another half load on 2 boats which are gone off and will take on the whole 100 barrels to you immediately. these you must sell for the current price so as to meet the curtailments. . . . the 150. barrels sent off in the last and present month will I hope cover your balance of July 1. . . . my flour being all

ready in the mill, our only difficulties are boats & the state of the river. immediately on Johnson's return I shall send off another 50. Bar. because I shall be obliged within a short time to draw on you for about 300. D. . . . (MHi)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 14th. Sepr. 1818.

. . . The 50 bls: flour, sent down, I sold at \$9½ and am sorry more was not sent at that time, even at an extra expence of carriage, as I cannot now obtain within \$1¼ of that price, this I foresaw and informed Mr. T. J. Randolph of it. it must still be lower as the Millers here are willing to contract for delivery of it in Novr. at a reduced price. . . . (MHi)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 17th. Sepr. 1818

. . . I have received 100 bls of your flour, the 50 by Johnson have been inspected and made 44 S f & 6 fine, 4 of these are light [*illegible*] the expences and fines will be hereafter transmitted, the 50 by T. E. R's boat were put out at the upper end of the Basin, and exposed to an excessive rain, the boatman saying that he had no directions to whom to deliver the flour and supposed it was for Mr. Peyton. I cannot yet say what injury has been sustained. I have engaged to deliver 50 bls. of the S. fine at 1½ \$ to Jabey Parke's for his note at 60d/. which I shall endeavor to have discounted not more than 3 \$ can be obtained in Cash. . . . (MHi)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 21st. Octr. 1818.

Since writing to you on the 24th. Ulto. I have received three loads of flour on your acct. say 156 bls. of which 132 are S. fine 10 fine and 14 condemned, the S: fine & fine I have sold to R. H. Jones at 8¼ & 8¾ \$ on 60d/. the 14 bbs: having been made out of smutted wheat, and consequently both dark and bitter, I have found it hitherto impossible to dispose of at any price, the bakers will not buy it, and it cannot be shipped out of the State. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Nov. 3. 18.

Yours of the 21st. is recieved, and with respect to the 14. barrels of condemned flour, I will pray you not to dispose of it at all, but to hold it subject to the order of Messrs. T. E. Randolph & Colclaser (tenants of my mill) or their agent. I find it absolutely

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necessary that a distinction should be observed in the different flours you recieve for me. these are of 3. different masses. 1st. 50. barrels of rent flour from Messrs. Randolph & Colclaser, every quarter, which will have simply on them the brand of the SHADWELL MILLS. 2ly. 350. barrels a year from this place, being rent paid me for the hire of my plantations here by my grandson Th: J. Randolph. this has also the brand of the Shadwell mills, but I have given orders that hereafter there shall be an additional mark F to distinguish it. 3rd. my flour from Bedford, which is generally manufactured at Mitchell's mills and will have that brand on it. if the mill rent flour is damaged or condemned, Randolph & Colclaser are responsible to me. if the crop flour from this place is condemned, my grandson indemnifies me. if the Bedford flour is condemned, mr Mitchell is answerable; so in all these if there be an overproportion of Eine [Fine?] flour a small mark of distinction to every parcel mentioned in your accounts of sales, will direct me always to the responsible person, such as S. M. for Shadwell Mills, F . for the crop flour from hence and the initial of Mitchell: brands whatever it is. this alone can enable me to call on the responsible person. . . . (MHi)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 7th. April 1819.

Since writing to you last, I have received 211 bls: of your flour of Shadwell brand viz. 160 S. fine 43 fine & 8 midgs. and 120 bbls: S. f. Farm brand, of which I have sold the 120 bls: F: brand at $6\frac{1}{4}$ \$ pble. in the course of next week, the 160 S: f: Shadwell at 6 \$ pbl. in dft on Boston at 3d [?] & 8 bls. midg. at $5\frac{1}{8}$ \$. to Messrs. Smith & Reddell. there prices altho so much below anything I had expected, are higher than can now be obtained, indeed sales cannot be made at $5\frac{3}{4}$: \$ nor is there reason to calculate on any improvement this season. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Oct. 8. 19.

. . . our river is so extremely low as not to float an empty boat [and] in many parts it will require one or two plentiful rains to enable us to send flour down of which there is much ready in the mill waiting for a tide to go off. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Nov. 26. 19.

. . . I am really miserable at the state of our river, and the con-

tinuance of the most obdurate drought ever known. since June there has not been water enough to float an empty boat, except by a rain which fell on the 9th. of October, and the next day 100. barrels of flour were sent of for me. the boats were detained at Wood's locks until the water left them, one excepted which got down (Gilmer's) and I thought he had had a part of my flour, but your letter induces me to suppose he had not. I learnt a day or two ago that the master of the boats had gone to them with a view of getting on by half loads; and employing additional boats. I hope therefore it is gone on. I believe that I have between 3. and 400 hundred barrels of flour now ready in the mill and waiting only for a good rain, after which it shall be forwarded as fast as boats can be procured. there will be some difficulty in this as the accumulation of flour is general. I am sorely uneasy at the continuance of so large a balance against me, but such an accident of drought & low water never before happened. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 27th. Feby. 1820.

. . . Your wheat is still in the barn. I have been at loss what to do. Corn is higher than wheat and we shall not have corn sufficient to carry us till Harvest. We could do without buying by using the wheat and I have been afraid to send it off, untill I knew certainly where we could be furnished with bread, however we have not sold a bushel of it since the season came in and shall not till I hear from you. there is no corn for sale in this neighborhood. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Mar. 15. 20.

. . . until the river enabled me in Feb. to get down flour to cover it, was entirely caused by the drought which kept the river un-navigable to that time. a small rain on the 9th. of Oct. encouraged me to try the despatch of 100. barrels which were sent off but hung by the way near the mouth of the river till Feb. the whole of my flour could as well have been sent in Oct. & Nov. had the water permitted, as it has been lying dead ever since on my hands. I have observed the request of your's of Feb. 24. not to draw till I had placed the funds in your hands. my health not permitting me to attend myself to the actual embarkation of my flour, I am obliged to trust that to my manager. he told me on the 7th. that he had that day engaged boats to take off 100. barrels the next morning. I expect that before that date but subsequent to your

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letter & acct. you had recieved 50. other barrels sent by Randolph & Colclaser tenants of my mill. . . . on the return of the boats a further supply of from 50. to 100. B. will be sent. . . . (DLC)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmd. 16th. March 1820.

I wrote you on the 24th. ulto. & have since recd. 90 bls of your flour which I have sold at 4¼ \$. . . . (DLC)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Mar. 16. 20.

. . . Your letter of Feb. 27. did not get to hand till the 10th. inst. there can be no hesitation in preferring to eat our wheat rather than buy corn at their present prices. my flour sent from here has netted me but 3D.25 which is but 59. cents a bushel. this happening to me now a second year, has reduced me to all but bankruptcy: & disables from paying the most urgent calls upon me. these were contracted when we got twice and three times as much for our wheat, and now require to be paid at double & treble their then amount. I am mortified therefore to say I cannot pay you even 100 Dollars. I will certainly furnish mr Hepburn's debt, and make every effort to pay mr White's unless he can let it lie somewhat longer at interest. pray get the tobo. to Richmond as quick as possible, for I have never seen such universal eagerness of demand for whatever one owes, as at this time. so that every day's delay is a continuation of pain. until this hurricane is over I am determined not to engage for another dollar's worth that I can exist without. I would have you do no more of the canal than barely to enable you to estimate what time it may take us hereafter. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 20th. May, 20.

. . . We have hard times here also another such a year as the two last will produce a famine, I shall be much put to it to get bread untill Harvest, the crop of wheat very unpromising, and the greatest scarcity of Tobo. plants, ever known, we have planted a few, and I hope that we shall nearly have enough in time should it be tolerably seasonable, I have sown a large crop of oats, and planted a large crop of corn at both places, entirely sufficient for next year, in ordinary seasons, but it seems, they become more and more difficult every year. . . . (MHi)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 21st June 1820

. . . I have sold 13. Bbls S fine flour of yours at \$4 $\frac{1}{8}$ & 5 fine at 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ I have one yet on hand which is condemned on account of the Bbl. Mr. craddock has sent down only 19 instead of 20 Bbls. as he promised. . . . (DLC)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 9th. Decr. 1820

. . . Flour has fallen below anything I have ever yet known, and from the great anxiety shown by the Holders to sell, there is every appearance of its being still lower, it is now offering at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ \$ and no purchasers, and even at this price, neither the Northern nor European markets hold out any encouragement to speculators. Wheat 60 Cents. I have not yet received any of your flour. . . . (DLC)

From Patrick Gibson

Richmond 9th. Jany. 1821.

Since I last wrote you on the 9th. Ulto. I have received 62 bls. of your flour, which I have this day sold to Messrs. Lucke & Sizer at 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ \$, this is a better price than I was able to obtain on its arrival, and is indeed as high as is warranted by any foreign market. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello June 27. 21.

. . . We have had a tremendous gail. it extended from about half down this mountain to Mechunk, tore corn to pieces, beat off the heads of wheat & destroyed the rye. I suffered by it much, Jefferson and yourself in a single field each, Rogers & Gilmer torn to pieces. Jefferson begins his harvest this day. it is a midling one. . . . (CSmH)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello July 6. 21.

. . . I have now between 50 & 100 Bar. in the mill, and which cannot go off until the harvest is over because the boatmen are all employed in that [*work.*] this is the 7th day of our harvest, and 5. of them have been of constant rain, of which 5. inches have fallen, which is producing a great flood in our river, and keeps me from getting to my mill to try to get off my flour. . . . (MHi)

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From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 6 Augt. 1821

Above I hand you a/c sales 34 Blls Flour recd. on your a/c, & sold on the Basin Bank.

Thirty five Barrels were shipd., but the owner of the Boat (Mr. Wood) used one Bll:, which I charged him \$4 for, & placed the same at your credit. [Nett prcds: at credit T. J. \$96.42] (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 11 Octr. 1821.

. . . on the sixth inst. recd. the above 45 Blls: Flour from Shadwell mills on your a/c. which was sold yesterday, as pr. a/c sales above, which with it—nett proceeds at your credit, say \$212.42; I have recd. as yet no other Flour for you. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 22d. Novr. 1821.

Above I hand you sales your last parcel 50 Blls: Flour at \$6, which was the best I could do with it, I postponed a sale for several days, in the hopes of an advance, but each mail bring us more & more accounts of the article from the Northern markets, particularly New York, which in a great degree governs this, last sales there \$6¼ @ ¾ dull . . . [Nett proceeds \$259.48] (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 24 Jany. 22.

Above I hand a/c sales your fifty Blls: Flour sold at \$6 cash on the Basin, altho' it was all *fine*, this is the highest sale which has yet been made, The nett proceeds as above is at your credit [\$265.46]. . . . (MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello Oct. 7. 22.

. . . our river rose 1. foot with the late rains and we got off Wood's boats with flour; but I learnt yesterday that the water failed before they got out of the river, and that they are now waiting a rain. . . . I have now deposited in the mill wheat for 350 barrels of flour & T. E. R. owes me 200. Barrels. our taxes too will soon now be called for, mine amounting here & in Bedford to upwards of 200. D. these things afflict me greatly and I have not much confidence that either prayers or a change of the moon can be depended on for rain. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 24 Octobr. 1822

. . . I have recd. 93 Barrels your Flour from Shadwell Mills this season, not one barrel of which have I yet been able to dispose of, owing to the entire absence of demand for the article. . . . the present nominal price is \$6. Wheat 120 @ 25¢, scarce & in demand. Corn \$3½ dull. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Sales 255 Barrels Superfine Flour by Bernard Peyton
for a/c Mr. Thomas Jefferson

1822 Richd.

2d. Novembr. To Robert Abbott Jr. & Co for cash 235 Blls.
on Basin Bank & 20 Blls: in store (viz:)

235 Blls Superfine Flour at \$5.93¾	\$1395.31
20 do. do. do. " \$6.00	120.00
	<hr/>
	\$1515.31
[Charges]	178.27
	<hr/>

Nett prcds at Cr. T. J. \$1337.04

(MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Sales of Sixty Barrels Flour by Bernard Peyton for a/c Thomas Jefferson Esq. 1823 Richd

13 Jany

Nett proceeds \$234.26

Flour continues exceedingly dull & \$4⅞ is the best I am able to do with it . . . that paid 60 dys credit . . . Wheat is also down to 90¢. (MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Monto. Dec. 28. 23.

I have been long silent because ashamed to write. my whole crop of flour has been lying in the mill ever since harvest for want of transportn. there has been but 3. tides in our river since harvest. Jefferson agreed with a mr Lane to attend with 3 boats at the first tide. but happening to be in Bedford at the 1st. & 2nd. Lane disappd. in both, and he failed again at the 3d. so that we lost the 1st. trip of that. Jefferson was able on the return of the boats to get off 100. barrels of the crop with 50. barrels mill rent. we have

still 250. to go & ready and hope the river will now keep up. . . .
(MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richmond 1st. Jany. 1824.

. . . Flour is going down to nothing, sales at \$5 $\frac{1}{8}$, sixty days, & \$5 cash, as much as can be had for it, & at that price even, there are few or no purchasers. I have this day sold what I have of yours & Jeffersons' at the former price. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Rich'd 15 March 1824

. . . I have received 397 Barrels of Flour, *in all*, this season, on your a/c, which is sold, & the nett pcds: of the whole, at your credit; deducting the Bank discount, and such as was sold are credits, instead of for cash, this leaves your a/c, this day, *against* you, 160 Dollars. . . . (MHi)

To Jacob Raphael

Aug. 29. 25.

. . . the flour of the year is waiting in the Shadwell mills only for tides to carry it to Richmd. this is a delay peculiarly incident to the August quarter, when the produce of the years harvest is liable to be locked up by droughts. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 20. May 1826

. . . I have recd. from Albemarle, since last fall, 430 Blls Flour on your a/c, and finding no prospect whatever of selling it here, to advantage, shipd. it long since to the Eastward, where I hope it will yield you a better return than could possibly be anticipated here, if indeed a sale of it could have been effected, in this market, at tall, the nominal price at present is \$3 $\frac{3}{4}$ (MHi)

From Edmund Bacon's Reminiscences

"I used to sell a good deal of the flour in Richmond. The mill was on the Fluvana, the north prong of the James River, and I used to send it down on bateaux. I remember sending off at one time three bateau loads—between two hundred and fifty and three hundred barrels—made of new wheat. I started on horseback in time to get to Richmond before the flour. When I told the landlord I had new flour on the way, 'Well, Sir,' said he, 'you will be certain to get a good price for it, for there is hardly a barrel in the city.'

I had notice circulated that a lot of new flour would arrive, and be sold at the river at four o'clock. There was a large crowd, and I sold every barrel, at fourteen dollars a barrel, as fast as it could be rolled ashore, and it didn't begin to supply the demand. I got my money from the bank, and started after supper, and rode home that night. It was just sixty-three miles; but I had a fine sorrel mare that Mr. Jefferson appropriated for my use, and I made it easily. As soon as I got home, I went directly to Mr. Jefferson's room with the money. . . ." (Pierson, *Monticello*, pp. 67-68.)

RYE

JEFFERSON wrote to George Washington on September 12, 1790, that "a very decisive experiment has banished rye from my rotation." This "decisive experiment" could hardly have been carried on by Jefferson, as his recent return from France and his work as Secretary of State had left him little time for definite experiments with rye. However by December 12, 1792, he was writing to Samuel Biddle, who was to become his overseer at Monticello, that the farm which he was to superintend consisted of about five or six thousand acres and was "very strong & remarkeably friendly to wheat & rye. These will be my first object." From 1793, onward, Jefferson placed rye in nearly all of his schemes for rotation of crops. It was an extractor and hence exhauster of soils, so that it was usually followed by a fallow or the ameliorator, clover; it was often followed by both of these.

Rye was planted in the fall and harvested in the following June or July. As with the other small grains, in some years it was produced in abundance, while in other years it was a total failure. Droughts were its chief enemy. In 1809 Jefferson became interested in spring rye and he ordered seed from Baltimore. He does not indicate whether it was successful.

Rye was used for food by both the farm animals and man. In some years a portion of it was distilled into whiskey. Jefferson considered wheat, tobacco, and hemp as the primary staples for the market. He considered rye as one of the subsidiary articles for the support of the farm.

See "Rye," "Crop Rotations," and "Rotation of Crops," in the *Garden Book*.

OATS

WHILE Jefferson nearly always included rye in his schemes of rotation of crops, he did not include oats in these schemes until about 1815. He wrote to Jean Baptiste Say, on March 2, 1815,

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“. . . Our culture is of wheat for market, and of maize, oats, peas, and clover, for the support of the farm. We reckon it a good distribution to divide a farm into three fields, putting one into wheat, half a one into maize, the other half into oats or peas, and the third into clover, and to tend the fields successively in this rotation. . . .” From 1793 to 1815 Jefferson considered oats as a by-article of the farm.

Jefferson found the soil of Albemarle not suitable for the growth of oats, and so he nearly always planted it along with clover. He probably followed the same plan at his other plantations where he had several acres of oats every year. In addition to the oats that he grew he also bought many bushels of it to use as food for his stock.

Oats were planted in the spring and harvested the following summer. Droughts, as with wheat, corn, and rye, were the chief enemy of oats.

See “Oats,” “Crop Rotations,” and “Rotation of Crops,” in the *Garden Book*.

BARLEY

JEFFERSON wrote from Monticello on April 25, 1815, “. . . in my family brewing I have used wheat also as we do not raise barley . . .” The fact that he failed to comment on “Barley” after he had written the word in the *Farm Book* might indicate that he paid little attention to this article on his farms. But he included it in his plans for the rotation of crops as a substitute for rye. And in his diary in the *Farm Book* for 1795 he jots down:

“June 18. cut barley at shadwell.
22. do. at Shadwell.”

Barley was considered by Jefferson as a subsidiary article for the support of the farm. It was never raised to be sold at market. When it was grown, its only use seems to have been for distillation into whiskey.

See “Barley,” “Crop Rotation,” and “Rotation of Crops,” in the *Garden Book* and see also “Stills” in the *Farm Book*.

CORN

JEFFERSON once remarked, “Good husbandry with us consists in abandoning Indian corn and tobacco.” But he was never able to abandon Indian corn; and he was able to abandon tobacco only to a certain degree. Corn played a part in all of his schemes for rotation of crops, and it was often planted with either peas or potatoes.

Corn and wheat were the two most important crops grown on Jefferson's plantations in Albemarle County, just as they are the two most important crops grown on Albemarle farms today. In Bedford County tobacco, wheat, and corn were the important crops. Since Jefferson grew an abundance of wheat over and above his plantation needs, his wheat was also a money crop. Corn, on the other hand, was never produced in over-abundance. In fact, there hardly passed a year that Jefferson was not compelled to buy additional corn for his plantations.

Corn was used on the plantations in various ways. It was eaten in the summer when green on the cob. It was beaten into hominy and ground into meal for the consumption of both blacks and whites. It was used, along with the shucks, the leaves, and the stalks for food for the stock. If the supply of corn became deficient, then the food for the plantation became an acute problem.

Corn was usually planted in April or May and it was gathered in October or November. But these operations depended on the conditions of the weather. After being harvested, the corn was either placed in corn-houses or the stalks and the corn were left in shocks in the field. Jefferson owned hand mills for shelling corn, for grinding corn, and for crushing the corn and the cob in the same operation. (See page 231.)

Jefferson grew the following varieties of corn, their names often indicating from where or from whom they came: Cherokee, Cumberland, drying, Erie, forty days, forward, guinea, homony, Indian, latter, Mandan, Mazzei, Pani, quarantine, soft, and sweet.

The price paid for corn varied from year to year just as the prices varied for other commodities. If the production of corn was meager, it could not be bought for any price. The following letters and memoranda indicate the fluctuations in production and prices of this important staple; and they also show the great anxiety caused by corn in Jefferson's household. See also entries on corn in the *Garden Book*.

From Account Book, 1772

October. 6. I may expect from Garth & Mousley
 200. Barrels. corn @ 10/
 15000. lbs fodder
 1200. lbs pork

From Account Book, 1774

Dec. 8. bought of sam. Carr 100 barrels of corn to be delivd in

Jan. and Feb. ready shelled for which I am to pay him 10/
a barrel in April

Thos. Garth sais 15. barrels a share of corn will serve a plantation
a year, will allow 3. hogs a hand to be fattened & a good stock to be
maintained.

From Account Book, 1775

The best way is to get all the ploughing for the succeeding crop
of corn finished before Christmas, & so in all the open parts of the
winter be fallowing for wheat.

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello. June 4, 1792

I am sorry it is not in my power to give you such an estimate of
the probable product of your harvest this year as might be satis-
factory. The subject must appear of more importance now as you
have some thoughts of retiring from public life, and the hope of
doing you a trifling service even, will always be the most powerful
motive in my mind. However vague the expression, it may perhaps
give you some satisfaction to be told that in a journey of 300 miles
which I was lately under the necessity of making, I did not see a
field of wheat as promising as the greater part of the crop now
growing at Monticello and Shadwell. The quantity is not much
less than the double of the last year. There is no oats or rye grow-
ing. The long continuance of the winter and a drought of 40 days
which terminated on the 2nd of this month occasions the crop of
Indian corn to be the least advanced and most unpromising that
ever was known in the country at this season. In poor lands a
greater part of it has perished. It is everywhere in that stage of
growth in which we generally have it in April. An abundant rain
which fell on Saturday has greatly revived the hopes of the
planters. At Monticello and Shadwell the quantity growing is so
great that if the season from this time is tolerably favorable the
crop must be very large. I am convinced that the step we have
taken for the preservation of our lands in the abolition of the cul-
ture of tobacco is of no importance compared with the one we have
to make with regard to Indian corn. That crop whatever precau-
tions are taken must always be ruinous to lands, which lie so
unequally as ours in a climate subject to such excessive droughts
and where the rain falls for the most part in torrents. By constant
tillage the surface is reduced in dry weather to an impalpable
powder which is swept off in the first shower by the force of the
water rushing down the declivities. Besides, the want of dew and

fog, occasioned by the elevation of the ground, must render it an unproductive crop in dry summers. There are advantages in the culture of wheat; to which moisture is unfriendly, and the more equal exposure to the air from the inclination of the plain on which it grows, beneficial. Some of the worst diseases to which this plant is liable are produced by fogs and heavy dews. The nature of the soil and the elevation of the ground in the Southwest Mountains is so peculiarly favorable to the growth of wheat, that from two years' observation I have found the most slovenly agriculture to produce here a more abundant crop of a heavier grain than the most laborious cultivation with the best instruments can force from the lowlands of Virginia. From these considerations I have determined to drop immediately the culture of Indian corn on my lands and am convinced that you will find it advisable to do the same. . . . (ViU)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello June 25, 1792.

. . . The Weather for the last fortnight has been very seasonable and our prospects of Indian Corn are now great. Your harvest commenced three days ago; the grain is as fair & the crop as heavy as the land ever bore. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Aug: 14: 1793

. . . We have had a very long drought, which has injured the Indian corn greatly. The crop will be less by a 4th. or perhaps a 3d. than was expected some weeks ago. It has probably been of service in checking the Weevil, which appeared very early, but has scarcely increased fast enough to give alarm. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

[Monticello Feb. 7. 1796]

. . . there is vast alarm here about corn. the price at present from 15/ to 18/. but not to be had indeed at any price. my situation on that subject is threatening beyond any thing I ever experienced. we shall starve literally if I cannot buy 200 barrels, & as yet I have been able to find but 60. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Belmont Ap. 29th. 98.

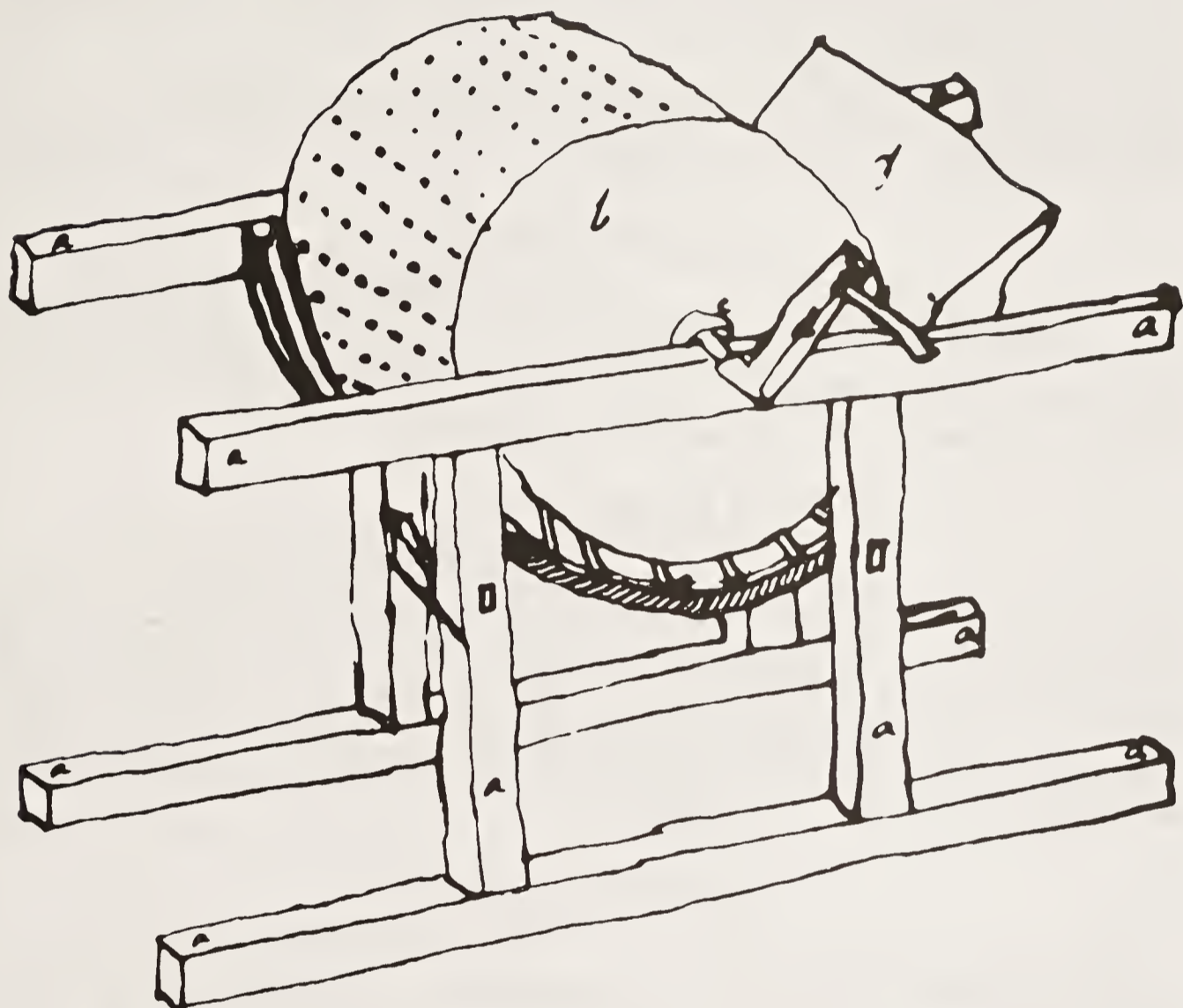
. . . he [*George the Ruler*] was under great apprehension his corn wd. be lost before you came home from the weakness of his

ploughs, he *must* make a crop of it this year for every body seems to be neglecting it for Tobo. I have bought 40 Barrels for him @ 15/. & had it hauled to him by James: he was quite out. I fear no more can be had for that. . . . (ViU)

T. Jefferson

July 26. 1803

Notes on a cornsheller, from Newburyport, Mass.



Jefferson's drawing of Paul Pillsbury's machine for shelling corn.
Jefferson owned one of these machines.

- a. a wooden frame for the cylinder to work in 3. f. 5. I. long
2 f. 7 I. high
- b. a cylinder of 2. f. diam. 17. I. long of white oak, set with small iron teeth to project out about $\frac{3}{8}$ I. intersected, within $1\frac{1}{8}$ I. of each other.
- c. a gudgeon passing thro the center of the cylinder of either wood or iron.
- d. a crank or handle. wood or iron.
- e. a semicircular bottom underneath the cylinder, made with wooden slats, which are set with small iron teeth, intersected, like those in the cylinder, & the slats placed so far apart as to

let the shelled corn fall thro' into a reciever at the bottom of the machine.

- f. a flat piece of wood, placed at the top of the frame, at one end, to conduct the ears of corn in at one side of the cylinder, which after being shelled, the cobs pass out, at the other side. the side where the ears enter, is half an inch wider than the other where the Cob is discharged.

Two men can shell 100. bushels of Indian corn in a day with this machine turned by hand.

It may easily be fixed to be turned by water, or by a horse.

Newburyport July 26. 1803. (DLC)

To John Barnes

Monticello Aug. 23. 05.

. . . We are all well here, & blest with a seasonable year & plentiful crops. I have bought my next year's provision of corn here at 2½ D. the barrel of 5. bushels. . . . (DLC)

To John Barnes

Monticello Sep. 12. 06.

. . . the deplorable state of the crops is not new to you. we have had some rains but they were too late for the corn, of which it is now reduced to a certainty there will be but about half an usual crop made; and this will probably be the proportion for the whole state on an average. . . . (DLC)

From William Thornton

[Just after Oct. 15. 1806.]

W: Thornton's respectful Compliments to the President of the United States, and sends the Papers of Paul Pilsbury, & Levi Stevens, also the model of Pilsbury, which by Experiment seems to be a very good machine. (MHi)

To Paul Pilsbury

Washington Oct. 18. 06.

When you were at this place you were kind enough to call & shew me your machine for shelling Indian corn: & you mentioned that you should have a number of them sent to Alexandria & Richmond for sale. not having been able to learn that they could yet be got at either of those places, I have to ask the favor of you to send one for me to Richmond to the address of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson merchants of that place. on informing me of the cost I will take care to have it paid you in Boston, unless you have any

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correspondent nearer. it will be proper the machine should be packed in a box to protect it from being injured in the transportation from Richmond up into the country. . . . (MHi)

To John H. Craven

Sep. 21. 07.

Judging from the view of your fields from this place, I think you must have a great deal more corn in culture this year than the 100. acres allowed by our lease: will you be so good as to give me a statement of the quantity now in corn? also whether some of the ground now in corn has not been in corn twice before since the commencement of the lease? . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1807

Feb. 15. drew on bk US. for 30. D. in favr. Timothy Pickering for Thos. Burnham for a Corn-sheller.

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Feb. 23. 08.

. . . I think we need not buy corn but as we go along, and see how much we shall want, lying by to purchase when good bargains offer. corn will not rise through the year, because I am persuaded that wheat will be to be got at the present price of corn. mr Higginbotham wrote me last month that mr A. Mullins between Monticello and Blenheim had 70. barrels to sell at 10/. you might purchase this if to be had at 2. & 3. months credit. . . . (CSmH)

To Jones & Howell

Washington Apr. 5. 08.

. . . I will thank you if at the same time [*he is sending nailrod*] you can procure and forward for me one of the large steel hand-mills for grinding corn or other grain. they are made in the form of Coffee mills with a steel nut, and I believe are well known & to be had in the Ironmongery stores, the largest will suit me best. . . . (MHi)

From Jones & Howell

Philadelphia May 2d. 1808.

We have this day shiped to the address of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond on board the schooner Speedwell Capn. Baker Viz

1 Corn Mill	\$15.
portorage	1.
	<hr/>
	[16.]

The corn mill is of the best American Manufacture. after requesting the makers to make one of the largest size he broght the one we now send you which he said was as large as any he had ever made but if we wished one larger he could make it of any size we should direct, if this should not please & you will direct us we will pay particular attention to have it made to your satisfaction. . . . (MHi)

To Daniel Scott

Monticello Nov. 16. 10.

For the corn which I purchased from you I was to make paiment at our July court, and prepared to do so, but no application being made either at that or the ensuing court and having always uses for money, I employed it otherwise. I have consistently however left a larger sum in the hands of my mill tenant which I could command at short warning, indulgence being useful to him until the money was wanting. I still hold myself in the same readiness on short notice. but this being the season for laying in my stock of nailrod for the winter, from Philadelphia & before the Delaware freezes, I should be glad to enlarge my stock, if it should be convenient to you to leave your money uncalled for till March or the 1st. week of April. other sums due me then, as well as my crops, will enable me abundantly to answer your demand, to which in that case I shall willingly add interest from the time at which it was paiable. I send the bearer to know your pleasure on this subject, as it will decide the amount of nailrod now to be ordered from Philadelphia. . . . (MHi)

From Daniel Scott

Albemarle 20th November 1810

Your's of 16th came when I was from home which put it out of my power to answer it untill the present. As you have a use for the money (due me a/c corn) and I have none at present you are perfectly welcome to keep it untill February Albemarle Court at which time I shall want it to fulfill some engagements I have made which will become due about that time. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1810

May. 2. delivered to E. Bacon 100. D. to be pd to Littlebury Moon in part of paiment for 100. barrls. corn purchased of him @ 3½ D.

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From Account Book, 1812

Nov. 5. bought of Craven Peyton 100. Bar. corn to be delivered
Nov. 25. at 2. D. payable Apr. 30.

To Eli Alexander

Monticello June 10. 13.

Mr. Bacon had to buy 60. barrels of corn for me, and he understood that you had agreed at court to deliver that quantity. but a note which he sent you for a waggon load this morning being returned to him without any other answer, seemed to imply a negative of the bargain. my people at Lego having been without bread yesterday, & to be so to-day till we could buy it, I was obliged to send off immediately to try to get 30. barrels offered him at court but refused because he thought you had agreed to furnish us. if we get that, I shall still want 30. barrels, & before sending to look for it I have thought it best to ask a more explicit answer. if it does not suit you to furnish the other 30. barrels, I do not propose to require it, whether you had agreed to do so or not. if you furnish them I should expect to have it delivered either this week or the next according to your convenience. understanding always that the corn shall have sustained no damage by being exposed to the weather till now. . . . (MHi)

To John Staples

Monticello Jan. 25. 14.

Understanding that you are the agent for disposing of mr Oliver Evan's patent screws for crushing the ear of corn, cob & all for grinding in a mill, I have to ask the favor of you to deliver one for me to mr William Johnson, a waterman of Milton, who will apply to you for it about a week hence. . . . (MHi)

From James Cutbush

Norfolk Octr. 23d. 1814.

. . . If you are acquainted with any of his [*James Hall's*] improvements in agriculture, and especially his plan of planting corn by which from "2 to 10 negroes can do the work of 100" or that of "sewing an acre sooner than a man could walk over it," according to his expressions; you would confer a particular favour on a member of your society by communicating it to him. . . . (DLC) (See *Garden Book*, p. 543.)

To James Cutbush

Monticello Nov. 24. 14.

A long absence from home occasions this late acknowledgement of your favor of Oct. 23. the mention of a certificate from me in favor of mr Hall's method of making corn hills or tobo. hills excites my curiosity. I remember his calling on me at Washington, with recommendations of his method from some gentlemen of character in Maryland, & particularly of mr Carrol of Carrolton in whose service he had been. I think too he explained to me his process, not to be by raising the hills, but by depressing the intervals by a roller. but I never saw his machine, nor it's work. I do not recollect giving him any certificate, yet this is no proof that I did not, for my memory is not to be trusted. I ask myself on what could I give a certificate? of the performance of the machine? I never saw it. of my opinion of it? I am so poor a judge in questions of agriculture that I could scarcely offer that. I have always been scrupulous in my certificates, stating their matter all in my own hand writing & not subscribing to what others had written. . . . (DLC)

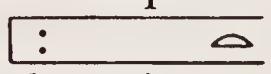
From Account Book, 1814

Jan. 4. pd E. Bacon for Richard Bruce 20. B. Corn 56.67

Mar. 7. pd to E. Bacon for John Rothwell for 14. B. corn 42. D.

To Charles Willson Peale

Monticello Mar. 21. 15.

. . . I have had & tried the Corn sheller of a single cylinder studded with iron pins, & turning within a quadrantal case studded also: but it cannot be made to adapt itself to all sizes of the ears of corn. if that which you mention with a large & a small cylinder answers perfectly, I should be very glad to know it, as it would be valuable with us. we cut our straw with the simplest of all things. we make a bench with a mortice thus  thro' that mortise we put an old scythe blade with the point broken off and the handle, of the size of that of a reap hook, bent at a right angle. this moving freely in the mortise without any fixture, & fed with straw by the left hand works easier obliquely with the motion of a saw, than the direct cut of the common cutting knives. . . . (DLC)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello July 10. 15.

I recieved yesterday your favor of the 9th. and observe one article in it requiring immediate answer. that which relates to the using our wheat for bread instead of purchasing corn. the price of last

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year's flour now at Richmond is 8. D. & of this year's 10. D. which is equal to 8/ and 10/ for wheat; and war in Europe, now I think absolutely certain, will ensure the last price at least, thro' the year. this is equal to 9/ a bushel at Lynchbg. we had certainly then better buy corn at any price it has ever sold at, & pay for the hauling than eat wheat at 9/. it would be much more convenient to me if it can be bought on credit, till our flour can get to Richmond & be sold. if not, then on a credit of 60. days before which I shall be with you and can meet it. if nothing but the cash will do, then if mr Robertson will advance it, & you immediately advise me of the amount, it shall be placed at his credit in Richmond, within 5. days after I recieve your letter, or shall be ordered up to him at Lynchburg as he chuses. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Dec. 28. 16.

. . . I shall have to draw on you about the middle of next month for somewhere between 500. & 750. D. to pay for a purchase of corn. . . . (DLC)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Mar. 6. 17.

. . . the quantity of corn I have been obliged to buy here and it's high price will take all the money of the year nearly; for the June as well as August drought, of which you had only the latter reduces us below the third of an ordinary crop. I have not heard yet whether the flour from Bedford is gone down. . . . (MHi)

To Charles Willson Peale

Monticello Mar. 16. 17.

. . . we have sometimes practiced the feeding with our corn-stocks. we chop them in a trough with a hatchet, which is a guillotine, you know, worked by hand. I doubt if the descending force added by the arm to the gravity of the hatchet is as laborious as would be the lifting power exercised to raise a guillotine of such weight as that it's gravity alone should produce the same effect. but trial alone can prove this, as every thing else in life, and as it has proved to me the value of your friendship. . . . (DLC)

To Judge Hugh Holmes

Monticello Mar. 4. 19.

I have lately seen at Colo. Lindsay's one of the corn-shelling machines which you recommended to me, and I am so well satisfied

with it that I must avail myself of your kind offer for their procurement. I must ask the favor of you to order two for me . . . to avoid risks of the mail in sending cash, I inclose an order on Richmond for 45. Dollars which will be paid at sight by mr Gibson . . . I understand the machines cost 30. D. and send half the price only in advance, in order that the receipt of the other half may be a stimulus to the maker to forward the machines, when I will without delay remit the other half. . . . (MHi)

To Hugh Holmes

Monticello June 17. 23.

You will recollect probably that 3. or 4. years ago you were so kind as to engage of Messrs. Blackford and co. three Cornshellers, two for myself and one for Genl. Cocke but all in my name, and to undertake to pay them, and I was to replace the money at the University on account of your instalments due them. you accordingly paid them 75. D. (the price at the furnace probably) the company sent 10. to mr Kelly. I took my 2. and paid the bursar of the University for 60. D. Genl. Cocke took his and paid mr Kelly 30. D. which mr Kelly remitted to Blackford & co. . . . (MHi)

POTATOES

IRISH POTATOES were gathered from Jefferson's garden at Monticello as early as 1772. He did not, however, introduce them in his farm until about 1792. Writing to Samuel Biddle, his new overseer at Monticello, he tells him that wheat and rye were to be his first objects of the farm and ". . . next will be grasses, cattle, sheep, & the introduction of potatoes for the use of the farm, instead of Indian corn, in as great degree as possible. . . ."

In 1793, the year that Jefferson's head was so full of farming, he included potatoes in his rotation projects. They were to be planted alone or in the same field mixed with corn, an idea which he got from George Washington. There were two ways of mixing potatoes with corn. First, "one way is to drill the corn in 8. f. rows, & 18. I. apart in the row; then to drill the potatoes between. with good ploughing this is the best method." Second, "another way is to plant the corn & potatoes in 4. f. rows both ways, every other row being potatoes. this takes 2. or 2½ bush. of seed to the acre, & with bad ploughmen is the best, because of cross ploughing."

Jefferson's first farm potatoes were harvested in the fall of 1793. He wrote to John Taylor, of Caroline, on December 29, 1794, ". . . I had poor success with my potatoes last year, not having

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made more than 60 or 70 bushels to the acre. But my neighbors having made good crops, I am not disheartened. The first step toward the recovery of our lands is to find substitutes for corn & bacon. I count on potatoes, clover, & sheep. The two former to feed every animal on the farm except my negroes, & the latter to feed them, diversified with rations of salted fish & molasses, both of them wholesome, agreeable, & cheap articles of food. . . .”

Jefferson's desire to substitute potatoes to a large extent for corn never materialized. Corn was of too much importance in his farm economy to be abandoned even though it robbed the soil of much of its fertility.

Potatoes were planted usually in April and harvested the following fall. They were an important feed for Jefferson's farm animals as well as food for his people.

By 1817 Jefferson seems to have lost interest in potatoes as a feed for cattle and to have substituted artichokes for them. He wrote to Tristran Dalton on May 2, 1817, “. . . With respect to field culture of vegetables for cattle, instead of the carrot and potato recommended by yourself and the magazine, and the beet by others, we find the Jerusalem artichoke best for winter, & the Succory for Summer use. . . .”

See the many references to “Potato” in the *Garden Book*.

PEAS

PEAS were of prime importance in Jefferson's crop rotations. They were either planted alone or, more often, planted mixed with corn, a practice still prevailing today in the South. It depended upon the quality of the field as to whether the peas should be planted alone or with corn.

Since peas are ameliorators to the soil, Jefferson planted them extensively. He wrote to George Washington on September 12, 1790, “. . . the field pea of Europe & their winter vetch I find to be great desiderata in the farm. the former to cultivate in such of our fallows as will not yeild clover; as while we are keeping our ground clean for the next wheat sowing, the pea will shade it, and give us a valuable crop of grain & fodder. . . .” Jefferson considered peas as auxiliary to the support of the farm. They were never grown for the market.

Peas were planted in late spring and harvested when the pod began to turn yellow. After picking they were stored in the barn, where they remained until thoroughly dry. The pea was then separated from the hull.

The pea was eaten by all the people and the vines were used as fodder for the farm animals.

See the numerous references to "Peas," "Crop Rotations," and "Rotation of Crops," in the *Garden Book*.

From George Washington

Mount Vernon 6th July 1796

. . . Desirous of trying the field Peas of England, and the Winter Vetch, I sent last fall to Mr. Murray of Liverpool for eight bushels of each sort. Of the Peas he sent me two kinds (a White & dark, but not having his letter by me, I am unable to give the names). They did not arrive until the latter end of April, when they ought to have been in the ground the beginning of March. They were sown however, but will yield no seed; of course the experiment I intended to make, is lost. The Vetch is yet on hand for Autumn seeding. That the Albany Peas will grow well with us, I know from my own experience; but they are subject to the same bug which perforates, and injures the Garden Peas, and which will do the same I fear, to the imported Peas, of any sort, from England, in this climate, from the heat of it. . . . (DLC)

Philip Tabbs Answers Jefferson's Questions on Cow Peas

Aug. 30. 1796

Questions relative to the cow-pea	Answers
1. Does dry or moist land, rich or poor, suit it best?	1. Dry land of a middle quality.
2. is it best in drills or broadcast?	2. hills better than either at least 4 feet distant.
3. how much seed is sown to the acre in the broad-cast?	3. not known 2 or 3 plants enough to a hill.
4. What is the time of sowing, & particularly where it is to be followed by wheat?	4. from the 1st. to the 15 June, this crop never followed by fall sowing here the growth being remarkably slow till the latter end of summer.
5. What is the time of gathering?	5. from the middle of Septr. to the last of Novemr.
6. does it ripen generally together, or successively?	6. Successively until stopt by the frost.
7. how is it gathered, by the hand, by the scythe or the sickle?	7. by hand or rather by stock turned in to fatten.
8. What is it's produce according to the land and season?	8. not ascertained probably from 15 to 20 Busls. the acre if alone it is rarely planted without Corn here.
9. is the haulm good fodder?	9. every part is good food for stock.
10. is the grain given whole or ground?	10. whole in this country.

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- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 11. What kinds of stock does it suit? | 11. Horses, Hoggs horned cattle & sheep. |
| 12. it is eatable by man also? | 12. it is eatable but inferior to most of its species for that purpose. |
- (DLC)

To Richard Fitzhugh

Washington. May 10. 05.

I recieved the day before yesterday some cow-peas from mr Randolph, by the stage, which I had desired him to send for you. the bearer now brings them, and they are in good time for planting. if chequered 4. f. apart they will cover the ground: but they do not begin to run till harvest, & then get their whole growth very rapidly. . . . (MHi)

From Richard Fitzhugh

Ravensworth December 13th. 1805.

. . . you will receive two kinds of peas, the small red pea, you will get two crops from, the black pea you get one early crop from, they are equal to any pea in the World. . . . (MHi)

n. d.

To preserve haricots vers for winter use.

Take a tight barrel, with one head out, & set it up on end. let your snaps be green but their moisture dried out a little. lay in a layer of salt & a layer of beans alternately, each about a finger thick, & finish with a layer of salt. lay the loose head on them & weight it pretty well down with stones.

about 2 bushels of beans will serve a family the winter. (DLC)

CLOVER

“. . . I BELIEVE I should be tempted to leave my clover for awhile to go and hail the dawn of liberty & republicanism . . .” This declaration was written from Monticello to William Giles in 1795. It shows how thoroughly planting clover was consuming Jefferson’s attention.

Although Jefferson had sown clover from the earliest days at Monticello and had planted it at Shadwell before moving to Monticello, it was not until 1793 that he decided definitely to include clover in his rotation plans. He wrote to Thomas Mann Randolph, from Philadelphia, on July 28 of that year, “. . . I had at first declined the introduction of red clover into my rotation because it lengthens it so much: but I have determined now to take it in, because I see it the source of such wonderful richness around this

place, and for a Virginia table it will certainly give unbounded plenty of meats, milk, butter, horse-food, instead of being eternally on the scramble for them as we are in Virginia for want of winter & summer food. . . .”

From 1794 onward Jefferson experimented extensively with clover on his farms. It was included in all of his crop rotations, sometimes occupying three successive plantings, and at other times only two successive plantings followed by a fallow.

Clover was usually planted in the spring months and either harvested later for fodder, or left in the field for grazing stock. Jefferson often collected seed from his clover crops for the next plantings.

Jefferson’s clovers—red, white, and yellow—were not raised for market. Clover was another subsidiary crop for the improvement of the farm.

See references and letters on “Clover,” “Crop Rotations,” and “Rotation of Crops,” in the *Garden Book*.

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Feb. 29. 96.

. . . Robertson sowed his clover last week. we think it too early. I have been obliged to send to Collins to try to get 4. bushels of seed. I have recieved some of the Albany peas from N. York which I am told is the field pea of Europe. I have enough to try a whole field of them. . . . (ViU)

From William Strickland

London May 20th. 1796

. . . When at Monticello you shewd me the first field of Clover that had been sown in that part of Virginia, from observations I afterwards made I have no doubt of its thriving as well there as elsewhere in America, & I see not why you should not equal the luxuriant crops of Pensylvania; but where the clover grows so vigorously it is necessary for some grass to be sown among it, to support its weight & keep it from lying too close to the ground; no other grass has hitherto been applied to the purpose in America than Timothy grass; but it does not answer it perfectly, not vegetating uniformly with the clover; the consequence of which is, that at hay time, either the clover must be cut too late, to accommodate the timothy, or the latter too early in order that the clover may be cut when at its greatest perfection. . . . Where the improvement of the agriculture of a country can go hand in hand,

with the improvement of the morals of a people, & the increase of their happiness, there it must stand in its most exalted state. . . . (DLC)

From George Washington

Mount Vernon 6th July 1796

. . . It must be pleasing to a Cultivator, to possess land which will yield clover kindly; for it is certainly a great Desiderata in Husbandry. My soil, without very good dressings, does not produce it well: owing, I believe, to its stiffness, hardness at bottom; and retention of Water. A farmer, in my opinion need never despair of raising wheat to advantage, upon a clover lay; with a single ploughing, agreeably to the Norfolk and Suffolk practice. By a misconception of my manager last year, a field of one of my Farms which I intended shd. have been fallowed for Wheat, went untouched. Unwilling to have my crop of Wheat at that place so much reduced, as would have been occasioned by this omission, I directed, as soon as I returned from Philadelphia (about the middle of September) another field, not in the usual rotation, which had lain out two years, and well covered with mixed grasses, principally white clover, to be turned over with a good Bar-share; and the Wheat to be sown, and harrowed it at the tail of the Plough. It was done so accordingly, and was, by odds, the best Wheat I made this year. It exhibits as unequivocal proof to my mind, of the great advantage of a clover lay, for Wheat. Our crops of this article, hereabouts, are more or less injured by what some call the Ret, others the Scab; occasioned, I believe, by high winds & beating rain when the grass is in blossom, & before the Farina has performed its duties. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Mar. 8. 98.

. . . I am now sending off . . . 4. bushels of clover seed. I write to mr Jefferson to forward the latter immediately by some waggon, as the season for sowing it will be far advanced. mr Page & George have written directions where to sow it; to wit the former in the strong patches in the East field, Mountain field & Triangle, & the latter in patches of the River field & Antient field, & the whole of the High field. I wish them to keep a look out for the arrival of the seed at Milton or Charlottesville that no time may be lost for sowing it. . . . (DLC)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Feb. 8. 07.

. . . I should have no objection to the exchange of your new ground with mr Craven for oat grounds, if the difficulty respecting the sowing it with clover can be got over. you know I meant the oat ground should be sowed with clover, that we may begin to raise hay, or at least summer forage for ourselves. I have engaged 2 bushels of seed for this purpose which will go by Davy. . . . (MHi)

From Charles Yancey

19th Octr 1810. Hopewell Mills

I have seen Mr. Yunt, I have agreed with him to bring you 12 bushels of Clean Clover seed. but the price is 8 Dollars per. bushell. . . . (MHi)

FODDER AND HAY

FOR FODDER Jefferson used the leaves, tops, shucks, and stalks of corn, clover, lucerne, vetches, and grasses of various kinds. Fodder was of great value to Jefferson's farms, where he raised hundreds of cattle, hogs, sheep, and horses. Although they foraged for much of their food in summer and winter, this food had to be supplemented with fodder, especially in the winter months.

Even though Jefferson grew a greater part of his fodder, there was hardly a year that passed that he was not compelled to buy additional amounts from his neighbors. This was especially so in years in which there was a poor corn crop, or when long wet spells ruined it.

Jefferson figured in 1767 that "8 or 10. bundles of fodder are as much as a horse will generally eat thro' the night. 9 bundles x 130. days = 1170. for the winter." And in the *Farm Book* he writes that "an acre of corn yields in blades, tops, & shucks what is equivalent to about 400. lb of blades. 8. or 10. lb of blades serve a horse a night. blades are generally put into cocks of about 1000. lb."

See "Fodder" and "Hay" in the *Garden Book*.

STRAW

WHERE Jefferson mentions straw in the *Farm Book* it is usually a reference to wheat straw. The two statements in the *Farm Book* are comparisons of the amount of wheat straw to an acre of land, and the amount of straw and chaff to a bushel of grain. In the *Garden Book* he says, "he [George Divers] estimates 2. bushels of

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wheat for every cubic yard of wheat in the straw when stacked."

In at least one instance Jefferson used straw to feed the horses. He wrote to Jeremiah Goodman, overseer at Poplar Forest, on December 23, 1814, "... we have tried this year the grinding the corn for the fattening hogs, & boiling the meal into mush. it is surprising how much sooner they have fattened. we think we have saved one half. the same saving might be made by grinding the corn for your horses and mixing the meal with chopped straw. . . ."

See "Straw" in the *Garden Book*.

LUCERNE

"... I am still warm whenever I think of these scoundrels, though I do it as seldom as I can, preferring infinitely to contemplate the tranquil growth of my lucerne and potatoes. . . ." This contemplation over the tranquil growth of his lucerne, about which Jefferson wrote to Tench Cox in the spring of 1794, lasted only a few months longer, for Jefferson abandoned its culture later in the year. He wrote to George Washington on September 12, 1795, "... I gave the Lucerne this last year a good coat of dung, & due tillage; yet it is such poor dwindling stuff that I have abandoned it. . . ."

As a forage crop Jefferson had been enthusiastic about Lucerne. In 1793 and 1794 he cultivated it as a by-article to his rotations and seemed to have had considerable hopes for its success. It proved too difficult to induce it to grow.

See "Lucerne" in the *Garden Book*.

SUCCORY

GEORGE WASHINGTON gave Jefferson the seed of succory. He had received it from Arthur Young. Jefferson planted it first in 1794. He wrote to Washington on September 12, 1795, "... I must say a word to you about the Succory you received from mr Young, and were so kind as to give me some of the seed. I sowed about $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre last year. it cut little figure that year, but this year it's growth has been most luxuriant indeed. I have not cut it, but kept the whole for seed, & to furnish young plants for transplanting which it does in very great abundance from what I see of it, and what mr Strickland told me (that he had known it cut 5. times a year in England) I consider it one of the greatest acquisitions a farmer can have. . . ."

Jefferson wrote enthusiastically about succory to his other farmer friends. He found it very easy to cultivate and he grew it as an

additional plant to feed his stock. In 1811 he wrote to David B. Warden from Monticello that he had grown succory "here in abundance & perfection now 20. years without any cultivation after the first transplanting. I know no plant so valuable for green feeding, and mr Strickland told me they cut up the dry plant in England, & fed their horses with it." Jefferson was still growing succory in 1818 and graciously sending seed to his friends.

See "Soccory," "Chicory," and "*Cichorium intybus*," in the *Garden Book*.

LETTER ON SUCCORY

From George Washington

Mount Vernon 6th July 1796

. . . How does your *Chicorium* prosper? Four years since, I exterminated all the Plants raised from Seed sent me by Mr. Young, and to get into it again, the Seed I purchased in Philadelphia last Winter, and what has been sent me by Mr. Murray this Spring, has cost me upwards of Twelve pounds Sterling. This, it may be observed, is a left handed way to make money; but the first was occasioned by the manager I then had, who pretended to know it well in England, and pronounced it a noxious weed; the restoration of it, is indebted to Mr. Strickland & others (besides Mr. Young) who speak of it in exalted terms. I sowed mine broad-cast, some with, and some without grain. It has come up well, but there seems to be a serious struggle between *it* and the grass & weeds; the issue of which (as I can afford no relief to the former) is doubtful at present, & may be useful to know. . . . (DLC)

GRASSES

JEFFERSON grew the following kinds of grasses on his plantations: bent, blue, couch, crab, Egyptian, fiorin, goose, greensward, guinea, Irish, orchard, panic, Peruvian, ray, rye, sainforn, scury, sweet-scented, and timothy. They grew with varying success. When they flourished they were cut for hay or left in the meadows and fields for grazing.

The many references to "Grasses" in the *Garden Book* indicate Jefferson's interest in them and his many trials to induce them to grow.

JERUSALEM ARTICHOKE

JERUSALEM ARTICHOKEs were among the subsidiary plants grown on Jefferson's farms. They were considered as by-articles and were

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never placed in the crop rotations. Since they are perennials, Jefferson always planted them in his "perpetual field."

He probably first became interested in raising artichokes for food for his stock about 1808. He wrote to John Taylor, on January 6, 1808, ". . . I see by the agricultural transactions of the Paris society, they are cultivating the Jerusalem artichoke for feeding their animals. they make 10,000 lb to the acre, which they say is three times as much as they generally make of potatoe. . . ."

By 1817 Jefferson had substituted artichokes for potatoes as a feed for his animals. He observed that "½ bushel a day serve a hog."

See references to "Artichokes" in the *Garden Book*.

COTTON

TO WHAT EXTENT Jefferson cultivated cotton for home manufactory is not known. He was often making plans for its cultivation and instructing his overseers to plant it, but as to whether these plans and instructions were carried out the record does not state.

On December 26, 1808, Jefferson wrote to Edmund Bacon, his overseer at Monticello, ". . . As it will be necessary that we make preparation for clothing our people another year, we must plant a large cotton patch, say two acres at least. a light sandy soil is best. I suppose therefore it should be in the low grounds at the mill dam. seed can be procured from those who have gins. the present method of cultivating cotton is very little laborious. it is done entirely with the plough. . . ." And on November 24, 1816, he wrote to John Logan, ". . . originally, and till within 30. years, we raised our own cotton. . . ." But as early as 1774 Jefferson was buying cotton. Often it was difficult to find and he would revert to his plans for cultivating it, trying desperately to buy seed in Albemarle County and Richmond without much success.

By 1809, when Jefferson started his home manufactory on an extensive scale, farmers in Virginia had abandoned to a large extent cotton growing. The growing season for cotton in Virginia was too short, making the danger from frost injury too great to gamble with. Many of the cotton growers had emigrated to South Carolina, Georgia, and other Southern States where cotton could be grown with more ease and certainty. This condition, coupled with the fact that merchants found that household manufacture shortened their sales of cotton goods and stopped importing cotton, made it difficult for Jefferson and other plantation owners to obtain

it for their use. Jefferson wrote in 1816 to John Logan that "this trick will succeed for one year, & with the high price of the article is putting us on a resumption of the culture."

Cotton, flax, hemp, and wool were the fibers that Jefferson used to manufacture cotton goods, linen, and woolens. Since cotton, in addition to making cotton goods, was often woven with either flax, hemp, or wool, it was important to have a sufficient supply of this staple on hand.

The letters that follow probably give an incomplete picture of cotton growing at Jefferson's plantations, but they cover most of the record.

See also "Cotton" in the *Garden Book*.

From Account Book, 1774

Dec. 16. bought 3. lb. cotton in the seed of Branford for which I pd him 1/ & still owe 3d³/₄.

To William Pearce

Philadelphia Dec. 15. 1792.

The newspapers tell us you have invented a machine by which 700. lb. of cotton a day can be cleaned of it's seed. Knowing that this operation has been one of our greatest difficulties in the course of our household manufacture in Virginia, I feel much interest in this discovery. the purpose of this letter is merely to ask of you whether the newspaper information be true, because if it be, I shall have the hope that the benefit of it will reach us in such time & way as you shall find convenient. . . . (DLC)

To Eli Whitney

Germantown Nov. 16. 1793.

Your favor of Octob. 15. inclosing a drawing of your cotton gin, was received on the 6th. inst. the only requisite of the law now uncomplied with is the forwarding a model, which being received your patent may be made out & delivered to your order immediately.

As the state of Virginia, of which I am, carries on household manufactures of cotton to a great extent, as I also do myself, and one of our great embarrasments is the cleaning the cotton of the seed, I feel a considerable interest in the success of your invention for family use. permit me therefore to ask information from you on these points, has the machine been thoroughly tried in the ginning of cotton, or is it as yet but a machine of theory? what quantity of cotton has it cleaned on an average of several days, & worked

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by hand, & by how many hands? what will be the cost of one of them made to be worked by hand. favorable answers to these questions would induce me to engage one of them to be forwarded to Richmond for me. Wishing to hear from you on this subject. . . . P. S. is this the machine advertised the last year by Pearce at the Patterson Manufactory? (DLC)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Jan. 30. 09.

. . . I think you had better write to Gibson & Jefferson for cotton seed. perhaps they would be able to get it & send it to you. but in the mean time omit no chance of getting some yourself if possible, it would be dreadful to have to pay for a year's clothing merely for want of seed. I shall immediately order the oil & paints from Philadelphia. . . . (Courtesy of Foreman M. Lebold.)

To A. F. Silvestre

Washington Feb. 11. 09.

. . . the seed now intended to be forwarded, is in two casks, containing the one what is called the 'Green seed' or 'Sea-island' cotton seed, the other the 'Black-seed.' the former is much the most highly valued, but will grow only on the islands along the seacoast of Georgia. it will not grow on the Main land where the Orange grows abundantly. the black seed is what is generally planted through Georgia, the Carolinas &c. and probably is the only kind which may succeed with you. . . . (DLC)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Apr. 19. 09.

. . . I must ask the favor of you to procure & send me by the return of his [*Randolph's*] boats, a bag of cotton of about 50. lb. do we stand any chance of getting cotton seed with you. not a seed is to be had here. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 24th. Apl. 1809.

. . . I fear there will be no chance of getting cotton seed here. I doubt if there ever was a bushel sold in the place. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1814

Jan. 27. drew on Gibson & Jeff. in favr. D. Higginbotham for 22.50 for cotton.

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

From William Thornton

City of Washington 4th. April 1815.

. . . W. T. has this day seen a model of a machine which prepares Cotton for spinning without carding. It is a very simple machine, and the inclosed was spun from cotton thus prepared. (MHi)

To John Logan

Poplar Forest Nov. 24. 16.

. . . even our houshold cotton manufactures which are innate and nearly coeval with the state, are laboring under a difficulty. originally, and till within 30. years, we raised our own cotton. about that time our emigrants to Georgia & the upper part of S. Carolina carried the culture there, and could raise it there so much easier, that we nearly gave up the culture, and procured our supplies from them thro' our merchants. these last finding our houshold manufactures shorten their sales of what is imported, have suddenly ceased to import the cotton wool of the South, and we are suddenly without a pound, and forced to go to the stores for imported substitutes. this trick will succeed for one year, & with the high price of the article is putting us on a resumption of the culture. . . . (DLC)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello Mar. 20. 18.

. . . the impossibility of buying raw cotton obliges [me] to recur to the cultivating it myself. so much has it got out of practice that even the seed is lost in this part of the country. could you possibly buy me a sack or barrel of about 5. bushels. it will be a great accomodation to me. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 23d March 1818

. . . I have made every enquiry in this City for cotton seed and can hear of none, I will tho' the first leisure moment make further search & if successful will forward you the quantity wished by the first Boat. . . . (MHi)

FLAX AND HEMP

FLAX AND HEMP were necessities on Jefferson's plantations. They were never included in his regular rotation of crops; but they were considered as by-articles along with turnips, pumpkins, artichokes, and the like. In the years that he planted them, Jefferson allotted only a few acres to each, just enough to satisfy the needs of his

PLANTS

home manufacturers. This need varied from year to year. Jefferson found flax injurious to the land on which it grew; but he found that hemp would grow forever on the same spot without injury to the land. He therefore grew much more hemp than flax.

Jefferson was interested in several devices for removing the fibers from the hemp and flax plants. The following letters and memoranda describe some of these devices.

See also references to "Flax," "Hemp," "Spinning," and "Weaving," in the *Garden Book*, and "Spinning" and "Weaving" in the *Farm Book*.

LETTERS AND MEMORANDA ON FLAX AND HEMP

From Account Book, 1774

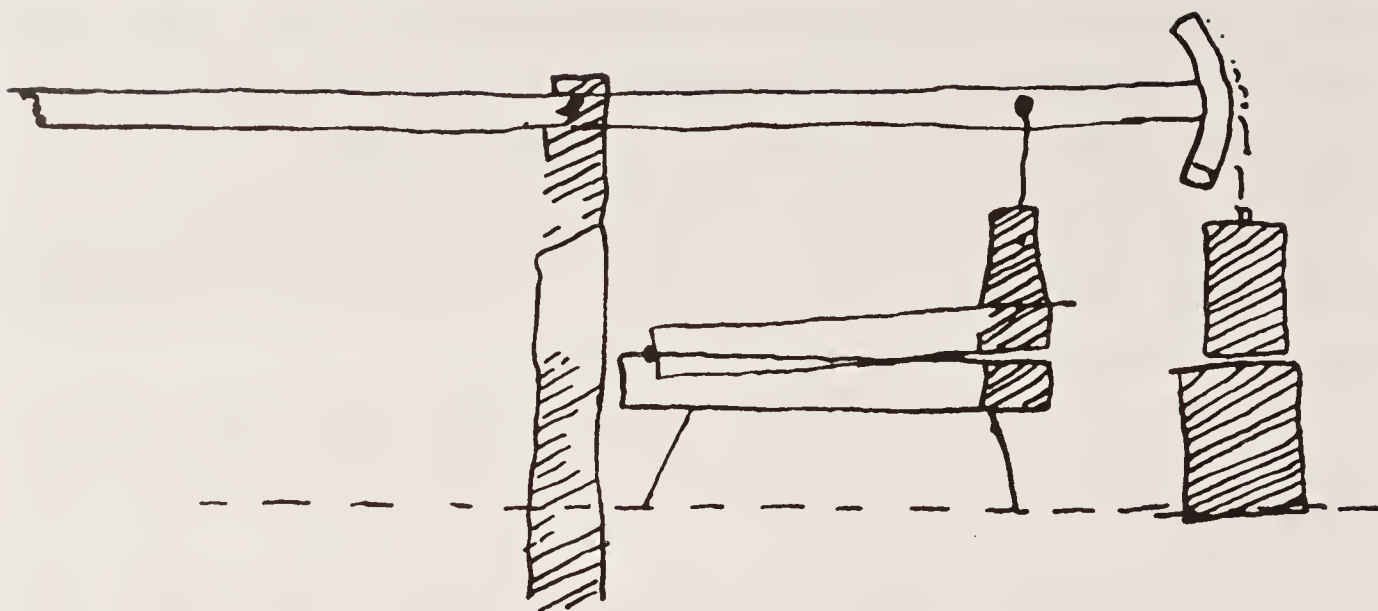
Dec. 29. Wrote to Tom Stewart of Augusta for 10. bushels of flax-seed & 10 do of hempseed.

wrote to James Black for 2 flax-wheels, such hackles &c. as he thinks necessary, 100 lb fine flax & 100 lb hemp ready dressed for spinning. never sent them.

To Charles Willson Peale

Monticello Mar. 21. 15.

. . . I have fixed my homony beater differently from yours. I make the saw-gate of my saw-mill move a lever, to the other end of which is suspended a wooden pestle falling into a common homony mortar made of a block. all our homony is beaten by this. I make the same saw-gate move another lever at the other end of which is suspended the upper head-block of a common hemp break (but much heavier than common) the break is ranged under that arm of the lever, in the same plane, and the center of it's motion is nearly as may be under that of the lever. while two persons feed the break with the hemp stalks, a third holds the hemp already beaten & formed into a twist, under the head block, which beats it most perfectly; but as one beater is not enough for 2. breakers, I lengthen that arm of the lever 3. f. beyond the point of suspension of the head block, and at the end suspend a pestle, which falling on a block under it, presents a 2d. beater. to make this work true, a section of a circle (like the felloe of a cart wheel, but shorter) is mortised on the end of the lever, with a groove in it for the suspending chain to lie in. the following is a coarse side view of the whole. two breakers & 2. beaters will compleatly break and beat 400. lb. in a day, & they need not be men. a patent has been obtained for fixing the upper



swords to the underside of the saw gate, and placing the bench & lower swords under it, and the patentee gave me leave to use it; but that place being wet and inconvenient, I thought it better to remove the action by a lever to a drier & more convenient spot, outside of the mill. I wish to make the same agent work an apparatus for fulling our homespun, but have not yet attempted it, tho' we need it much, as we clothe ourselves chiefly, & our laborers entirely in what we spin and weave in our family. . . . (DLC)

To George Fleming

Monticello Dec. 29. 15.

. . . I presume, like the rest of us in the country, you are in the habit of household manufacture, and that you will not, like too many, abandon it on the return of peace, to enrich our late enemy, and to nourish foreign agents in our bosom, whose baneful influence & intrigues cost us so much embarrasment & dissension. the shirting for our laborers has been an object of some difficulty. flax is so injurious to our lands, and of so scanty produce, that I have never attempted it. hemp, on the other hand, is abundantly productive and will grow for ever on the same spot. but the breaking and beating it, which has always been done by hand, is so slow, so laborious, and so much complained of by our laborers, that I have given it up, and purchased & manufactured cotton for their shirting, the advance price of this however now makes it a serious item of expence; and in the mean time a method of removing the difficulty of preparing hemp occurred to me, so simple & so cheap, that I return to it's culture and manufacture. to a person having a threshing machine, the addition of a hemp break will not cost more than 12. or 15. D. you know that the first mover in that machine is a horizontal horsewheel with cogs on it's upper face. on these is placed a wallower and shaft

which give motion to the threshing apparatus. on the opposite side of this same wheel I place another wallower and shaft, thro' which, and near it's outer end, I pass a cross-arm of sufficient strength, projecting on each side 15. I. in this form. nearly under the cross



arm is placed a very strong hemp-break, much stronger & heavier than those for the hand. it's head block particularly is massive, and 4. f. high, and near it's upper end, in front, is fixed a strong pin (which we may call it's horn). by this the cross arm lifts & lets fall the break twice in every revolution of the wallower. a man feeds the break with hemp stalks, and a little person holds under the head block a large twist of the hemp which has been broken, resembling a twist of tobacco but larger, where it is more perfectly beaten than I have ever seen done by hand. if the horse wheel has 144. cogs, the wallower 11. rounds, and the horse goes 3 times round in a minute, it will give about 80. strokes in a minute. I had fixed a break to be moved by the gate of my sawmill, which broke & beat at the rate of 200. lb. a day. but the inconveniences of interrupting that induced me to try the power of a horse, and I have found it answer perfectly, the power being less, so also probably will be the effect, of which I cannot make a fair trial until I commence on my new crop. I expect that a single horse will do the breaking & beating of 10 men. something of this kind has been so long wanted by the cultivators of hemp, that as soon as I can speak of it's effect with certainty, I shall probably describe it anonymously in the public papers, in order to forestall the prevention of it's use by some interloping patentee. . . . (DLC)

To Charles Willson Peale

Monticello May 8. 16.

. . . in a former letter I mentioned to you that I had adapted a hemp break to my sawmill, which did good work. I have since fixed one to my threshing machine in Bedford, which breaks & beats about 80. lb a day with a single horse. the horizontal horsewheel of the threshing machine drives a wallower and shaft, at the outer end of which shaft is a crank which lifts a common hemp-break the head of which is made heavy enough to break the hemp with it's knives, & to beat it with it's head. . . . (DLC)

ORCHARDS

ORCHARDS were started at Monticello in 1769, a year before Jefferson moved to his mountaintop. At Monticello there was a South Orchard below the vegetable garden on the southeastern slope of the mountain, and a North Orchard on the northern side. The South Orchard was the larger of the two and contained almost every variety of fruit and berry that would grow successfully in that climate. There were also smaller orchards located at various other places at Monticello, and probably also at his other plantations. Jefferson knew the location of every fruit tree in his orchards and whether they were living or dead. His love for fruit trees was so intense that he was constantly speaking of the orchards in bloom.

See the many references to "Orchards," "Fruit Trees," and "Trees," in the *Garden Book*.

MILLET

WRITING to Colonel Fulwar Skipwith on April 17, 1810, Jefferson remarks, "Overhauling my seeds reminded me that I was to send you some Millet seed. it is now inclosed. put it into drills 3. or 4. f. apart so that you may conveniently plough it, and the stalks at 6. I. distance in the drill. it is planted immediately after corn planting, say in May. it is to be used for the table as homony, boiled or fried, needs neither husking nor beating, & boils in about two hours. it is believed here it will yield 100 bushels to the acre. I shall have some acres of it this year."

Jefferson made plans for sowing millet in 1809, but apparently he did not sow it until the spring of 1810. By September 14, it was fit for use. It was probably some of the same lot of millet seeds that Jefferson sent to Mr. Skipwith on April 17.

Jefferson considered millet as one of the subsidiary articles for the support of the farm. He no doubt continued to plant it from year to year.

See references to "Millet" in the *Garden Book*.

RED BEETS AND CARROTS

JEFFERSON grew beets and carrots every year in his vegetable garden, and in 1814 grew eighteen bushels of carrots. But as to what extent he grew beets and carrots as subsidiary articles for stock feed on the farm is not known. Since he gives in the *Farm Book* Arthur Young's method for feeding carrots to horses, it would seem that he at least raised carrots for this purpose.

See "Beets" and "Carrots" in the *Garden Book*.

TOBACCO
PUMPKINS

JEFFERSON grew pumpkins, as an auxiliary to his rotation of main crops, to feed his horses, oxen, milk cows, and to fatten his hogs. He wrote to David Gelston on April 3, 1814, “. . . he will with pleasure give them [pumpkin seed] a trial, the pumpkin being a plant of which he endeavors every year to raise so many as to maintain all the stock on his farms from the time they come till frost, which is from 2. to 3. months. besides feeding his workhorses, cattle and sheep on them entirely, they furnish the principal fattening for the pork, slaughtered. a more productive kind will therefore be of value. . . .”

At Monticello Jefferson planted eight acres of pumpkins on each side of the river, and in Bedford County he planned to plant eight acres of them at each of his plantations, Poplar Forest, Tomahawk, and Bear Creek. They were usually planted in new clearings. He expected the pumpkins to feed all of the stock at least for two months.

See “Pumpkins” and “*Cucurbita pepo*” in the *Garden Book*.

Tobacco*

It is a culture productive of infinite wretchedness. Those employed in it are in a continued state of exertion beyond the powers of nature to support. Little food of any kind is raised by them; so that the men and animals on these farms are badly fed, and the earth is rapidly impoverished.—*Jefferson in Notes on the State of Virginia, 1787.*

TOBACCO AND WHEAT were Jefferson’s chief money crops. Both of them were grown in Albemarle and Bedford Counties; but since the soil in Bedford County was much better adapted for tobacco-growing than was that in Albemarle, a larger percentage of Jefferson’s tobacco was grown there. Wheat grew well in both counties, so a large acreage of wheat was grown in both places.

Jefferson planted tobacco at Monticello as early as 1768. His share of the crop for that year was 8,060 pounds. W. Hickman, who made the crop on shares, was given 1,721 pounds as his part. Jefferson’s interest in tobacco-growing in Bedford County began in

* There are many other letters from Jefferson and to him, and records in his account books regarding his transactions in tobacco, which are similar to those included here. Copies of these and of the lists and manifests referred to in the text are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

1773 when his wife inherited extensive properties in that county from her father, John Wayles. In 1774 thirty-five hogsheads of tobacco were grown at Poplar Forest, and in 1775 twenty-six hogsheads were shipped from the same place. From 1773 until his death in 1826, Jefferson's chief source of money for paying his debts came from the Bedford tobacco. Jefferson never suspended tobacco culture in Bedford County, but in Albemarle County its culture was several times suspended and almost completely abandoned.

Jefferson followed the usual routine as practiced by the other tobacco-growers, of Albemarle and Bedford Counties, in planting, harvesting, curing, and marketing his tobacco crop. January, February, and March were the months for making the plant beds and sowing the seeds. By the end of May most of the young plants had been drawn from the beds and put into hills that had been prepared for them. After the roots were firmly anchored to the ground, the tobacco received its first working. Careful cultivation of the soil was continued until the tobacco was "laid by." Priming and topping the plants was done when they were ready for that work. Suckering and worming were two operations that required constant repetition. Freshets, droughts, winds, and hailstorms were forces that might come at any time to ruin the crop. Severe frosts, too, might kill the plants at the end of the growing season, as well as the young plants in the beds.

Cutting the tobacco usually took place in September, but this operation depended entirely on the time that it was ripe. Cutting the plant too early was as harmful as waiting for overmaturity. Jefferson's tobacco was cured in the open field and in barns over open fires. There is no indication that he used flues to cure his tobacco, although the method was used by other growers during Jefferson's later years. Stripping, stemming, and prizing the tobacco followed the curing process. Only a small proportion of Jefferson's tobacco was stemmed. The hogsheads were made by his workmen, and the prizing or packing the tobacco into hogsheads was done by slaves. They were often careless about the prizing process, thereby causing great losses in marketing the tobacco.

In Albemarle County, Jefferson's tobacco, after being prized, was carried by wagons either to the "Tobacco Landing" at the Shadwell Mills, or to the nearby town of Milton. It was then loaded on bateaux and floated down the Rivanna River to the James River and then on to the market at Richmond. The tobacco did not always reach Richmond in perfect condition. It was often delayed in the river by low tides; and in rainy weather the water leaked into the

hogsheads, causing a spoilage of much of the leaf. And occasionally the tobacco hogsheads were "ducked" in the water on their passage to Richmond, causing the tobacco to become discolored and moldy. When the tobacco reached Richmond, whatever its condition on arrival, it was received by Jefferson's broker and sold at the market price or held for a higher one. Jefferson's tobacco was never auctioned off. Inspection of the tobacco took place in most cases at Richmond; but in the early years, when Milton flourished as a town, inspection often took place there.

The Bedford tobacco was hauled by wagons to Lynchburg, and there loaded on bateaux and floated down the James River to Richmond. On certain occasions the tobacco was sold in Lynchburg, but the prices were so much higher in Richmond that most of it was sold at that market. When the price was attractive Jefferson would sometimes sell his tobacco directly to a customer, but the great bulk of it was sold through his broker. At times Jefferson's tobacco found a market at Philadelphia, New York, and certain European cities.

The number of pounds of tobacco that were grown on Jefferson's plantations by his overseers, and the prices that were paid for it on the markets, varied considerably from year to year. These fluctuations in his tobacco probably caused him more anxiety than any of his other business operations. The letters which follow attest to this statement.

Growing tobacco, like holding slaves, was an evil that Jefferson had to put up with because of the times in which he lived. And although he would have considered life much happier by abandoning these practices, he was never able to do so.

From Account Book, 1775

June 1. memm of my tobo this year.	hhds
I expect from Bedford in all	26
from Elk-island in all	20
I have purchased from T. Garth	4
	<hr/>
	50

Mar. 12. bought of Norris two tobacco canoes for £ 8. to be paid for in corn or wheat of this year at the market price.

Apr. 29. Rucker's battoe is 50. f. long. 4. f. wide in the bottom & 6. f. at top. she carries 11. hhds & draws 13½ I. water.

From Account Book, 1776

Dec. 6. sold my crop of tobo (except the 7. hhds) to Carter Braxton

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

for Willing & Morris @ 20/ pr. C. & recd. from a bill on Willing & Morris for £ 50. Pensylva currcy. = £ 40 Virga which I inclosed to T. Nelson by Isaac Zane.

From Account Book, 1782

June 29. subscribed 500 lb tobo or £ 5 to mr J. N. Maury annually to preach at Charl[otte]svlle.

Sep. 18. pd N. Hamner Dep. Sheriff £ 5-6-8 cash & gave him order on mr Ross for £ 2-13-5½ cash & 2986 lb of tobo instead of £ 37-6-6 my taxes paialbe in tobo. deducting 37/6 for 3. casks.

To Nicholas Lewis

Paris July 29. 1787.

. . . I mentioned to you in my letter also that I could always get 36/ Virginia money for my tobacco delivered at Havre & proposed your having it sent there. further reflection and information of the Virginia prices convince me it would be best to send them either to Havre or to Bordeaux, at either of which places I could have them attended to. I find that my old friend A. Donald is settled at Richmond, is concerned in the tobacco trade, & particularly sends to Havre. I am confident that he would take on himself the having my tobaccoes shipped to me. the earlier they would come in the season, the better alwais. . . . (DLC)

To Alexander Donald

New York Aug. 29. 1790.

. . . so far also this (I hope our last) crop of tobacco looks well. little will be done in that way the next year, & less and less every year after. . . . (DLC)

To Mr. Hanson

Monticello Nov. 7. 1790.

Having visited my estate with a view to settle the affairs of the year, & being now on my departure, I presume it will be desireable to you to know, as it was to myself, the prospect of making my stipulated payment of the ensuing year. the wheat & other small resources of the estate, with the outstanding debts, are found somewhat more than sufficient to pay every existing demand against me, excepting the two to Jones, & Kippson & Co. they are therefore so appropriated, and the whole of the tobo. is left clear for these two demands. as nearly as can be estimated safely in the present state of the crop, my part will be about 69,000 lb. with which £ 700. sterl.

is to be paid. I leave directions with Colo. Nicholas Lewis, who takes care of my affairs, if 20/ sterl. can be got, to sell it in the country: otherwise to sell the 14,000 lb of it which is injured by firing, for what it will fetch, & to ship the residue to James Maury of Liverpool. if it is sold in the country, the proceeds shall be paid in the country: if in Britain, they shall be paid in Britain by order on Maury (not by bill of exchange) this I think the best possible arrangement for us all, for in this our interest is the same. . . . (MHi)

To Nicholas Lewis

Philadelphia Feb. 9. 1791.

. . . Understanding that tobo. is still low in Virginia, & the price here, for such as mine being from 26/ to 30/ Virginia money I have concluded to try an experiment of bringing part of it here, & if it suits the market the rest may come also. not being able to wait till the order would go through you, I have written to mr Hylton to send me immediately 20 hhds of it, as they are now in want here, & the river now opening they will soon have their supply. I am in hopes it may come in time to order on the residue, if the experiment succeeds. however I would not have the shipment of the rest to mr Maury delayed on that account, as perhaps I may find the bringing it here not to answer. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Feb. 24. 1791

. . . I have ordered 20. hogsheads of my tobacco to be brought here by way of experiment of this market, since which I recieve such encouragement from the tobacconists, who are perfectly intimate with the quality of the Albemarle & Bedford tobaccos that I am now pondering whether I shall not order the whole. the principal objection is that they never begin to manufacture tobacco till the month of September of the year following it's growth. then they call it *old* tobo. and will give generally $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dollar more for it than in the spring of the year. their capitals do not enable them to buy in the spring & let it lye by them, dead, till the fall. I believe I can have 5. dollars, crediting till September, that is to say if the quality is as good as what they have been accustomed to have from Albemarle & Bedford. the expences of bringing here will be 3. Doll. a hhd, to which must be added the state tax on exportation. still it will leave me $4\frac{2}{3}$ Dollars or 28/ our money. the only risk is that the quality may not be what they count on. . . . (DLC)

To Daniel S. Hylton

Philadelphia Mar. 1. 1791

. . . I thank you for the readiness with which you have been so good as to undertake my little commission about the tobacco. I know that there was among my tobo. from Bedford certain hogsheads injured by having fired in the field. if the inspectors can point them out, be so good as to let only one of the fired hhds come, as I have reason to believe they will not do here. I have great encouragement to bring this as well as my future crops here. I shall be determined by the sample I have asked you to send, which will be large enough to enable the tobacconists here to decide whether the quality suits them. if it does, I shall have the residue brought. this makes me anxious to receive the twenty hogsheads. . . . (ViU) (Copy)

To Mr. Hanson

Philadelphia April 5, 1791.

In my letter of Nov. 7. I informed you that on settling the affairs of the year there were expected to be 69,000 lb of tobo. to be appropriated to the making my annual payment of £ 500. sterl. to you & £ 200. sterl. to Kippon & co. finding that tobo. of that quality would sell better here than in Virginia & probably better than in England I ordered so much as was at the warehouse to be brought here, & by that sample have sold the whole crop at 5. dollars, except the 14,000 lb which was fired & is to be sold in Virginia. 55,000 lb here @ 5. Dollars & 14,000 lb there at the country price, will I presume; after paying the charges of bringing the former here, nearly about cover the 700 £ sterl. I have been obliged to credit till September, as the tobacco will then be considered as old tobo. which entitled me to 5/ the hundred more than I should have got, had I sold it as it is at present. but I have hopes that if the tobacco can all be got here in time I can discount the purchaser's bills at the bank in time for your payment. . . . (MHi)

To Daniel L. Hylton

Philadelphia May 15. 1791.

By Capt Stratton I have recieved the 4 hhds of tobo. among these is one of those which had been injured by fire, and serves sufficiently to show that tobo. of that quality cannot be sold here at any price. I must therefore ask your particular attention that there be no more of the fired tobo. sent here. I understand there were about 14,000 lb, say 12 hhds, fired. should there be no other means of distinguishing them from the good, I must be at the expence of having them opened & examined at Richmond. . . . (MHi)

TOBACCO

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello July 7. 1791.

. . . I am informed by Colo. Lewis that all the Tobacco except 5 or 6 Hhds. which have not yet gone down the river from Lynchburg, has been shipped by Mr. Hylton for Philadelphia. The crop at Poplar Forest a fortnight ago was promising. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1791

Mar. 27. sold my Albemarle tobo. 13 hhds = [blank] lb to Lieper @ 5. D. and the rise till paimt. which is to be in Sep. also he is to have any Bedfd. tobo. on same terms.

To Alexander Dodson

Philadelphia Jan 1. 1792.

If my letter of Dec. 5 produced disappointment to you, be assured that your's of the 18th. was not less mortifying to me. it was in a tone of complaint to which no action of my life has ever justly composed me. I think I may say with truth that no man on earth has ever been readier to do every thing possible to discharge that debt, of a portion of which you are become the representative. the first year after the death of mr Wayles who contracted it, I sold 5000 pounds worth of land and tendered the bonds to mr Jones's agent who refused to receive them. There was not then a shilling of paper money in circulation; but before payment was received, it was not worth receiving. at the close of the war I delivered my whole estate into the hands of two of the best men on earth, and have not now for seven years drawn one shilling of it's profits for my own use: and finding that this has not answered, I again sold property enough to pay the whole debt. not having the power of creating money, I know not what more I could have done. but you say that in my letter to mr Hanson & yourself I promised that the bond assigned to you should be pointedly paid in September. you have not duly attended, Sir, to those letters. if you will have the goodness to look at them, you will find they contain no other promise than that the nett proceeds of the tobacco which should come here should be duly divided between that & the demand of another creditor. knowing how subject to disappointment these means of payment are, I carefully avoided saying I would do any thing which did not depend on myself. the tobo. is not yet all come to hand. there is less in the amount than I had been taught to expect. the expenses of bringing it from the plantations to this place and the intermediate expences have exceeded what was supposed. what is already come is not yet

paid for. none of these things depended on me, & therefore in my letters I made myself responsible for none of them.—as to the time & means of paying the balance, I shall defer saying anything precise till I learn the result of the sale which was to take place last month, and the aid obtained from that towards this payment. as soon as I receive that information I will again revise the subject & write to you, and in the mean time only say I shall leave nothing untried to effect it. . . . (MHi)

To Daniel L. Hylton

Philadelphia Mar. 13. 1792.

. . . I have concluded to have my tobo. of the last growth brought here also. it all comes from Bedford, & probably has begun to arrive at the warehouse. as capt Stratton plies regularly between Richmond & this place, & there will be nothing but the Bedford tobo. I have thought it might be best to let him bring the whole of it, and that he could indeed, if he will do it, take the whole trouble of paying warehouse fees, &c. to be repaid him here, so as to leave me under no necessity of troubling you again this year. . . . (MHi)

From Daniel L. Hylton

Richmond James River Virginia Apl 11, 1792.

. . . 13 Hhds Shipt on bd the Union Capt Toulson

4 do. by the Thomas Capt Stratton

22 do. by do. June 16.

2 do. by do. { taken from Balls Whouse at Manchester
no Aud. or bill of Lading given

2 do. by do. Shipt last month, say March 1792

43 Hhds

(MHi)

To Thomas Leiper

Philadelphia Apr. 24. 1792.

I received some days ago from mr Hylton, the gentleman who forwarded my tobacco to me, the statement below.* by this it appears that there were two hhds of which I had not notice. I presume they came during my absence, & were the two for which there was no bill of lading, and are to be added to the 39. of which I gave you a statement before. the two which he mentions last are now arrived here in the Thomas, Capt King, and you will be so good as to receive them. it will be necessary to weigh them, as they have not

* See letter Hylton to Jefferson, April 11, 1792.

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sent me the weights. these making in all 43. hogsheads, are the whole of the crop of 1790. which I sold you. I should now therefore be glad to settle the account and close that transaction.

Mr. Hylton (who past thro' here to New York on Sunday) informs me my crop of 1791. is now at the warehouse. he speaks highly of the quality. I must decide on it's destination, whether to Europe or this place before his return which will be on Saturday, and shall be willing to treat with you about it. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Leiper

Philadelphia May 27. 1792.

My tobacco arrived here yesterday by the Linnet capt Weymouth, whom I will direct to deliver it to you. there are 30. hhds, supposed to weigh about 40,000 lb. but the wieghts not having been forwarded, it may perhaps be necessary for you to weigh it here. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Leiper

Phila. May 29th. 1792

I have examined Six of your Hhds of Tobo and found them of a good quality but much damaged by water but concluded it was not generally the case but this afternoon I went on purpose to examine the remender and find them full as bad. I have ordered the Coopers to open some twelve of them and I beg you would send or come and see them at half after Six this afternoon for there is a very great number of them not in a merchantable order. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia June 1. 1792.

. . . my tobo. is all arrived here, but in such miserable condition that I am obliged to give up half a dollar in the hundred of the price, making a loss of 200 dollars in the whole. the chief injury has been from rain between Bedford & Richmond which the badness of the hogsheads could not preserve the tobacco from. the purchaser admitted my Albemarle tobo. of the last year to have been equal to any he ever saw, and that the good and uninjured part of this was as good as that. he has promised me to make some observations in writing on what is necessary to put it in the best condition for market, which I propose to send to mr Clarke. better casks and a separation into qualities will be well worth while, and the first alone should come here. . . . (DLC)

To James Brown

Monticello July 29. 1792.

. . . After a two years trial of the Philadelphia market with my tobo. I am now disposed to try that of London, and think to send my growing crop to mr Donald. it is of the same plantations in Bedford, and of the same manager with ready money. . . . (DLC)

From James Brown

Richmond 1st. Augt. 1792.

. . . I am much pleased to observe you intend shipping your Tobacco to London hereafter. . . .

Qualities of 35 Hhds Tobacco bout. of Mr. Jefferson in 1790 shipp'd per the Elizabeth to London.

Warehouse						
Market Nos.		Weight				
T J No.	75.	Nett..	1481	Sold at 2¼ d plb indifft Quality		
"	76.	"	..1380	good Quality, Colour & smell		
"	119	"	..1443	ditto.....do.....do		
"	126	"	..1460	ditto.....do.....do		
"	146	"	..1445	ditto.....do.....do		
"	183	"	..1447	ditto.....do.....do		
"	178	"	..1293	Sold at 2¼ very indifferent Quality		
"	93	"	..1515	good Quality, Colour & smell inclined to		
"	100	"	..1414	ditto	ditto	black fat
"	124	"	..1470	ditto	ditto	half Black
"	125	"	..1505	Good Quality ½ black		
"	130	"	..1511	ditto	ditto	
"	176	"	..1401	ditto	ditto	
"	87	"	..1461	Good Quality, colour & smell		
"	97	"	..1459	ditto	ditto	
"	136	"	..1434	ditto	ditto	
"	147	"	..1476	ditto	ditto	
"	173	"	..1393	Sold at 2¼d plb . . indifferent Quality		
"	174	"	..1292	indifferent Quality . . bad Colour		
"	121	"	..1420	Good Quality Colour & smell		
"	122	"	..1470	ditto	ditto	
"	128	"	..1478	ditto	ditto	
"	177	"	..1527	good Quality & smell part fat		
"	181	"	..1446	good Quality colour & smell		
"	182	"	..1425	ditto	ditto	
"	120	"	..1487	ditto	ditto	part blackfat
"	123	"	..1481	ditto	ditto	do
"	139	"	..1502	ditto	ditto	do
"	150	"	..1437	ditto	ditto	large stemd
"	180	"	..1554	ditto	ditto
"	127	"	..1552	ditto	ditto
"	560	"	..1424	Good Quality colour & Smell		

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[TJ No.]561 [Nett.] 1500	ditto	ditto (slovenly handled)
" 545 " ..1525	ditto	ditto
" 549 " ..1529	ditto	ditto
" 179 " ..1221	ditto	ditto

(MHi)

To Alexander Donald

Philadelphia Oct. 11. 1792.

Having determined to try my Bedford tobacco this year at the London market, I could have no hesitation to whom to consign it. I have therefore ordered it to be very carefully handled, and in some degree sorted, to be got down to Richmond as early as possible & there delivered to mr Brown to be shipped to you on my account. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Oct. 22. 1792.

. . . In it [*a previous letter*] I had given you an account of your loss by the frost at Poplar-forest which Clarke rendered me by letter of 10. inst. He says that you will have less Tobacco for market by one half than you would otherwise have had but makes no estimate of the quantity. *Our* loss is allmost total: he cut as much as will make 6 or 7 thousand weight but the greater part of it had been exposed to the first frost, of the 21. ult. & he thinks cannot stand inspection. From his silence I suppose there is none of yours in this predicament. . . . (MHi)

To James Brown

Philadelphia April. 7. 1793.

. . . I have not learned whether my Bedford tobo. is got down to you, & if down whether it is shipped. if it be not shipped I should wish it to go in an American bottom if possible, or if that be impossible, then that it be ensured; as I think the information now merits credit that war is declared between France & Great Britain, this circumstance may render the market more advantageous for what gets safely to it. (ViU)

From Account Book, 1794

Apr. 30. sent Dan. L. Hylton order to receive & ship to Caleb Lownes Philadelphia the 4. following hhds of my tobo from Bedford

No. 70.	1566. lb nett
76.	1608.

[No.] 64. 1526.

4. 1516

6216 lb. to be delivered by him to mr Mussi who is to give a guinea the hundred = 290D.08. . . .

June 3. sold to James Brown the residue of my tobacco, to wit
14. hhds weighing 18.813 nett at 28/ cash, amountg. to
£263-7-9.

To Francis Willis

Monticello July 15. 96.

. . . my hills are too rough ever to please the eye, and as yet unreclaimed from the barbarous state in which the slovenly business of tobacco making had left them. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Jan. 9. 97.

. . . it is the general opinion here that the wheat is so much killed that it will not be worth reaping. many propose to plant tobo. in their best wheat fields. I have determined to put tobo. into my new lands, that we may have something made. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia May 19. 97.

. . . good James river tobo. 8½ to 9 D. I have not yet been able to sell mine which I hold at 11. Dol. they admit that price has been given for the best hogsheads of old tobo. and tho' I have offered a credit equivalent to September (when it would be considered as old tobo.) yet I have not been able to engage. I think I shall keep it on hand till then rather than give up such a difference. hereafter I will make my money engagements for September instead of July as there is a loss of 25. per cent in selling before September. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia June 15. 97.

. . . our tobo. is sold at 10. Dollars. the first paiment being at 60. days I will contrive to get it negociated so that you may command the sum you desired by the time you desired. . . . (DLC)

From Account Book, 1797

June 17. J. Barnes has sold to Wm. & Samuel Keith my crop of tobo.
17. hhds which by the Lynchburg weights were 25.300. lb.

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& now weighs only 24,014 lb @ 10. Doll. per Cwt @ 60. & 90. days paiment. 354 lb of the above were drawn out & not reprised, and sold @ 7. D. the whole amount of sales was . . 2390.78

to wit. Freight 85. D. haulage 6.37 storage 13.60	}	
weighing @ 2. cents pr. C. 4.74 portorage		
turng out &c. 3.19		
		D
cooperage 11.80		124.70
Commission on amt. of sales 2½ pr. Cent		59.75
postage of letters . . . . .		.42
		<hr/>
		184.87
nett proceeds		2205.91
		<hr/>
		2390.78

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Jan. 25. 98.

. . . George should be hurried to get his tobacco down. . . good tobo. sells here at 13. D. . . (DLC)

To George Jefferson

Philadelphia May 6. 98.

. . . the price of old tobacco here (of good quality) is 13. Dollars. I have had a thought (as mine is new) of offering to deliver it immediately to a purchaser, at the old tobo. price, waiting for the money till it becomes old tobacco, that is to say till Octob. 1. however I would rather sell it in that way in Richmond, if I could get an equivalent price, allowing for the expenses of bringing here. there is a little upwards of 16 ~~M~~ from Bedford, & will be 5. or 6. ~~M~~ from Monticello. I will thank you to inform yourself what price I can get at Richmond on a credit till Oct. 1. and to let me know as soon as possible, that if I do not sell there, I may be able to sell here before my departure. the Bedford tobo. weighs on average upwards of 1600. lb per hogshead. . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond May 14th. 1798.

. . . I have in conformity to your direction disposed of your Tobacco at \$13, payable the 1st. of Octr. & the 12th. of Novr. to a Mr. Hooper. I offered it to every person who I thought was acquainted with it's superior quality, except to Mr. Brown, to whom

Mr. Randolph (who is now in Town) offered it with his own. Mr. B. having refused positively to give the price, Mr. R. had a thought (for his own) of accepting an offer he made him of 11\$ certain & the rise, but upon reflection he concluded to let it go with yours, as from your letter he feared you apprehended a fall, which had much weight with me, as he informed me that you had been very sanguine in your expectations respecting it.

I am sorry to inform you Mr. R. tells me that so far from there being 5 or 6000 at Monticello, there will not be saved more than 1 Hhds which I included in the sale with the rest, this he says is owing to its having been neglected the snow having driven in upon it so as to rot at least two thirds. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond May 28th 1798.

I was by last post favor'd with yours of the 20th inclosing manifests for 10 Hhds: Tobacco weighing 16447 lbs which I have delivered to Mr. Hooper.

I am extremely sorry that I could not with the smallest degree of propriety even hint it was my wish (because it is yours) that he should give security; much less could I demand it. although it is customary in Philadelphia to have some guarantee, it is so far from being so here, that to intimate such a thing would be considered by a merchant of credit as an insult; and if it would have been so considered when I was making the bargain, to attempt now to change it by demanding a guarantee, would be entirely out of the question. but for this circumstance I surely would have asked for security in the first instance; as in these times it is undoubtedly a prudent measure even from the most wealthy. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Belmont June 3: 98

. . . Your affairs at Shadwell go on well, the whole crop of Tobacco (46000) is planted & stands. George is not so forward, he cannot command his force: there were in my absence some instances of disobedience so gross that I am obliged to interfere & have them punished myself. Several of the people had actually planted considerable crops of tobacco before I knew they designed it. I have refused permission to cultivate it, & insist on their planting something which you have allways suffered when at home, in its place. . . . (ViU)

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To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia June 14. 98.

. . . in the meantime I thank you for putting an end to the cultivation of tobacco as the peculium of the negroes. I have ever found it necessary to confine them to such articles as are not raised for the farm. there is no other way of drawing a line between what is theirs & mine. . . . (CSmH)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Jan. 17. 99.

. . . the shutting of the river has prevented any tobo. coming here as yet; so nothing is known about the price. at New York the new tobo. is 13. Doll. Georgia has sent a much larger quantity there than had been expected, & of such a quality as to place it next to the Virginia. it is at 11. D. while the tobo. of the Carolinas & Maryland are but 10. D. I suspect that the price will be at it's maximum this year. whether that will be more than 13. D. I do not know, but I think it will. when this city comes into the market, it will greatly increase the demand. we know too that immense sums of cash are gone & going on to Virginia, such as were never before heard of. every stage is loaded. some pretend here it is merely to pay for last year's tobo. but we know that that was in a considerable degree paid for, & I have no doubt that a great part of this money is to purchase the new crops. if I were offered 13. D. in Richmond, perhaps I should take it, for the sake of securing certain objects, but my judgment would condemn it. wheat here is 1.75. . . . (MHi)

To John Wayles Eppes

Philadelphia Jan. 22. [1799]

. . . I was obliged to sell my tobo. (of 1798.) for 7. Dollars, which clears only 6½ per hundred, & at long credit. but it was to a solid manufacturer not a merchant. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Jan 30. 99.

. . . no tobacco yet at this market, nor any new symptoms what may be expected. the Georgia tobo. arrived at N. York I learn is of their 1st. growth, consequently their best. little more of that remains to come. when the 2d. & 3d. growths come in, their quality will make them as nothing in the market. South Carolina makes about 12,000 hhds, the double of their ordinary crop. to balance these circumstances, all the markets of Spain are open to us &

depend on us chiefly for their supplies, their intercourse with their own tobo. colonies being entirely at an end by the naval superiority of England. on a whole I still expect a rise of price. but I am meditating to offer my tobo. at Richmd on a credit till Septemb. for the highest price which shall be given there in the mean time. I am very anxious indeed to hear it is all arrived there. . . . (DLC)

To George Jefferson

Philadelphia Feb. 7. 99.

I wrote you last on the 31st. ult. since which yours of the 29th. is come to hand, as also a letter from mr B. Clarke my manager at Poplar Forest giving me a statement of the wieghts of my tobacco there . . . there are 29. hhds averaging 1509½ lb making in the whole 30,190. I rely on Clarke's diligence that it will be down with you by the first opportunity. . . .

P. S. from Albemarle there will be about 20,000 lb tobo. and pretty certain of a better quality than the Bedford. (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Apr. 5. 99.

. . . 4. hhds of my tobo. left this yesterday. there are still 9. to go. they will make between 19. and 20,000. I am not in the least alarmed with the [*illegible*] on the price of tobo. this is not an article which is up one day & down the next at any market so long as to prevent partial combinations. it must continue to rise at the July markets in America till September, & in Europe till December. but seeing that the Richmond price can be affected by the combination of a few persons, I must add to the former conditions on which mine is to be offered that it is at no rate to go at less than 12. Dollars. the market started at that at New York, has only sunk half a dollar by the present scarcity of vessels, & will doubtless rise there & in Philadelphia in the course of the summer & autumn to 14. or 15. D. when the crop of 98. gets to Europe, it will probably so far satisfy the demands to prevent future rise, unless the crop of 99. should [fall very] short. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Apr. 18. 99.

. . . since my last 4. hhds of my tobo. from this place have gone down. we began to be under great apprehension (and there is certainly great reason for it) that the tobacco from this warehouse would a great part of them remain here. I have therefore with

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great difficulty got a William Johnson to oblige himself to carry the residue of mine at his next trip. to do this I was obliged to engage to give him a backload of from 4. to 6. \mathfrak{M} weight. this I hope you will be able to make good out of Dr. Bache's or mr Trist's goods, letting him understand that it is by my procurement as my own things were come away. and if my nailrod (which I understand by Richardson is come from Carolina to Richmond) should come in time, I should wish him to have a preference for it as an encouragement to oblige me hereafter, on his agreeing to bring it @ $\frac{1}{3}$ the faggot the price I pay to others. be assured there is no reason to fear for the price of tobo. and that the stories on that subject have been fabrications, whether in England or America I know not. but it is just as possible for a stone to fall upwards as for the price of tobo. to have fallen in Europe before actual receipt of the present crop. I believe the present crop will barely satisfy the market without lowering the price, and that the continuance or fall of price depends altogether on the crop now to be planted, whether that be plentiful or short. . . . (MHi)

To Henry Remsen

Monticello [1799 May 17 recd.]

. . . I have a crop of last year's growth of about 90,000 lb not yet sold, and which I should be tempted to send round to New York if I were sure of 11. Dollars there. it is made on the red mountain lands. my tobaccos have always been considered here in Philadelphia, London & Glasgow as of the very first quality, & both here & in Philadelphia I have always been able to command for them from half a dollar to a dollar a hundred more than the market price of the best James river. In Philadelphia I have sold it several times for manufacture & have always had a dollar more than any body else: and the quality of the last crop is so extraordinary that I may safely say if there ever was a better hogshead of tobacco bought or sold in New York I may give it to the purchaser. I wish to know what price I can get for it at New York, and whether I may so far rely on the price as to send it round. . . . (CtY)

To George Jefferson

Monticello May 18. 99.

. . . Johnston took down 7. hhds of my tobo. from Milton & the remaining 2. hhds were to go or will go immediately by another hand. I am entirely astonished at the stagnation of the price of

tobo. in London, before the arrival of this year's shipments; for in Feb. (the date of our accounts) little of the tobo. of 98. could be there. but our suspension law, & the British monopoly of our commerce tend to accumulate all our produce in London, & all [illegible] of Europe nearly being shut to them, it cannot be got to market if it is in immense demand. I have written to N. York & Philadelphia & if I find I can clear 10. D. by sending to either of those ports I believe I shall send my tobo. there. if there were a vessel going to Amsterdam or Hamburg I would prefer trying those markets to England. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 14th. July 1799.

. . . Tobo. has become more dull than ever, scarcely any one appears inclined to purchase at any price, 40/ is the very highest Cash price; I fear it has fallen never to rise again. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 18th. Novr. 99.

I am duly favored with yours of the 15th. with the nine manifests therein mentioned; I am sorry they did not come sooner as the last of your Tobo. was shipped to day 13 Hhds: on board the Sloop Little Sam Capt. Dickey, & 13 on board the Sloop Nancy Capt. Glisshart. These with the six shipped to New York make up your quantity except one Hhd: which the Inspectors say is not in the warehouse although we have their receipt. They will of course be liable. We understand they have made many such blunders, by allowing negroes to ship Tobo. in their absence. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1799

May. 17. repd Richard Terril 9/ which he had paid at Columbia for coopering & storing 2. hhds of my tobo. lodged there.

June 8. inclosed to G. Jefferson the manifests of my tobo. made here

TJ. No.	1.	108.	1550. nett	} Apr. 2d. 99. delivd. J. Henderson's boat
	2.	108.	1550.	
	3.	105.	1514.	
	4.	104.	1604.	} Apri. 18. delivd. W. Johnson's boat
Columbia ✓	5.	125.	1433.	
✓	6.	129.	1404.	
	8.	127.	1331.	
	9.	126.	1538.	
	12.	123.	1496.	} May. 7. Wm. Johnson.

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14.	106.	1663.	} May. 14. Wm. Johnson
15.	104.	1677.	
10.	124.	1320.	

✓ another No. 7. 128. 1316. is to be delivd to Wm. Johnson
with the hhd tobo. to be by him
delivd. to G. Jefferson

To Henry Remsen

Philadelphia Jan. 14. 1800.

. . . the rapid fall of the price of tobacco in all the markets has kept the holders of that commodity constantly doubtful what to do. the part of mine which I detained, I afterwards brought here, & after refusing several better offers have at length taken 7. Doll. a hundred. probably the same thing has taken place with you. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Jan. 13. 1800.

. . . I found on my arrival that Barnes had not had the courage to sell our tobacco notwithstanding my positive directions to do so. he could then I believe have got 7½ D. for it. I struggled for a fortnight for that price, but was obliged at length to take 7. D. at very long instalments, to wit, 2, 4, 6, 8, & 10 months. I was indeed confined almost entirely to Lieper, because I would not have trusted any merchant in Philadelphia for 10. months. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Jan. 28. 1800.

. . . our tobo. was sold to *Lieper* at 7. D. on 5 instalments of from 2. months to 2. months. the revenues will be about ⅔ of a dollar pr. C. so that we get 6⅓ D. nett. I wish we may do as well with that at N. York, which is not yet sold, notwithstanding my positive recommendations from Monticello to sell. . . . (CSmH)

To Henry Remsen

Philadelphia Mar. 4. 1800.

On receipt of your favor of Jan. 25. I thought it would be best to suffer the tobos. with which I had troubled you to lie, in confidence the nonintercourse law would have been suffered to expire, & that the price would then have sprung up. but the continuance of that law for another year, and the news that our envoys are landed at Lisbon, place the opening of the French market at such

a distance that I have thought it better to sell immediately. mr Lieper, who purchased the residue of the crop & knew it's quality was glad to purchase it, and accordingly I yesterday made sale of it to him for 6. D. pr. Cwt, which you mentioned in your last was as much as could then be got there, & it has been falling since here. we learn that on the 7th. of Dec. it was selling at Bordeaux at from 25. to 27. D. pr. Cwt, while in London the merchants will not receive it on consignment, but freight paid. so much do the tobacco states suffer by the shutting up of their markets, while the navigating & grain states by keeping the West Indies out of the operation of the law feel none of it's inconveniences. be so good as to have these tobaccos delivered to the order of mr Lieper, and for any expences preceeding the present time to draw on mr John Barnes here who will answer the draught, or will remit the money on recieving a note of the amount of expences. I have given you a great deal of trouble on a subject entirely out of your way; for which I have only barren regrets to offer you. the appearance of a better market in N. York than Philadelphia at that moment was the temptation. . . . (CtY)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Mar. 4. 1800.

. . . the continuance of the non intercourse law for another year and the landing of our commissioners at Lisbon, have placed the opening of the French market (where, at Bordeaux tobo. was selling at 25. to 27. D. pr. Cwt Dec. 7.) at such a distance, that I thought it better to sell our tobo. at N. York. Remsen had informed me in January that no more than 6. D. could then be got for it, and it has been falling since; and Lieper offering to take it there at 6. D. payable in 60. days I struck with him; and thus ends this tragedy by which we have both lost so much. . . . (DLC)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 14th. March 1800.

I have again spoken to the inspectors respecting your lost hhd. of Tobacco. They say they are willing to replace it by another from the same inspection & of the same weight; and that nothing more had ever heretofore been required of them. I informed them that you expected to be paid the same price that you had received for the balance of your crop, as otherwise you would sustain a loss in consequence of their neglect, and that if you received another hhd in lieu of it you would lose doubly, both in the fall in the

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price & in the quality of the Tobacco; to which they replied that the owner should run such risks, that generally there is as great a chance of a rise as for a fall, and that as they could not gain in the one case, so neither should they lose in the other, to which however they added a more satisfactory reason, that it is absolutely impossible for them *always* to deliver the right hhd: the heads being frequently out, and of course the owners mark gone, in which cases they can only go by the *Warehouse* number; and as there are so many of them, they must frequently in the hurry of business ship wrong hhds: however great their attention. . . . (MHi)

To James Lyle

Philadelphia Mar. 17. 1800.

I wrote you before I left home informing you of the unlucky error I had committed in not selling my tobo. of 98. 99. in May when I was offered 11. D. in Richmond: but believing it would be higher in the fall as usual, and unaware of the effect of the non-intercourse law, I kept it; & after bringing it here to lessen my loss, I have only lately been able to sell it for 7. Doll. at long instalments, running on to 10. months. it will not be therefore till September & October that the money will come in so as to enable me to pay what it was destined to pay last year. in the meantime the tobacco of 1799. 1800. is now on hand for the payment of 1800. that of the present year shall be surely applied to the payment of the next year, and so on till the whole be paid at the rate of 1000. D. a year, for under present circumstances I do not see that I can accomplish more. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Philadelphia Mar. 20. 1800.

. . . I shall be perfectly willing to settle for the lost hhd of tobo. with the inspectors on the terms you mention. I know it is difficult for them not to commit mistakes, & am willing to participate in the loss by taking the price there instead of what I got here for the rest of the same tobo. which was 7. Doll. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Leiper

Philada. Octr. 9th. 1800.

I received your very kind favor of the 26th Ult but too late to answer by last post. I am very much obliged for the offer of your Crop of Tobacco and more especially as you offer me a Credit till April. My letters from Richmond of the 18th. Ult: Quote Tobacco

of the first Quality at 26/ pr Ct. your currency, and the common Run at 24/ pr Ct. Six months interest will make it 33/5 our Currency and the freight and Charges to Philadelphia 40/11. I will notwithstanding give for your Crop of Tobacco delivered in good order in Philadelphia ten Dollars pr Ct. I will also take the Crops of Tobacco you mention for Four or Five years at One Guinea pr Ct. delivered in Richmond and if delivered in Philadelphia the freight, insurance & charges to Philadelphia, my reason for making my price at Richmond I expect the freight and insurance will be Two thirds less in a year or two than it is at present. I will engage to take your Tobacco at any time but as I cannot use them before the month of September I will not engage to pay for them before that period and should I not be able to pay then I will oblige myself to pay at the Rate of six pr Ct. pr Annum untill the money is paid you obliging yourself to deliver me Albemarle Tobacco equal in Quality to those I have heretofore received of you. Should Mr. Keys or any of your neighbours whom you know of your own knowledge make good Tobacco and approve of the Terms I will take from One to Two Hundred Hhds pr. Annum. I would wish also to have a promise that the Tobacco should be Cured without Smoke and when Packed into Hhds the Plants should be selected the first Quality into One Hhd and those of an inferior into Another. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Nov. 7. 1800.

Yours of the 3d. are recieved. if 5½ D. can be got for my tobo. in Richmond I would have you sell it at once, unless you see that the market is rising. credit to be given to the 1st. day of April. I inclose [*Jefferson inclosed them but they are omitted here*] you the Manifests for the 21. hhds. from Poplar Forest. whether you have before recieved those for the 9. hhds made here, or whether they have never been taken out I am unable to say at the moment of writing this. I will immediately enquire at Milton, & if not yet delivered out, they shall come by the next post. in the meantime you may sell by the weight & marks as stated above. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 10th. Novr. 1800.

Your favor of the 7th inclosing manifests for 21 Hhds Tobacco is duly received.

As the inspectors at Milton are not *over correct*, I think it neces-

sary to inform you that the manifests of that Tobo. have never been forwarded to us.

Although I suppose there would not be the smallest difficulty in obtaining the price you mention for the Tobacco, yet as information was received here last night from Philadelphia that our Envoys have concluded a treaty with France which is perfectly satisfactory to both parties, & which is forwarded on to Washington, I have concluded not to offer it for sale until I again hear from you.

I think however it would be well not to hold it up too long, as I am of opinion that the spirit of speculation will probably run the article up to a price which it cannot hold. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 10th. Decr. 1800.

The price of Tobacco having continued stationary from the date of my last until a few days past and having then rather declined, on receipt of intelligence that it had become so very dull in Philadelphia & New York that scarcely any sales were made, and of course that the prices in those places was merely nominal, I concluded, in compliance with your instruction, to make sale of yours, which I did accordingly to Macmurdo & Fisher of this place at 6 dollars payable the first of April next. . . .

This sale I am rather apprehensive may be somewhat below your expectation, but as the Houses to whom I made it is *perfectly safe* and, is *perfectly pointed* in complying with their engagements, I did not think myself justifiable in letting the opportunity slip, and especially when I took into consideration a circumstance with which you are not acquainted which is this, that in a falling market it is a very rare thing indeed to meet with any one who is considered to be entirely safe, who will give an extra price in consideration of a long credit. indeed *at any time* since the great fall in the price of Tobacco; it has not been a very usual thing for persons of undoubted credit to give more on time than is barely a equaty to the outlay of money. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Jan. 10. 1801.

I promised to procure for the Chevalier de Freire minister of Portugal an account of our manner of cultivating tobacco so detailed as that a person might, by it's instruction, pursue the culture with exactness. I always intended to have got two or three judicious planters to state to me their methods, which I should have noted

down, and out of the whole have made out one. I now see that it will not be in my power to do this; and yet if I fail it will be ascribed to jealousy or illiberality. I must therefore pray you to pay this debt for me. it will be more easy for you as you possess the subject within yourself which I did not. the principal division of the kinds into Sweet scented & Oroonoke, with only a partial specification of the principal varieties & their qualities will be sufficient. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Leiper

Philada. Febry. 17th. 1801.

I have this day examined nine Hogshead of your Tobacco and find none of them have been Wet & Dried again. It is true one of them is a little wet but where it received this damage none can tell it might have been in coming down your River or it might have received it on its way to Philadelphia but it is so extremely little that I think there is nothing due on the score of damage. Six of the Hhds of Tobo. were inspected at S P R Two at N N S and one at Lynch. Jackson & Wharton are extremely sorry for the information they give me the other day that one of your Hhds fell short in weight 234 lb. This Hhd they find on examination to be none of yours. J & Wharton shewed me an invoice of Tobacco purchased at the same time of yours which they say the quality was superior to yours—Ten Hhds at 31/6 and Fourteen Hhds at 33/ pr. Ct. V. Currency—J & Wharton informs their orders at Richmond was not to exceed for the very best Tobacco Five Dollars Fifty Cents their friends from the character of your Tobacco give Six and Ship't it them informing them at the same time if they would give them the first Cost and Commission they might have it which they agreed to do. It was not convenient to see any more of the Tobacco to day but I give them to understand I should attend when the others were opened and if there was any damage I had full power from you to make the Allowance. They informed me I ought to make an allowance of half a Dollar pr Ct. as the quality was not so good as formerly I was obliged to acknowledge it was the worst crop of yours I ever saw. I asked them their price for the whole Crop they said 7½ Dollars. I told them that was half a Dollar more than any sale that had been made in Town and I told them that about the time they made a Purchase of your Tobacco they had sold Twenty Hhds to be picked from 40 for six Dollars and a half at 60 and 90 days being in possession of these facts they had nothing to say but still I must inform you if the Crop of Tobacco I purchased of you last year and the Crop of yours in the hands of J & Wharton were

both for sale I certainly would give some $\frac{75}{100}$ or one Dollar pr Ct. more for what I had than what J & Wharton have got for sale. The prices of Tobacco at Richmond on the 10th. New 30/ Old 34/—Cash & 36/ at 90 days and as the Virginians expect great things from their intercourse with France I still hope that J & W will get clear of their Tobo. without much loss. I was begged to take it at Cost and charges but as the Tobacco was sound I did not see any claim they had upon you unless your friends engaged it as good as what I purchased of you last year, in that case they have. I still see the appearance as if the Tobacco had been hung up from hands taken from the heart of the Hhds but nothing like as if they had been wet. I observe you have said nothing to Clark or Gibson & Jefferson respectg the Tobacco. To the later I think you should say nothing but Clark you may give my compliments to him and inform it is my opinion if he handles your Tobacco as bad as he has done it this last year you will soon lose your Character of raising fine Tobacco. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Leiper

Washington Feb. 23. 1801.

I am much indebted to you for the trouble you have been so good as to take with Messrs. Jackson & Wharton on the subject of my tobo. for tho' I am under no obligation to have anything to do with them, my tobo. having been sold to Mc.Murdo & Fisher of Richmond, yet had there been any fraud in the package of the tobo. I should have no hesitation to relieve them from it. but your favor of the Feb. [*illegible*] the suggestion of it's having been wet before it was packed, of having [*lain*] in the water till near rotten, of deficiency of two or three hundred weight to the hogshead, seem to have vanished, & the fact to be only that they had bought one or two crops for a half or $\frac{3}{4}$ dollar less which *they think* of better quality. but this I presume happens to every man in every purchase. you observe it is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar per Cwt inferior to my crop of the preceding year. I have never doubted that. the preceding year is understood to have been the best year for the quality of tobo. which any planter ever remembers to have seen. when I sold you that crop I told you that my information was that I had never made one of equal quality, & probably should never be able to offer you such another. Mc.Murdo & Fisher gave me more than was given currently at Richmond at the time for other good crops. if they had desired, it should have been reinspected, as there is always a risk of some injury in the batteaux. they chose to take that risk, rather

than give an extra price for the privilege of reinspection. you mention that Clarke has not handled it as neatly as usual. I shall give him a lesson on that subject, and if you think it so grossly mis-handled as to be afraid on the purchaser & merit an allowance, I hope you will make it, & do whatever you think I ought in conscience to do, which I will confirm. observe that I have no knolege of this matter myself. I never saw a leaf of my tobo. packed in my life. when this sale was made to Mc.M. & F. I had not been at the place where the tobo. grew (the Bedford) for 20. years. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 6th April 1801

Your favor of the 27th. ultimo came duly to hand. The current Cash price of Tobacco is now from 35/. to 36/. 42/ has however been given where it has been opened and approved of; which price I was to day offered for yours in that way, and suppose the person would give it on receiving an answer from you. I do not think it probable though that you will approve of such a plan, as it operates very disadvantageously, where any is rejected, no person wishing to purchase under such circumstances, except at a very reduced price, and it may be observed too that it very frequently is refused, tho' of good quality, the purchaser wanting only a particular kind, as is the case in the present instance. Excepting this, the best offer I have had is 7\$: payable in 4 months, which I am of opinion it would be advisable to take; for as the European markets do not in my opinion justify such a price at present, I should certainly be for securing this price in preference to taking the chance of a rise; which nothing I think can occasion, except it is the planters holding up their crops, & to that I should not like to trust much longer. I am surprised at the small difference there is just now between the price in George Town and in this place. I suppose however it may be accounted for in some degree by the purchasers in G. T. intending it for the French Markets, where I have been informed the most inferior quality commands as good a price as the best James River.

Tobacco I understand is even dull in N. York at 6½\$: in Philadelphia it is 7 & 7½\$: but I am told that little, if any, is bought by the shippers, the manufacturers being the only purchasers.

Should you conclude to take the price now offered at 4 months you will be pleased to say so by return of the post, as the persons who make the offer bind themselves to take it if we can then decide. . . . (MHi)

TOBACCO

To George Jefferson

Monticello Apr. 17. 1801.

. . . I will take the 7. Doll. pr. Cwt offered you for my last year's tobo. payable in 4. months. on this subject I must inform you that mr Clarke by a late letter apprizes me that tho' the mass of the Bedford tobo. is as good as usual, yet there are a few hogsheads of inferior quality, which he would not advise to submit to reinspection. he could not specify the particuler hogsheads, having kept no notice of them. on the other hand, the crop from this place is declared by the Milton inspectors to be the *very best* crop ever passed at that inspection. you will use this information as you shall judge best. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 7th. Octr. 1801

I received last night your favor of the 3d. and have in reply to inform you that the present price of Petersburg Tobacco is 4\$: to which it has risen within this week or two from 22/. As I understand the present growing crop will be a very short one, I do not suppose that it will be so low when it comes to market as the article is at this time; and I am therefore inclined to think that this would be the best time for you to make settlement with Ross. it is not improbable however that although the *growing crop* may be above 24/. yet that the *old crop* may go below it when the new comes in, owing to the very inferior quality of the old of which you have doubtless heard, for if the new should be as good as usual the shippers perhaps would not purchase any other except at a reduced price. indeed I should think this almost certain if I did not calculate upon the planters holding up very much in expectation of a rise in consequence of the short crop. They generally begin to bring it to market about the first of Novr., but as this depends very much upon *seasons* & other casualties no great regularity can be expected. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Leiper

Philada. Novr. 1801 [recd. Nov. 21.]

I have been about writing you for some months back but I was of the opinion Tobacco would be lower in this I have been mistaken. I want to be informed if your last years Crop is on hand and what will be the price and day of payment.

I have a letter from Richmond dated the 11th. that Quotes Prime Tobacco at 36/ to 37/6, inferior at 33/ V. Currency. If your crop is unsold and at Richmond I will take it at the highest price viz

37/6 Currency and pay an interest of six pr. ct. from the day it is ship't at Richmond. If those Terms are agreeable, you may order your Agent at Richmond to ship me your Tobacco immediately for I am in immediate want of some 40 or Fifty Hhds and this market I am afraid will not produce this fall of the Quality I wish to purchase. Indeed Sir to be candid with you I have not manufactured Fifty Hhds of Tobacco equal in quality to those I purchased of you last ever since that period. If your last years' Tobacco is sold I should thank you for an offer of your present Crop on its arrival in Richmond. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Leiper

Washington Dec. 2. 1801.

. . . my crop of tobacco of the last year's growth was sold in April. that lately received will be small, the crop of tobacco this year being generally short. mine will not be half a one. I fear too the quality will be indifferent; at least that was the expectation when I was at home in September. in that case I always sell in Richmond where they are less anxious about quality. should it turn out better than was expected, you shall have the offer of it. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 8th. Decr. 1801.

Our friend in Petersburg has at length made a purchase of 14 Hhds Tobo. weighing 15,308 @ 28/. = £ 214-6-3. he has omitted to charge commission, which we calculate on paying him. he assigns as the reason for his not having sooner made the purchase, that he could not get it for less than 30/. and was satisfied that it would soon be lower. I suspect the fact is he did not like to acknowledge his error in not having made the purchase immediately on his receiving the order, when *such a parcel* might have been bought even lower than 28/. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1801

Apr. 20. the following is the list of my tobo. made at Monticello the last year

T. J. No. 1.	151.	1549
2.	162.	1388
3.	150.	1556
4.	160.	1378
5.	149.	1513
6.	163.	1318
7.	161.	1326

10,028

TOBACCO

From George Jefferson

Richmond 11th. June 1802.

. . . I suppose that you will before this, have heard that 12 Hhds only of your Tobacco have yet come down, a part of which is stored in our own lumberhouse for want of room in the public Warehouses. the current price for transient Tobacco is now only from 25/ to 26/. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Leiper

Philada. June 23d. 1802.

I suppose by this time your information respecting the quality of your Tobacco is correct. if it is of the first quality and for sale please to inform me of the quality and Cash price delivered at Richmond, or if agreeable to you which will certainly be more agreeable to me your Credit price from one to six months for I am and have been these eighteen months very much a head of my money owing entirely to my not being able to collect my debts. If Mr. Randolphs Crop is not sold I should like to take it also indeed I would rather have his Tobacco than yours for I have always been of the opinion that the Albemarle Tobacco is the best in Virginia. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Leiper

Washington July 6. 1802.

Your favors of June 3. [*i.e.*, 23] were duly recieved. I made the last year but little tobacco, and my overseer informed me it was not good. it was deemed generally an unfavorable year both for the quality and quantity of tobacco made. in consideration of the quality I have lodged mine at Richmond with a view of selling it there; and had authorized my correspondent to take 6. D. @ 90 days for it. I have lately a letter from him in which he tells me he can get 5. D. cash, but not 6. D. credit. I have made up my mind to let it be there till I can get 6. D. for it: consequently it is at your service there at that price, & taking it according to it's Lynchburg weights. but it is not, as I grant of the fine quality of some of the crops you have bought of me. mr Randolph makes little or no tobacco. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 29th. Sepr. 1802.

. . . I yesterday made sale of your Tobacco at 5½\$ to Mr. John Richard who was specially commissioned by *Jackson & Wharton* of Philadelphia to purchase it. . . . (MHi)

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

From Account Book, 1802

Mar. 8. Mar. 4. 1801 to Mar. 4. 1802.

Tobacco 2,974

June 11. recieved the Manifests of my crop of tobo. of last year at Poplar forest. [Total 18,353 lbs.]

Sep. 8. inclosed to Jefferson & Gibson the manifests of my tobo. of 1801. to wit 18,466 lb as entered ante June 11. to be sold.

Oct. 5. G. Jefferson has sold my tobo. ante June 11. 18,353 to Jackson & Wharton of Philada @ $5\frac{1}{2}$ D. cash = 1009.415 deducting charges it leaves clear £ 298-11-10 = 955.30

To George Jefferson

Washington Apr. 8. 1803.

I inclose you a list of my Bedford crop of tobo. made the last year, partly brought down to Richmond, & partly soon to be there under your care. I have lately understood tobacco is looking up. I will thank you for information what can be got; and if 7. Doll. can be got, you may sell it immediately. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 27th. Apl. 1803.

I have . . . to inform you that only four Hhds of your Tobacco have yet come down. I think it probable that if it were now here, it would command 7 \$. the current price however is only about 33/. there being a much greater difference made this year on account of the quality than was ever known.

I imagine that you must know it could not be sold before it comes down, except at a disadvantage, and of course that you did not intend the attempt should be made.

Be so good as to inform me if you have heard any thing particular of the quality. I think I have understood that it is better this year than common. . . . [*Jefferson noted at end of letter "tobo. good."*] (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington May 12. 1803.

. . . I have recieved general information only from my overseer that the tobacco of the last year was of good quality, but he did not say how it was in comparison with other years. the idea impressed on me was that it was better than usual. I wrote immediately to him to hasten it down, as it is essential to me to provide out of it to meet my note of 1000 D. payable at your counting house July 12. . . . (MHi)

TOBACCO

From George Jefferson

Richmond 31st. May 1803.

The last of your Tobacco excepting the light hogshead, which I suppose will not come to us arrived to day. I am very apprehensive that the heavy rains we have lately had may have injured it. I have been making some little inquiry to day, and am doubtful whether the price of seven dollars can now be obtained without opening it, or at least a few Hhds. The noise which was made by M. & F. respecting the crop they purchased for Jackson & Wharton, I suspect must have injured the credit of yr crops. Richard, likewise, who purchased the last crop for the same person, I am inclined to think has been of no service to them; he says it turned out tolerably, yet appears anxious to get the present crop.

Although I disapprove of the practice of opening Tobacco generally, yet under existing circumstances I think it will be advisable to open a few Hhds of yours. I shall however await your orders. The current price of transient Hhds is now 33/. that of good known crops about 40/. yet a few particular Hhds of *prime* quality and which it was supposed would suit particular markets, have sold even as high as 50/. (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington June 4, 1803.

I recieved last night your favor of May 31. and leave to your own judgment entirely what is best to be done with my tobo. the danger of the rains having injured it may be a good reason for examining it so far as to be satisfied on that score. by sending it to Philadelphia I can always have a dollar more than is given for my crop that goes there. but it is troublesome sending it, and I wish moreover to secure the paiment of my note the 12th. of next month for 1300. D. perhaps you may find it more eligible, if offers are dull, to sell only as much as will raise the 1300. D. and reserve the rest for better offers. all this is left to yourself. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 16th. June 1803.

Your favor of the 8th. inclosing manifests for 29 Hhds Tobacco was duly received. The Tobacco is not yet sold. The price at which I hold it is 7½\$. I have received no offer for it, but have been told by several persons that they should be glad to purchase it if I would take a more reasonable price. I think I could now get 7\$, but as the last advices from Europe are more favorable than they have been

for several years past, I think there will be no danger in holding it until towards the 12th. of July, when you wish to make the payment you mention. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 3d. Augt. 1803.

. . . Pickett & Co. on shipping your Tobacco, found as I apprehended, that some of it was wet, it was not however materially injured except about 100 lbs. which they had cut off, and for which I gave them credit. They were well pleased with the few Hhds, they saw, except that it was not so well assorted as it should have been, some Tobacco having been put in which should have been left out. As there is now so great a difference made on account of the quality of Tobo, and of the manner of its being handled, and which I have no doubt will continue to be the case, I think you will certainly find it to be your interest to instruct your Overseer to be very particular with it. I would have all the prime put together, and the inferior I would have stemmed, the extra price *generally* allowed for the latter, would make good the loss in weight by stemming, and would likewise pay for the labour; besides the advantage of making the rest more valuable. if this is done, and care is taken not to prize it when *too high in case*, it will certainly I think be found to answer well. I would then, instead of having it inspected in Lynchburg, send it immediately here, so that the purchaser might see it, or the quality might be made known by the Inspectors, if they did not.

This plan might perhaps be objected to by an Overseer, or at least not engaged in with willingness as I know they are not generally fond of extra trouble; if however he has certain wages, he has no right to object to any plan you may propose: if on the contrary he is allowed a part of the crop, he ought not to object, as he will unquestionably find his interest in it. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1803

Mar. 30. my crop of tobo. made at Poplar forest in 1802. . . .
[45,139 lbs. Overseer's part 6,565 lbs.]

June 7. recd from Burgess Griffin the manifest of my tobo. ante
Mar. 30. except the light hhd of 700 lb. which G. Jefferson writes me is the only one not arrived he has recd. therefore 44,439 lb. the other 700. lb in Griffin's hands.

June 8. inclosed to Geo. Jefferson the manifests of my tobo. recd.
yesterday 44,339 lb nett

July 9. George Jefferson has sold my tobo. to Picket, Pollard &

TOBACCO

Johnston for 7½D. of which 1300. D. to be pd cash for my note ante Mar. 18. the balance payable Sep. 6. comes to 3325.425

From George Jefferson

Richmond 11th. Febr. 1804.

. . . Only 14 hhds of your Tobacco are yet down. the price now is from 6 to 7\$ according to quality, *or the opinion of it*. I hope yours may be *supposed* to be of the first. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington Feb. 27. 04.

By last night's mail I received information from mr Griffin that 19. hhds of my tobo. were already at Richmond, and that the two remaining ones would go immediately. he also inclosed me the manifests of the 19. which I herein inclose to you and on the next leaf you will see a list of the numbers & weights, making in the whole 36,509 lb in the 21. hhds. I wish it to be sold as soon as you possibly can so as to get it's value. according to your last advices I presume I may expect 7. Dollars for it. . . . [*Manifest has been omitted.*] (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 12th. Mar: 1804.

. . . Very little alteration has taken place in our Tobacco market for some time past; the current price is now, & has been for several weeks, 37/6. for good crops which are seen when inspected, 40/. may generally be obtained, and some few of very prime quality, have sold I am told even so high as 48/. it is of some such sale as this I imagine, that you have heard when such take place, it is generally with some particular view; either with that of raising the price by the purchase of a few hhds in order to sell a large quantity, or with some other, which ought to be equally well understood, for it is thought that a large crop equal in quality might be offered to one of these persons, & they would refuse to give anything like as much as they had but just given for a single hhd. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington Mar. 26. 1804.

I mentioned on a former occasion that I could only take all this month to dispose of my tobacco to the best advantage. if not already sold, I must pray you to sell it immediately and to remit the proceeds (deducting your balance) to mr Barnes. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Apr. 6. 1804.

I inclose you the manifests of 14. hhds [*of tobacco*] weighing 20,615. it was made on my land at this place by my tenant John H. Craven, to be sold on his account, & the proceeds to be placed by you to my credit. [*This part of letter partly illegible.*] we have heard that tobo. has risen a little. if so, & 40/ cannot be got for it I would rather it should [*illegible*] as I should not like to injure my tenant by pressing a sale. . . . [*Manifests omitted.*] (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello May 8. 1804.

Your favor of the 25th. Apr. came to hand only yesterday. I am contented with the sale of my tobacco at 41/. but am uneasy at the account given me of it's quality by mr Craven. if you think it's quality was such as ought not to have commanded the price I authorize you to make whatever abatement you think just to the purchaser. you are to place 19,000 lb of the tobacco made here by Craven at my order. I sent on the manifests. 1615 lb of it are to be at his disposal. perhaps it would be well to set apart for him the hhd No. 206. 1610 lb. nett, as it is so near his part. I have given him 6½ D. for the 19,000 lb. so we must wait [till] I shall sell so as that I may not be loser. he assures me it is very fine. I shall write to my manager in Bedford on the manner of handling his tobacco. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 4th. June 1804.

I have the pleasure to inform you that we have made sale of Mr. Craven's Tobo. to Gallego Richard & Co. (we expect for Jackson & Wharton) at 40/. We have given you credit for 13. Hhds of it & Mr. Craven for one, conformably to your direction.

I have omitted I find to say any thing to you respecting the reduction which you authorized me to make to Pollok for your own crop. Although it certainly turned out to be greatly inferior to what we all expected, I thought he had no right to expect any allowance to be made him and therefore declined saying any thing to him upon the subject. It occurs to me however at this moment only, that I ought to have informed him of what you said and will do it therefore, when next I see him. so that if he blames any one, it may be me. I am confident however that he will not. it is true, he gave more than the customary price *in expectation* of its good quality, he did not however give the price which it would have commanded had it

TOBACCO

been seen, and known to be *of the very first quality*; and as he would not have made us any additional allowance, had it turned out to be the very best, he certainly cannot expect any deduction to be made in consequence of its being found inferior to what was expected. (MHi)

From Account Book, 1804

- Feb. 27. recieved from Burgess Griffin the following list of my crop of 1803 Poplar Forest . . . [*List omitted. Total equals 21 hogsheads and 36,509 lbs.*]
- Feb. 27. inclosed to G. Jefferson the manifests of the 19. hhds recieved to make sale of the crop.
- Mar. 17. recd. from Burgess Griffin manifests for the 2. hhds tobo. No. 867. 907. ante and inclosed them to G. Jefferson.
- Apr. 6. received from John H. Craven manifests for the following 14. hhds tobo. which I inclosed to Gibson & Jefferson to be sold on account of John H. Craven out of the proceeds of which I am to take the rent due, & he to have the balance. . . . [*Manifests omitted.*]
- June 7. Gibson & Jefferson have sold my tobo. (ante Apr. 6.) 19,005 lb @ 40/ which comes to £ 380-2 = 1267 D.

From George Jefferson

Richmond 28th. Febr. 1805.

. . . I am sorry to inform you that 3 Hhds of your Tobacco were ducked a few days ago in a Mr. Burfords boat, and which evidently proceeded from carelessness; the boat having been suffered to run upon a rock & sink after passing through the locks, and at a place where I am told there is not the smallest danger, when the river is no higher than it then was.

I explained in the receipt which I gave for the Tobacco, the manner in which the accident happened and expressed my opinion of the liability of Burford for the loss which might be sustained, but I am told it is extremely difficult *in any case* to make the waterman pay; the frequency of such accidents I suppose creating a general prejudice in their favor. I have endeavored to sell the tobo. to some of the manufacturers, but altho' it is quite as good for them as dry tobacco, they always take advantage of such circumstances, and will not give near the value.

I am advised however to sell, if even at 30/ as the expense of drying & reprizing, the loss in weight by plunder & otherwise & at last a deduction which would probably have to be made in the price, would perhaps reduce it even still lower than that.

Tobacco where nothing is known of the quality, generally sells at 33/—parcels however have sold on credit at 36/—& some few at 37/6.

Yours, I think would *command* at 60 or 90d/ perhaps 40/. 24 hhds are now down. (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 4th. March 1805

I have to day sold your 3 Hhds of ducked Tobacco to a manufacturer at 33/. on a credit of 90 days. (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Mar. 24. 05.

I now inclose you the Manifests [*not found with letter*] of my tobo. made the last year at Poplar forest, being 29 hhds weighing 46,402 lb nett, the whole of which I expect is with you before this. from these are to be taken the 3. hhds ducked which you have already sold. you mentioned that you thought you could get 7. D. for the residue on reasonable credit. if you can get that on 2. or 3. months credit I shall be willing you should let it go. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 2d. April 1805.

Your favor of the 24th. ultimo inclosing the manifests of your Tobacco I have received.

I have been endeavoring to make sale of the Tobacco, but as yet have not been able to do it at your limits; the most I am offered being 40/. on a credit of 120 days. Impressions somewhat unfavorable with respect to the quality of your crop having been made on the minds of some persons who saw the ducked Hhds, I thought it advisable to accede to the proposal of a gentleman to open two hhds, on seeing which he declined taking it at your price; the Tobacco not being at all well assorted. had some of the most indifferent even been burnt, I am confident that the remainder would have sold for as much as the whole will now command, but for that there would be no necessity, as it might be stem'd (if the Overseer would take the trouble) by which means there would be no loss sustained on that part, but a great gain in the remainder. On this subject however I believe I once before took the liberty of writing to you.

As you do not stand in immediate want of money, I think it will be best, notwithstanding what I have said, still to hold the Tobacco at the price you ask, as I think it rather probable than otherwise; that some advance in our Market may be expected. (MHi)

TOBACCO

From George Jefferson

Richmond 1st. June 1805.

. . . We have at length made sale of your Tobacco. to Messrs. Bohn & Hubner at 40/. by extending the credit to 90, 120 & 150 days one third each. . . . (MHi)

To Gibson & Jefferson

Washington June 6. 05.

Your favor of June 1. is recieved, and the sale of the tobacco as therein mentioned is approved. the terms of 3. 4. and 5. months being long, might they not be reduced to 1. 2. & 3. by taking notes from the purchasers negociable at the Richmond bank? this would of course make to us the difference of the discount, which would be of little consideration: but it must depend on the form of the notes taken or agreed for whether they be negociable or not. will you be so good as to inform me on this question. . . . (MHi)

From Gibson & Jefferson

Richmond 10th. June 1805.

In answer to your favor of the 6th. Inst. we have to inform you that the purchasers of your Tobacco objected to giving notes (negotiable at the bank) that it might not interfere with their own accommodation there, which at present is very limited to the first houses, owing to a want of specie. It is not usual with us to take such notes, but not being aware that you would require the proceeds sooner, and apprehensive that we should not again meet with so good an offer, we were induced to accept of it. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 1st. July 1805.

Having but just returned home, after a longer absence than I had contemplated, and apprehending that you may be put to inconvenience from the long credit on which Mr. G. was induced to sell your Tobacco, in preference to reducing the price, I take the earliest opportunity of proposing (as the notes he received I observe are not negociable at the Bank) that you send us your own notes made "negociable at the Bank of Virginia" at 60, 90, & 120 days each for 1000\$, to make even money. the first I have no doubt may be discounted the first discount day after its receipt; & the other two, so soon as they come within 60 days of being due, say in 30 & 60 days after the first, payment will of course be received of Bohn & Hubner in time to retire them. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington July 5. 05.

I recieved yesterday your favor of the 1st. inst. I am now within 8. or 9. days of my departure for Monticello, & having to make arrangements for near three months absence I find it will considerably facilitate them, if I can anticipate each of the paiments for my tobo. by getting corresponding discounts in Richmd. I therefore now inclose you my note for 1000. D. with a blark for the date which you will be so good as to fill up, and I will entreat you to inform me the moment you can know it is discounted, in which case I may draw on you for between 5. & 600. D. leaving the balance in your hands to the credit of my account. the remaining two notes shall be sent as soon as you will inform me what are the days of paiment for my tobo. and what date will be most convenient for the notes, to give time for the reciept of their amount from Bohn & H. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 25th. June 1806.

. . . None of your Tobacco has yet come down. that of a common quality sells at about 31/6. yours I suppose would command about 36/. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 26th. June 1806.

Some more of your Tobacco having come down a few days since, I informed Mr. Lyle there was a sufficiency to pay him the sum which you directed, and that I would in the course of a few days make sale of it for that purpose; ever since which I have been endeavoring to effect a sale, but as no one seems disposed to give much above the common price without its being opened—purchasers generally making much less difference on account of the repute in which crops are held than formerly.

Mr. Randolph who is now down, was compelled to open his, and has sold it at 38/. this being several shillings more than yours would command, I have concluded to have yours opened likewise, as I conclude it is as good as his at least. it would have been done before this, but the Inspectors have been much engaged in opening for others, that mode of selling being now much practiced. . . . (MHi)

TOBACCO

From George Jefferson

Richmond 1st. July 1806.

. . . Your Tobacco (14 hhds) I have after much difficulty disposed of to Pickett Pollard & Johnston at 6.¼ \$—1000 \$ Cash, & the balance in 10 days—the highest offer I had except from them was only 36/6. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington July 2. 06.

I recieved last night, from mr Griffin, my overseer at Poplar forest, the list of my tobacco of the last year, with information that it was all sent down & the manifests forwarded to you. according to this list the whole crop was 28. hhds weighing 43,535 lb. out of which the overseers' parts were 5528. lb. & mine 38,007. lb. whether they have retained their parts at home, or sent the whole down, the letter does not inform me. if they have retained it, then you will find 3. or 4. of the hhds below stated, wanting. if they have forwarded the whole then 5528 lb must be laid by as theirs, or as near that quantity as the weights of the hhds will permit us to come. the nearest will be the 4. hhds marked * weighing 1329. 1346. 1438. 1460. = 5573. these it is true are the 4. lightest hhds (except the one stemmed) but even these are 45. lb too much, & consequently any heavier hhds will make a greater surplus. from these observations however you will know how to arrange it. with respect to the sale, I know of no circumstance likely to raise the price until late in autumn, when acquiring the name of old tobo. it would cf course sell higher but this I cannot wait for. indeed my overseer writes me he has made a purchase for me in Bedford payable Sep. 8. which I cannot make good without the aid of what will remain of this fund after the paiments to mr Lyle & yourself. I believe therefore the whole must now be sold for what it will fetch. perhaps the hogshead of stemmed, tho' light, may aid it. would my crop sell better hereafter if originally inspected at Richmond? tho' this would be inconvenient, yet it might be overbalanced by a higher price. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 22d. July 1806.

. . . But four hhds more of your Tobacco have yet arrived. I have not received *any* manifests. I think it will certainly be better for you in future to have it inspected here—and especially if you can prevail on the Overseers to have it better assorted. the present crop I

think is better handled than usual—the bundles are neat, and it is very nicely put into the hhd—it is likewise in very good order, not too high in can—but they *will* put in Tobacco, which should either be stemm'd, or thrown away.—Bohn & Hubner who bought the last crop, and who shipped it to Germany, where one of the partners saw it opened, say that if about a hhd of it had been thrown away, the remainder would have brought more than they got for the whole. Johnston of the house of P. P. & J. who saw some of it opened in England the year before I think, gave precisely the same account of it. they say the same of the present crop. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Aug. 30. 06.

Yours of the 26th is recieved. I found on going to Bedford that the Overseer had thought it necessary to sell several hogsheads of my tobo. there to answer certain plantation expenditures and had lost a dollar a hundred on the sale exclusive of carriage. altho' I could not approve of this, it could not be altered. I shall certainly adopt your advice in future of having it inspected at Richmond. his present crop will be a tolerably good one having been fortunate in rains. after what had been sold and taken for the overseer's shares, the residue was only what you have recieved. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1806

June 30. my crop of tobo. in Bedford this year is 28. hhds	
weighing	43,535 lb
of which Whittington has $\frac{1}{21}$ to wit	2 073
	<hr/>
	41 462
then Burgess Griffin $\frac{1}{2}$ of remainder, to wit,	3 455
	<hr/>
leaves my part	38,007

To Thomas H. Jones

Washington Jan. 11. 07.

Th: Jefferson presents his compliments to mr Thomas H. Jones, and his thanks for the sample of Lumana or Watchus tobacco he has been so kind as to send him. not being himself a judge of this plant, he proposes to send it to a tobacconist at Philadelphia for examination. should he think it's qualities likely to please in our market it will then become interesting to endeavor to procure the seed. . . . (DLC)

TOBACCO

From George Jefferson

Richmond 12th. Mar: 1807.

. . . Tobacco for these few weeks past has been rather falling, the current price, where nothing is known of the quality, is $5\frac{1}{2}$ \$, at which it is dull indeed, some few Hhds have been sold as low as 5\$, from that however it runs up as high as 7 & 8\$. Should yours prove to be no better than it was last year, I do not suppose it would command more than $6\frac{1}{4}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ \$ at the utmost. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 24th. Mar. 1807

. . . Your Tobacco (20 Hhds) has arrived & is inspected. it is very rich strong Tobacco, is well assorted, and was very nicely handled. but it seems as if there is always to be some objection to it. this is unluckily much too soft, having been prized too high in case. persons who are good judges, & who were quite disinterested, were of opinion that some of it should not even have passed inspection, as they think there is danger of its rotting. my own opinion is that its strength will carry it through the sweat without material injury.

The general opinion however is, that it would have been worth from $4\frac{1}{6}$ to $6\frac{1}{6}$ p. hundred more had it been prized in dry order.

I have only been offered $6\frac{1}{4}$ \$ for it, at which I will not sell unless I am compelled. I have as yet held it at 7\$. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 31st. Mar: 1807

We have since our last sold your 18 Hhds of leaf Tobacco to John Tompkins at 7\$, paya 1000\$ the 15th of next month, & the balance at 60 days. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington June 12. 07.

. . . Having very heavy engagements to meet in the first week of next month, I will pray you to sell the remainder of my tobacco & to remit to me in the beginning of the month whatever may remain in your own hands. . . . (MHi)

To Mr. Couch

Monticello Sep. 26. 07.

. . . indeed it would be very agreeable to me if you could enter into an arrangement with mr Griffin for carrying every year to

Richmond my crop of from 20. to 40. hhds. we require it at market early. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1807

Apr. 16. G. Jefferson has sold my crop of tobo. 20. hhds to John Tompkins @ 7. D. paialle 1000. D. on the 15th. inst. the residue at 60. days. I have directed him to pay the 1000. D. to Littleton W. Tazewell in part of mr Wayles debt to Cary & co.

Apr. 23. the weight of my Bedford tobo. this year is as follows.

No. 335.	164	1766.	346.	156.	1652.	
336.	157	1573.	347.	160.	1621.	
338.	156	1619.	348.	156.	1600.	
339.	156	1599.	350.	156.	1500.	
340.	156	1652.	351.	158.	1590.	
341.	156.	1494.	352.	160.	1818.	
342.	159.	1802.	353.	156.	1600.	
343.	150.	1600.	354.	150.	1586.	29,370
344.	155.	1650.	337.	158.	1422.	3 038
345.	150.	1648.	349.	158.	1616.	

the 18. hhds 29,370. lb. are sold = 2055.90 D. but the overseer's parts are included in this.

From Gibson & Jefferson

Richmond 24th. May 1808

. . . Your Tobacco viz 26 Hhds is received & inspected, the leaf turns out very fine with the exception of three Hhds. two of which No. 14 & 22 are too soft, the stemmd of which there are 7 Hhds are good except No. 21, which may probably require a review having been put up too damp. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington Oct. 26. 08.

. . . I am told good tobacco brings 7½ D. at Richmond now. I suppose my crop in your hands to be among the good ones, and would be glad to get 6½ D. for it if you can obtain that. it's proceeds will be very necessary to me on winding up here, as well as the crop of this year which will be with you in the early part of the winter. let me know in your first letter if you please what prospects there is of disposing of that in hand. I presume that Griffin has informed you of his wish as to his part. . . . (MHi)

From Gibson & Jefferson

Richmond 2nd. Novr. 1808.

. . . We send you inclosed Two hundred & fifty dollars being

TOBACCO

about the balance after paymt. of the \$1000. recd. for the first moiety of the sale of your Tobacco—the remaining Hhd. has been open'd, but is too much decayed to pass Inspn. we do not expect to obtain more than \$3½ pr Cwt for it. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1808

Oct. 31. G. Jefferson has sold my Bedford tobo. of the last year to R. & T Gwathney @ 7. D. the crop was 25. hhds divided as follows

Samuel Page	1.925
Burgess Griffin	3.209
Th: Jefferson	35.302 @ 7 D = 2471.14
	<hr/>
	40.436

To George Jefferson

Monticello May. 1. 09.

. . . the amount of my crop of tobo. is much less than I expected. Griffin is a good overseer, but has the fault of never writing to me; so that I never learn the amount of my crop of tobo. till it gets to your hands. he had informed me that the frost had been very fatal to his tobo. & as I supposed from his expression, had killed about one third. I now find it falls short two thirds. it will therefore make a much less impression on my note to mrs Tabb than I had hoped. however it must do what it can. I would not have you hesitate should the late pacification have enabled you to get 7. D. and in consideration of it's bad quality I leave to your judgement to take 6. D. the accomodation with England only opens her market, & unless the French decrees are revoked (which may be doubted) we shall still be excluded from the continent. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Monticello Nov. 6. 09.

Mr. I. Coles was mentioning to me to day a sale of tobacco by B. Carter, his brother in law, the other day, *under the hammer* as he termed it for 39/6 tho the remnant & most indifferent of his crop & that his brothers had sold in this way for high profit for two years past. the sale he says was by his agent there (perhaps of the name of Gwathney) getting some merchants together to bid against one another himself taking care by a bystander not to let it go below a certain price. I barely mention this to you, assured that in this or such other way as you judge best, you will procure a sale of mine whenever you can obtain my minimum of 6. D. . . . (MHi)

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

From George Jefferson

Richmond 20th. Novr. 1809.

I have sold your Tobacco [11 hogsheads, 11,026 lbs., \$1055.4] to Samuel Myers at 39/6 at 60 days, having had it reviewed, which I found absolutely necessary, as some persons who saw it inspected said it was of so inferior a quality, that I found I could not otherwise get an offer for it. I should have done better with it, (Tobo. having risen) but most of the stemmed part was very ordinary indeed. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1810

Apr. 14. 1810

Statement of my Poplar Forest tobo made in 1809

11. hhds. to wit. No.	252.	1562		
	253.	1598		
	254.	1498		
	255.	1612		
	256.	1483		
	257.	1488		
	258.	1491		
stemmed	259.	1562		
	260.	1576		
	261.	1493		
	262.	1612	16,975 @ 6.50	1103.37
stemd	470.	1190		
	471.	1283		
	472.	1576		
	473.	1438		
	474.	1455	6942 @ 6. D	416.52
	1117.	1798		
	1118.	1762		
	1119.	1448		
	1120.	1576		
	1121.	1503	8087 @ 6. D.	485.22
			32004	2005.11

The amount of which Charles Johnston has paid as follows

for expences on 16. hhds of tobo.	8.
to Burgess Griffin, his share of tobo. of 1808	74.29
to do. overseer's shares of the first 16. hhds above	194.60
to Gibson & Jefferson by ord. on Tompkins & Murray . .	1243.
to do. on my order as above stated	485.22
	2005.11

TOBACCO

P. S. May 30. 3 hhds more were delivd		
4121. lb @ 5. D. —	206.05	} 687.27
which added to the 5. hhds 8087. @ 6.	485.22-4s	

of which was paid to Th: J. as before mentd	485.22	
to Fuqua ^{687.27} / ₂₁ his share	32.72	
to Griffin ^{654.55} / ₁₂ his share	54.53	
to do. for Th: J. on account	114.80	687.27

From George Jefferson

Richmond 11th. Feb. 1811.

. . . From the great fall in the price of Tobacco in Lynchburg I take it for granted that you were not able to dispose of yours. It sells here by the face of the note at no more than 4\$. some of a very fine quality has lately been sold as low as 6.½\$ above which there is but very little that would sell. that of a very superior quality I suppose however would demand *something more*, but how much I cannot say, as none such has lately been coming in. Flour has fallen to 8.¾\$ and is dull even at that. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 16th. May 1811

We have received since my last 6 Hhds of your Tobacco. although it arrived last week, there has been such a quantity coming in that I was not able to get it inspected until to day. I am very sorry to inform you that it is so indifferent, I could not get an offer for it at all, the whole of the principal purchasers saying it would not suit them at any price. one declared it not to be worth more than 3½\$ and none went higher than 5\$ as to their opinion of the value, but all concurred in saying they would not purchase it at all. it is badly culled, is dirty, & is *much* too high in case. so much so, that a part of one of the heads will be thrown away. I feared I should not be able to sell it, although Isaac Coles as I suppose you will have heard, sold his crop at 68/—& one of Mr. Short's tenants sold at 71/6. I however had not the most distant idea of yours being so very indifferent. The stem'd Hhd is nearly as bad as I ever saw. (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 29th. Augt. 1811.

. . . You certainly have lost considerably by the sale of your last crop of Tobacco in Lynchburg, and would continue to lose by

making sales there, unless by mere accident you might happen to make an advantageous one: as purchases there are almost invariably made with the view of sales being effected to the shippers here, and of course on the calculation of a profit. Your last crop however was not sold at the price you have heard, having been sold to Mr. Rutherford at \$9. only. it should be observed though, that it was included in a parcel of 300 Hhds of Mr. Harrisons, which, although the best of his selection during the year, was still I have no doubt an advantage to the sale of it. Mutter & Stewart took one third of the purchase of Mr. R. and shipped it, so that I know it could not have been resold at the price you mention. (MHi)

From Account Book, 1811

Feb. 8. sold my crop of Bedford tobo. to Saml. J. Harrison for
7. D. per Cwt.

To Samuel J. Harrison

Monticello Jan. 26. 12.

Your favor of the 16th. came to me by post & not by mr Griffin as it would seem to infer. the new method of selling tobacco by the Hogshead renders it difficult for me to sell mine in Lynchburg, as it would require a journey & considerable stay in an inclement season: and if to be sent to Richmond the earlier it goes off the better. I therefore left orders to hurry it down. another reason, I acknowledge, induced me to make no offer of it at Lynchburg. from the very small competition at that market, the prices there are far below those at Richmond. if I could receive there the Richmond price with only a fair deduction of expences, I should certainly prefer selling there. on the present occasion, as I had fixed, to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson, a minimum price of 8. D. at Richmond, I will offer to you what shall not have been forwarded down the river at the same price, deducting a dollar a hundred for expences, say for 7. D. a hundred payable in Richmond in 60. days from the delivery of each parcel at the warehouse of Lynchbg. this last article is proposed merely to prevent the delay of the whole sum because the last lingering hogshead or two cannot be got ready but tardily. I should not in fact call for any part until the principal mass should have been delivered. if you think proper to accept this offer, on shewing this letter to mr Goodman at Poplar Forest, he will consider it as an instruction to deliver the tobo. at the warehouse to your order. I should expect also that you would be so good as to drop me a line of notification by post. . . . (MHi)

TOBACCO

From Samuel J. Harrison

Lynchbg Feby 5th. 1812

I recd. your letter of the 26th ulto. yesterday & accept your proposal of Seven Dollars pr. 100. lbs for your present crop of tobo. Two Hds only, are in: & none sent to Richmond as you seem to have expected. I think the price you make me give too high, Either for the Richmd. market or future prospects: & shall therefore submit it to your Discretion, to lower the price of the stemmed, it is always lower than leaf. . . . (MHi)

To Samuel J. Harrison

Monticello Feb. 14. 12.

Your favor of the 5th. has been recieved by which I learn that the sale of my tobacco is closed by your acceptance of the offer in my former letter. with respect to the proposal to reduce the price of the stemmed tobo. I do not remember whether that was done in our last year's bargain. if it was, it shall be done in the bargain of this year, my intention having been to sell this year on the same terms as the last, with only the more accomodated change in the dates of paiment. you would of course understand that my offer could extend only to my own part of the tobo. not to that of the overseers, which is not quite an eighth, unless they chuse it. for that you must be so good as to enquire from themselves. I inclose you an order for the tobo. . . . (MHi)

To Archibald Robertson

Monticello Mar. 1. 12.

Yours of Feb. 21. has been duly recieved. I think in conversation with you at Lynchburg I stated to you that on winding up my affairs at Washington I was obliged to apply to the bank of Richmond for a large sum, for which I pledged to my endorser my Bedford crops of tobacco, and that with what they had yielded the two preceding years, the crop now at market would clear me of the bank. that for the present year therefore I could only furnish you about 600 D. from another fund, by an order on mr Harrison of Lynchburg paiable the 1st. day of April for lands he bought of me. the sale I have made of my crop of tobacco, exactly ensures my discharge of my bank debt, so that after this year my Bedford resources will be liberated, and will enable me to do justice to others, for which my anxiety is as great as it can be. intending to be at Poplar Forest before this order is payable, I had put off sending it to you. I now inclose it however, lest I should be

delayed, with assurance that after the present year I shall not permit this debt to linger. . . . (ViU)

To James Madison

Monticello May 25. 1812.

. . . tobacco (except of favorite qualities) is nothing. it's culture is very much abandoned. in this county what little ground had been destined for it is mostly put into corn. (DLC)

To Samuel J. Harrison

Monticello Jan. 7. 13.

Your favor of Dec. 25. was recieved by yesterday's mail. having understood while at Poplar Forest that no price worth notice was offering for tobo. at Lynchburg, I did not think of making any proposition of sale there, or they would have been made to yourself. I therefore left the usual orders with my manager to send it to Richmond, and meant to desire mr Gibson to keep it on hand until he would get 6. Dollars for it clear of all expences from Lynchburg. consequently that sum is the lowest I could take at Lynchburg, paiable at the counting house of Gibson & Jefferson in 90 days from the date of this letter. if you accede to this proposition, be so good as to shew this offer to mr Goodman my manager at the Forest, and he will thereon deliver the tobacco to you as fast as it can be prepared & inspected. be so good on your reciept of this to drop me a line, that I may know whether I am free or not to accept other offers. . . . (MHi)

From Samuel J. Harrison

Lynchburg Jany. 17th. 1813.

I have recd. your favor of the 7th Jany. and would have replied to it sooner, but for wishing to see Mr. Goodman first.

I wish to buy your tobo., but think the price you ask, more than it is worth. I should be willing to give you \$6. for the leaf & \$4 for the stemd., which certainly is liberal; and would be saving you the trouble & risk of sending it to Richmond, which is not very inconsiderable.

If you choose, I will take it at the above prices, otherwise I must wait, and take my chances. . . . (MHi)

To Samuel J. Harrison

Monticello Jan. 31. [1813]

. . . altho' it has been my rule to sell my whole crop in mass for an average price on all the qualities, yet considering present cir-

TOBACCO

cumstances I have concluded to accede to your offer of taking it on the terms of my letter of Jan. 7. only abating the price of the stemmed to 4. Dollars. the truth is that it cannot be made for less than 7. Dollars, and when the price falls short of that, it is a losing culture. accordingly I abandon it, except in lands of the 1st. year's clearing. I inclose you an order to Messrs. Goodman & Darnell for the delivery of the tobo. as soon as in their power, and in the best order in their power. . . . (MHi)

[Inclosure]

Messrs. Goodman & Darnell.

Be pleased to deliver to mr Samuel J. Harrison any crop of tobacco of the last year now on hand, as fast as it is inspected. lose no time in getting it ready, and spare no pains in handling it in the best manner, stemming conscientiously what you would have stemmed exactly had it still been kept on hand for sale.

Th: Jefferson

Monticello Jan. 31. 13.

(MHi)

To Jeremiah Goodman

Monticello Feb. 5. 13.

. . . I have given mr S. J. Harrison an order for my tobo. what will require your particular attention is the stemming. I wish you to push that exactly as far & no farther than you would have done, if it were still unsold. we ought to do not only what is just, but liberal, in the case of mr Harrison, to merit his future confidence. . . . (DLC)

To James Maury

Monticello June 16. 1815.

. . . Our tobacco trade is strangely changed. we no longer know how to fit the plant to the market. differences of from 4. to 21. D. the hundred are now made on qualities appearing to us entirely whimsical. (DLC)

To David B. Warden

Monticello May 17. 16.

. . . there is great and general content in this country with the conduct of our administration and the issue of the war. altho' our taxes this year have been five times greater than we ever paid before, they have been paid with unexampled cheerfulness and punctuality. I hope therefore the debt will be diminished rapidly. the great prices given for tobacco have produced great preparations

for the present year; which however will be baffled by the weather.
... (MdHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Poplar Forest Nov. 22. 16.

... our crop of tobacco here is short. Yancey had calculated on 20,000. he now wavers as low as 15,000. of which he assures me one half will be prime, and the other good. this will be down in Jan. & Feb. and I see no reason for holding it up after it gets to market. ... (DLC)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Feb. 18. 18.

... my tobo. has sold with so little credit in Richmd. for some years that at the earnest request of mr Yancey my manager in Bedford, I have permitted him to try it this year in the Lynchbg market where it's quality is better known. there will be from 20. to 25,000. & I directed him to take notes payable to you & to remit them to you. I have not heard yet what he has done. ... (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello May 25. 19.

The sale of my tobo. in Richmond has been so miserable (averaging but 5. D.) out of which the transportation is yet to be deducted that I do not think what remains on hand (if not already sent) ought to be sent there, and that you had better get what you can for it at Lynchburg where it's intrinsic character is better known. the proceeds may be paid to mr White in part of his last year's wages. the loss on the flour is great also. that recieved before Christmas averaging but 7.57 and that after Christmas only 5.34 and this fall of price on the tobo. and on the 674. barrels of flour has shortened what the proceeds of my crop, at an usual price would have been, nearly 3000 D. this makes me look wishfully to the accomplishment of the sale of Robertson's 200. as. if it can be done without a sacrifice, say for 50. or 60. D. and indeed if you or mr Radford would give me 100. D. an acre for the 50. as. beyond Bearbranch on the West side of the road, I believe I should take it, letting my debt to you go in part of the payment. to owe what I cannot pay is a constant torment. ... (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 14th. Octr. 19.

... On Saturday last we had rain and cleared off cold, I was

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satisfied there would be frost the next night, and you had about 30,000 Tobo. plants standing and gave particular charge, that none of the People should be out of the way, and that we should have to cutt Tobo. all day on Sunday, or lose it by the frost, very early the next morning I found I had not been mistaken, and went over to put all hands to work, but every man except Armstead at B. Creek had gone off and 3 of the women to Lynchburg, and 2 men and 2 women from Tomahawk, the overseer met with Hanahs Billy in the course of the day and ordered him to assist but he positively refused, a battle ensued, he bitt the overseer badly and made his escape, and has not made his appearance since. probably he may go to Monticello to complain, as several others mean to do, for being compelled to work on Sunday. However by great exertion of the Overseer and the rest of the hands, we secured every plant, before night that was worth saving. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 27th. Feby. 1820.

. . . I am getting the Tobo. ready as fast as I can, 4 Hhds prizd. and 4 more ready in a day or two. we calculate upon 10 in all, 9 of leaf, and 1 stemd. I expectd. to have had it all in Lynchburg before this but the children were taken with the Hooping cough about Xmas and a most distressing time they had of it for the last six weeks. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Apr. 23. 20.

After the departure of our mail of yesterday I recieved a letter from mr Yancey at the Poplar Forest dated on the 12th saying that on that day or the morrow a boat would leave Lynchburg with 7. hhds of my tobo. weighing about 10,000 lb. he speaks of 6. of them of excellent quality for which he could that day have 8½. D. in Lynchburg. perhaps it would have been better he should have taken it, as the quality seems more esteemed there than in Richmond. till within a few years it was in a line in Richmond with the superior crops: but latterly either the fashion or quality seems to have changed. . . . (DLC)

To James Rawlins

Monticello May 14. 20.

. . . for 6. or 8 years past there has not been recieved there [*Transfer House at Milton*] more than about 200. hogsheads; and

this part of the country having ceased the culture of tobacco, there is no likelihood of a revival of the inspection. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello May 22. 20.

Since my letter by mr Burwell I have recieved from mr Gibson an account of the sale of my tobo. he says 3 hhds were refused, the others very much stained and the quality of the tobo. inferior. it averaged 5.82 and deducting carriage it will be 5½ D. on this trial of the Richmond market, we must give it up as to what remains with you, and I will pray you to sell it for what you can, and remit me the money by mail, for I assure you I am sorely pressed even for small sums. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Bedford 6th. September 1820.

. . . Our crop of tobo will be short, owing to the scarcity of plants, the first time I ever fail'd in plants, some of my most industrious neighbors fail'd intirely, and I am satisfied, there will not be more than ½ crops Tobo. in this part of the country, and yours is as promising as any. . . . (MHi)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello May 11. 21.

. . . he [*Jefferson Randolph*] advises that that [*tobacco*] of Pop. For. be sent off immediately to Richmond. I had on the road a conversation with a gentleman of knolege on the subject, and he assured me that the Lynchbg purchaser, besides deducting the carriage witholds a dollar in the hundred for his own profit; indeed we know that every hand thro' which a commodity passes must retain his profit. I would therefore recommend the sending off our tobo. immediately, addressed to Capt. Peyton. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

Lynchburg 22nd. May, 21.

. . . We finished making our Tobo. hills at Tomahawk, on the 15th. plenty of plants, but they are rather late, there is 137,000 hills, they will finish at B. Creek to morrow, and will have fully as many hills, The fly will injure our wheat but hope no great deal. . . . (MHi)

From Joel Yancey

P. Forest 31st. May 21

Your Tobo. was put on board a Boat and left Lynchburg on last

TOBACCO

Friday 7 Hhds, and directed to Capt. Peyton. I would have informed you immediately but you know the mails to Charlottesville leaves Lynchburg on Friday morning, and the Tobo. was not a float till after the mails had started. this will be put in the P. office to day, and will I hope get to hand by the 2 or 3rd. of June. the boat could carry only 7 Hhds, there is 1 inferior Hhds left, and 560 lb. also very indifferent, with which and a parcel of my own, I shall make out a Hhd and send it to Lynchburg within a few days. this is all of the most indifferent kind of Tobo. and it had I think better be sold in Lynchburg. . . . we have planted some Tobo. and shall plant the next season more than $\frac{1}{2}$ our crop, our plants have grown rapidly for few days past. I am satisfied now, that we shall have the greatest plenty in good time. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 11 June 1821.

Your Tobacco from Lynchburg, say 7 Hhds, reached me some days ago, but such is the pressure of business at the Warehouses here, that it was not until Saturday last that it came to my *turn* (for its like boys in a Mill) to be served, when they were inspected & sold & a/c sales would now be rendered, but this is a holiday and the Inspectors not at the Ware House, to make out the notes: by next mail you may expect to receive it. . . .

Sales of Tobacco netted \$544.77
" " Flour " 284.59

(MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Poplar Forest May 25. 1822.

. . . the preparns for a tobo. crop here are beyond any thing I ever had. 300,000. hills, four fifths of them in ground newly cleared, and nearly all planted by the favr. of the season will I hope make amends for the crop of wheat which is not promising. kindly seasons may still help it. the last year's tobo. now prising will be later at market. as it comes, be so good as to pay the carriage. . . . (MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello Aug. 12. 22.

Yours of the 5th. is recieved announcing the sales of the 5. hhds of my tobo. my confidence in you always satisfies me that the sales have been as good as the market would admit. this is one third of the crop, the whole being 15. hhds, and these having netted

8083 lb we may presume the whole will nett about 24,000. and will be down without delay. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 22 Augt. 1822.

I hand herewith a/c sales your ten Hhds: Tobacco, at the best prices I could obtain, in presence of a large company of purchasers. Except Nos. 2. & 4. of the T. H. Tobacco, every Hhd: was too soft, & had a punky smell, the Tobacco was also short, with the above exception, & some of it poor, & deficient in substance—the B. C. were by no means as well managed as the T. H: but neither as well assorted as they might have been, but still there is a great improvement upon last year, & I hope by the next crop there will be no fault in management or order. . . .

Nett proceeds at Th: Jefferson Esq—\$754.72. . . . (MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello Oct. 20. 22.

. . . I planted in Bedford the last year 300. ~~M~~ tobo. hills, two thirds in fresh land, $\frac{1}{3}$ in that of the 2d. year; and here 100,000 in similar lands. from these Jefferson assures me I shall have 60~~M~~ weight of tobacco. but this will not get to market till May & June. I shall not sleep soundly till then. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 6 Octr. 1823

. . . I am grieved to hear of the loss sustained, by Frost, in your Tobacco crop, it is really a runious calamity to every body at all concerned in trade in that article. I hope the injury is not so great as it has been represented. (MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello Oct. 12. 23.

. . . I have lost here 10. ~~M~~ plants of tobo. out of a crop of 80,000 plants and in Bedford 45,000, out of 300. ~~M~~. but they were the latest and most indifferent, the best having been cut & secured before the frost. . . . (MHi)

To David Higginbothan

Monto. May 4. 24.

Having from the necessities of age been obliged to turn over the whole of my affairs to my gr. son Jefferson, I especially recommended to his attention my debt to you, and I know he contemplates

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doing what can be done in it, as soon as the tobo. of the last year gets to market from this place and Bedford. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 19. Augst. 1824.

Your Tobacco was inspected and sold yesterday, in presence of every dealer, in that article, in this City, & in the manner wished by them, of course every one had a fair chance, & the Tobacco, the best prospect of doing well, the first choice Hhds: brot \$8.35, the next *five* choice, brot \$8, the next Hhd: \$7.05, & so on down to \$2.45, which was the lowest, for the refused lugs, eight of the Hhds: were damaged, by the Boatman (or some say [*illegible*]) which I had assessed, immediately, by two disinterested judges, & have this day forwarded their certificates, of the same, to A. Robertson Esqr. of Lynchburg, with a view to his stoping it from the fght of the Boatman, as their fght is to be paid there, out of the \$120 Dolls, ford. to him, for that purpose, on your a/c, as mentioned in my last. . . .

Nett prcds at cr. T. J. \$1532.21. (MHi)

From Account Book, 1824

Aug. 26. recd. from B. Peyton sales of 20. hhds Bedford tobacco weighing nett 29358 lb, fetching 1532.21. clear of charges which is 5.21 pr. Cwt.

From Bernard Peyton

Sales of Nine Hhds: Tobacco by Bernard Peyton for a/c Thomas Jefferson Esqr. 1825 Richd

20 Jany

Nett prcds at Cr. T. J. \$176.90.

When Mr. T. J. Randolph was down the other day, he directed a sale of your nine Hhds: of Tobacco, which have been here for a year past. I sold them accordingly, as per a/c sales herewith. . . .

[January 21, 1825]

(MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello May 17. 26.

I have so entirely left all my affairs to Jefferson that I know almost nothing of them. I am uninformed whether our tobo. from Bedford is all down or our flour from here. before he went away, I stated to him that we should have to make the ordinary and current calls on you. he told me I might do it, as he had made provn

with you on that subject. . . . having now to take on myself the clothing &c. of the family, heretofore furnished by mr Randolph, and dealing at our 2. cheapest, but ready money stores, my quarterly bills are consequently larger. I hope in God we shall ere long be on a different footing. . . . (MHi)

Rotation of Crops & Calendar of Work

. . . I believe in general it may be advisable to cultivate several species of food, as wheat, rye, Indian corn, potatoes, peas &c. in order that if the season occasions some of them to fail entirely, we may find a resource in the others. . . .—*Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph, Philadelphia, June 15, 1792*

WHEN Jefferson returned to Monticello, in December 1789, after his long absence in France, he found his estate in a deplorable condition. The fields were in a wretched state, because the crops of corn and tobacco grown on them for many successive years had robbed them of their fertility. And, too, the ravages of the weather had played their part in the destruction. Jefferson determined to remedy this situation by starting a rotation of crops, and by planting a diversified crop instead of continuing the two-crop system of corn and tobacco. By September 12, 1790, he wrote to George Washington that he was getting the following “. . . articles into the regular course of my husbandry thus. 1. wheat. followed by winter vetch. 2. corn followed by winter vetch. 3. a fallow of pease. 4. wheat. 5.6.7. three years of clover. a very decisive experiment has banished rye from my rotation. I mix potatoes with my corn, on your plan. . . .”

Although the plans for crop rotation and for diversified planting were inaugurated in 1790, it was not until Jefferson's retirement from the office of Secretary of State that he began in earnest to improve his lands by these new innovations. On June 30, 1793, he wrote to Thomas Mann Randolph, “. . . I will suppose my farm at Monticello to furnish 500. acres of land open, and capable of producing. in all successions of crops, the fields must be supposed equal, each field to go through the same succession, & each year's

ROTATION OF CROPS

crop to be the same. these fundamentals being laid down, the laws of combinations decide inflexibly that the number of fields, & number of years constituting the compleat rotation must be always equal. if your rotation is 3. years, you must have 3. feilds, if of 5. years 5 feilds &c. I propose to adopt the following rotation. 1st. year, wheat & fall fallow. 2d. peas with Indian corn thinly interspersed. 3rd. wheat & fall fallow. 4th. potatoes with Indian corn thinly interspersed. 5th. rye, or barley and a fall fallow. 6th. 7th. 8th. red clover. this occupying 8. years will require 8. feilds, which of course will be of 60. acres each. . . .”

The letters and memoranda that follow, and the references in the *Garden Book* to “Crop rotations” and “Rotation of crops,” indicate to what extent Jefferson followed this original plan. And they also show how completely the subject had gripped him. It is impossible to judge just how much of these theories was carried out in practice on his lands.

To George Washington

Monticello Sep. 12. 1790.

. . . I propose to sow & plant the next spring 2. acres at each of my farms, for the maintenance of 8. plough-horses (4. to the acre) and I count on it's feeding them thro' the whole summer without anything else. my plough horses have this summer (from April) had nothing but clover, & have gone through the summer's work as well as when they were crammed with corn. it is a great step towards recruiting our lands, to abate the culture of corn. . . . the field pea of Europe & their winter vetch I find to be great desiderata in the farm. the former to cultivate in such of our fallows as will not yeild clover; as while we are keeping our ground clean for the next wheat sowing, the pea will shade it, and give us a valuable crop both of grain & fodder. the winter vetch down on our fall fallows for corn, will give a fine crop of green fodder in the spring, which may be cut in time to prepare the ground for corn. this will cost us not a single ploughing. I have taken two or three chances of getting these things from Europe, in time as I hope to try them the next season. I expect to take both these articles into the regular course of my husbandry thus. 1. wheat. followed by winter vetch. 2. corn followed by winter vetch. 3. a fallow of pease. 4. wheat. 5.6.7. three years of clover. a very decisive experiment has banished rye from my rotation. I mix potatoes with my corn, on your plan. You shall know the result of my trials of European pea & vetch, and be furnished with seed, they prove worth your notices.

we have had this year such rains as never came I believe since Noah's flood. our clear profits will not repay the damage done our lands. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia June 15. 1792.

I recieved yesterday your favor of the 4th. inst. and am happy to hear our prospects of wheat are so good. I the more wonder at it when I recollect we were very late in our sowing last fall. as to Indian corn I think there is yet time for it to come to. I concur with you in opinion that it is a very hurtful culture to such lands as ours. I have been hesitating between it's total abolition, and the tolerating just as much as would feed my negroes. two motives occasion this hesitation. 1. their attachment to it as a food, an attachment which, under existing circumstances, must have weight. 2. the multiplying the chances of a crop, because years are often such that your small grain fails, while the Indian corn flourishes. I believe in general it may be adviseable to cultivate several species of food, as wheat, rye, Indian corn, potatoes, peas &c. in order that if the season occasions some of them to fail entirely, we may find a resource in the others. mr Lewis thinks as much of wheat can be made from a feild as of rye, & therefore better to cultivate wheat. this may be true, & yet it may be doubted whether the cultivating some rye is not advantageous, as that may succeed when our wheat fails. I confess myself undecided on this question. the Hessian fly has made an alarming progress to the Southward this year. they talk of them at Baltimore. this neighborhood abounds with them. a particularly vigorous species of bearded wheat and good husbandry seem to be a perfect preservative against them. we have an opportunity now of examining this insect well. I have several of them now hatching. the examination of a single one which hatched a week ago gives me reason to suspect they are non-descript, and consequently aboriginal here. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Oct. 19. 1792.

. . . When at Mount Vernon, on my way here. I asked of the President what his rotation of crops was. he told me it was of 7. years. to wit. 1. Corn and potatoes. 2. wheat. 3. Buckwheat to be plowed in. 4. Wheat. 5. 6. 7. clover. his Corn & potatoes are in hills alternately 4. f. apart, & the alternation being in the cross now as well as the other distances his corn to near 6. f. he says he

makes as much corn as if there were no potatoes, and much more potatoes than corn. he is of opinion that a crop of potatoes improves the ground. his mixture of corn & potatoes would perhaps be a good way of beginning the introduction of potatoes into use in the farm but a continuance of it would leave us still exposed to the washings of the rain. . . . (DLC)

From George Washington

Mount Vernon 4th. Octr. 1795.

. . . I am much pleased with the account you have given of the Succory. This, like all other things of the sort with me, since my absence from home, have come to nothing; for neither my Overseers nor Manager, will attend properly to anything but the crops they have usually cultivated: and in spite of all I can say, if there is the smallest discretionary power allowed them, they will fill the land with Indian corn; altho' they have demonstrable proof, at every step they take, of its destructive effects. I am resolved however, as soon as it shall be in my power to attend a little more closely to my own concerns, to make this crop yield, in a great degree to other grain; to pulses, and to grasses. I am beginning again with Chicory from a handful of seed given me by Mr. Strickland; which, though flourishing at present has no appearance of seeding this year. Lucern has not succeeded better with me than with you; but I will give it another, and a fairer trial before it is abandoned altogether. Clover, when I can dress lots well, succeeds with me to my full expectation; but not on the fields in rotation; although I have been at much cost in seeding them. This has greatly disconcerted the system of rotation on which I had decided. I wish you may succeed in getting good seed of the winter Vetch: I have often imported it, but the seed never vegetated, or in so small a proportion as to be destroyed by weeds. I believe it would be an acquisition if it was once introduced properly in our farm. The Albany Pea, which is the same as the field Pea of Europe, I have tried, and found it grew well; but it is subject to the same bug that perforates the garden pea, & eats out the kernal; so it will happen, I fear, with the pea you propose to import. I had great expectation from a green dressing with Buck wheat, as a preparatory fallow for a crop of wheat; but it has not answered my expectation yet. I ascribe this however, more to mismanagement in the times of seeding and ploughing in, than to any defect in the system. The first ought to be so ordered, in point of time, as to meet a convenient season for ploughing it in while the plant is in its most

succulent state; but this has never been done on my farms, & consequently has drawn as much *from*, as it has given *to* the earth.

It has always appeared to me that there were two modes in which Buck Wheat might be used advantageously as a manure. One, to sow early; and as soon as a sufficiency of seed ripened to stock the ground a second time, to turn the whole in; and when the succeeding growth is getting in full bloom to turn that in also before the seed begins to ripen: and when the fermentation and putrifaction cease, to sow the ground in that state, & plough in the Wheat. The other mode is, to sow the Buck Wheat so late as that it shall be generally, about a foot high at the usual seeding of Wheat; then turn it in, and sow thereon immediately, as on a clover lay; harrowing in the seed lightly to avoid disturbing the buried Buck Wheat. The last method I have never tried, but see no reason why it should not succeed. The other as I have observed before, I have practiced but the Buck Wheat has always stood too long, & consequently had become too dry and sticky, to answer the end of a succulent plant. But of all the improving and ameliorating crops, none, in my opinion, is equal to Potatoes on stiff, & hard bound land as mine. From a variety of instances I am satisfied that on such land, a crop of Potatoes is equal to an ordinary dressing. In *no* instance have I failed of good Wheat, Oats, or clover that followed Potatoes. And I conceid they give the soil a darker hue.

I shall thank you for the result of your proposed experiments relatively to the winter vetch & Pea, when they are made.

I am sorry to hear of the depredation committed by the weevil in your parts. It is a great calamity at all times, and this year, when the demand for wheat is so great, and the price so high, must be a mortifying one to the farmer. . . . (DLC)

[n.d.]

FARMING. ROTATION

Preliminary observation. my farms are divided into 7. field of 40. acres and in the center of each field is a granary of 2. rooms of 12. f. sq. each (1000 [*illegible*] contents) and an open passage between them of 12. f. when there is wheat in the field, it is brought as fast as it is cut to this granary & stacked round it. the threshing machine is fixed in the passage, and as the wheat is got out, it is put with it's chaff into one room and there kept till the winter. the threshing machine being removed, the fan takes it's place, the wheat is passed thro' it, and the clean grain thrown over into the

other room. the winter of that year our cattle have a moveable shed fixed up at the same granary, are fed with the straw and the manure is used in the same field the ensuing spring as will be explained. many other conveniences result from having the little granary in the center of every field. in a large & hilly farm a great central barn is useless or injurious. I permit no separate enclosures of my fields. their limits are preserved by 2. rows of peach trees, leaving a road between them. my fields are by this means protected from pasturage. my rotation in every field is as follows.

Wheat after 2. years of clover. the clover turned in in autumn by *[illegible]* ploughing, the wheat sowed on that, & buried by a harrow drawn the direction of the furrows. 1. Wheat.

as soon as the wheat is cut I propose (as soon as I can get the winter vetch) to turn in the stubble, sow vetch and cut it for green fodder in Feb. & March. then turn in the stubble of that as a green

dressing, & the ground is ready for 2. Corn & Potatoes.

in alternate drills $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. put into the drills the long dung which has been made from the straw of this field in the preceding winter. in autumn sow vetch again to be cut for green fodder in Feb. and March as before. then turn in the stubble for

a green dressing, which prepares the ground for 3. Peas. in the broadcast, because in that way they stifle weeds, keep the ground cleaner than ploughing would, shade it from the sun, and leave it in better order. I am trying the white field pea of Europe. the gray will be better when I can get it. but as these peas are liable to the bug, some black eyed peas are tended for spring use. these are drilled in seeds instead of the other in those fields which have briars or other weeds which require the plough for extirpation. in autumn after cutting the peas & turning in the stubble, sow to raise a crop for seed. these 2. years of peas & vetch are instead 4. Vetch, of fallows, which are laborious, unproductive, and expose the ground naked to the sun. when the crop of vetch is taken off, turn

in the stubble in time to rot, & then sow 5. Wheat in the winter have another moveable cowshed at the granary of this field & convert the straw into dung, to remain a twelve month rotting. in the spring sow red clover on the wheat. I use a box for sowing which saves $\frac{5}{8}$ of the seed. I do not cut my clover the same year in which it is sowed.

the 1st. year after that in which it is sowed gives the best crops. 6. Clover. I select the weak spots where the clover is low & cut that for seed. in the spring of the 2d. year after that in which it was sowed put 7. Clover. on the dung (which has been rotting a twelve month) as a top

dressings. in this way the clover gets the benefit of it in the first instance, and in autumn turn in the clover by one complete ploughing, and sow wheat to begin the rotation again, so that besides the clover root's, the wheat gets a secondary benefit from the dung which had been laid on the clover in the spring as a top dressing.

Having 2. cowsheds, to wit, 1. in each wheat field, enables one to divide the cattle, feeding the weak at one & the strong at another. (DLC)

[n.d.]

CALENDAR

Rotation of crops for a farm containing 7. fields of 40. acres each, furnished with 4. horses, 4. oxen, 4 men & 4 women laborers, with occasional assistance.

1st. year Wheat.

Immediately after harvest, turn in the stubble, & drill rape & turneps, the latter to be scooped out by the sheep, the former for spring food.

2d. year Corn in rows 8. f. apart, & the plants 4. f. distant in the row; where the ground is too weak for corn, carry on the row with peas.

Potatoes in an interval row, the hills 4. f. apart, avoid where the ground is too weak for potatoes, carry on the row with peas.

3d. year sow winter vetches in the fall. qu? the particular time?
plough in the vetches early in spring if not used for food, say in March, [illegible] in [illegible].
drill Peas, & Potatoes in different parts of the ground according to their strength.

qu. if the long dung had better be used for the potatoe furrows, or left to rot for the wheat field.

4th. year Rye. but wheat to be substituted, if the fields No. 2. 3. 5. 6. will subsist the farm. sow Clover on it in the spring.

5th. year. Clover, of the 1st. year. 2 cuttings for hay, or for soiling, according to it's growth. the Dung-yard to be always in the clover of the 1st. year from the end of the preceding winter to the end of the ensuing one. during the following summer (that is, while in the 2d. year's clover) the dung will be rotting, & in the winter following the 2d. year's clover (that is, while in fallow, vetch, or buckwheat) spread the dung on the weakest parts of the field.

6th year. Clover of the 2d. year. 2 cuttings as before.
in the fall turn in the clover roots & sprinkle Vetch.
in winter spread dung over weak parts as mentioned before.

ROTATION OF CROPS

cowpen other weak parts, first turning in the vetch or buckwheat,
& on []ing the fold, turn in the dung &c. again.
In Spring turn in the Vetch & sow buck-wheat.
when in blossom, turn in the buck wheat.
in September, sow wheat to begin the circle again.

7th. year.

- Year. I. { 1. Wheat. Extractor
- { 2. Turneps. Ameliorative
- II. { 3. Corn. Extractor
- { 4. Vetch. Ameliorative
- III. { 5. Peas. Ameliorative
- { 6. Rye. Extractor
- IV. { 7. clover. Ameliorative
- { 8. clover. Ameliorative
- V. { 9. clover. Ameliorative
- VI. { 10. vetch. Ameliorative
- VII. 11. buckwht. Ameliorative

[With] 11 crops in 7. years
[illegible] of 3. are Extractors
 8. are Ameliorative
 and a treble fallow.

Annual crop	
	acres
Wheat	40
Corn & Potatoes . .	40
Peas & Potatoes . .	40
Rye	40
Clover	80
Turneps	40
Vetch	80
	<hr/>
	360
(DLC)	

Note on the rotation of crops and calendar of work in the farm and garden at Monticello

Year	Rotations of crops	
Ist.	Wheat. (after 2. years of clover & 1. of folding) after harvest a green dressing of buckwheat.	
II.	Corn and potatoes. the long dung of the winter to be put into the potato furrows.	
III.	Wheat after corn. in the spring sow red clover on the wheat.	
IV. } V. } VI.	Red clover for cutting. after the 2d. crop of the Vth. year begin to fold. fold from 2d. hay cutting of the preceding year to seed time of this, except in the bad weather of winter; during which, house & litter your stock to make long dung for your next potato field. coulter each spot before you fold on it, & immediately on removing the fold, plough in the dung & clover roots.	
Calendar of work for 5. laborers, 2 horses, 4 oxen, 3 great & 3 small ploughs on a farm of 6. fields of 40. acres each; hiring aid in harvest & hay-time.		
	work for the horses, oxen, ploughs, carts & attendants	for labourers not employed with the horses & oxen
Sep. 1.-17.	plough in the stubble of the 1st. wheat field, & sow buckwheat. 40. as. in 13. ploughing days, for 3. double ploughs. 3. as. a day.	Sep. gather fodder sow wheat after corn
18. to Oct. 1.	plough & sow wheat after clover. 40. as. in 14 days 3. double ploughs.	
Oct. 1.—22.	plough in buckwheat. 40. as. in 13. days for 3. double ploughs.	Oct. get in potatoes.
22.—31. } Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb.	haul corn, firewood, coal wood, rails, deliver wheat.	Nov. gather corn. Dec. } clear & clean up grounds Jan. } repair fences Feb. } cut firewood & coal wood Mar. } get out clover seed
Mar.	list & chequer corn 40. as. = $\frac{4}{8}$ of flush ploughing, or 20. as.	
Apr.	haul long dung to the potatoes.	Apr. plant corn.
May } June }	5. ploughings of 40. as. of corn each amounting to $\frac{5}{8}$ of a flush ploughing, & all = $3\frac{1}{8}$ flush ploughings or 125. acres	May. plant potatoes. cut clover
July.	43. days for 3. single ploughs	June. weed corn
Aug.	haul your harvest to the threshing place. get out the wheat. 80. as. in 26. days, is 3. acres a day	July. reap wheat. Aug. get out wheat. cut clover.
(DLC)		

ROTATION OF CROPS

[*n.d.*]

Rotation of crops

- 1st. year. Wheat. after harvest turn in the stubble, and sow Vetches.
have the cow house in this field the winter after it is reaped, that the dung may be made in the field where it is to be used.
- 2d. year. Corn & Potatoes in alternate drills. put the long dung of last winter into the Potato drills. in Autumn sow Vetch.
- 3d. year. Peas in drills (or broad cast as found best) this is a first year's fallow for wheat, & the peas are to shade the land, and pay for the fallow ploughings.—in autumn sow Vetch.
- 4th. year. Peas as in the last year. in autumn sow Wheat.
- 5th. year. Wheat. sow clover on it in the spring.
- 6th. clover of the 1st. year
- 7th. Clover of the 2d. year. in autumn turn in the clover with a single furrow harrow the same way sow wheat & draw the Harrow over it.
- Auxiliary articles. 4. as. of pumpkins to feed horses, cattle, & sheep thro' Sep. Oct. Nov. Dec. & to fatten the pork & stall beeves.
- as. turneps. to feed sheep oxen, etc. after Christmas.
- (Courtesy of Mr. Lloyd W. Smith)

CALENDAR OF WORK

ALTHOUGH Jefferson gave an entire page to "Calendar of Work" in the *Farm Book*, he failed to place any schedules of work on it. He did leave, however, the following memoranda with detailed instructions of the work to be done in the fields and gardens. And on other pages of the *Farm Book* he left similar but shorter instructions. In his "Scheme for a System of Agricultural Societies" he considered a "Calendar of Work" to be one of the important particulars in its organization. He writes, "8th. Calendars of works, showing how a given number of laborers and a draught of animals are to be employed every day in the year so as to perform within themselves, and in their due time, according to the usual course of seasons, all the operations of a farm of given size. This being essential to the proportioning the labor to the size of the farm." See *Garden Book*, pages 640-643.

[n.d.]

Calendar of work for 4. horses, 4 oxen, 8 laborers men & women, on a farm of 280 acres in 7 fields of 40. a[s] cultivated in this rotation. 1. wheat. 2. corn & potatoes. 3. a Pea-fallow. 4. wheat. 5.6.7. clover

	Horses	Oxen	Laborers
Aug.	Aug. 15-28. (10. ploughing days 2 weeks) 4 single horse ploughs at 4. acres a day put in (under furrow) 40. acres of wheat after the Pea-fallow	Oxen free.	clean fields for the ploughs
Sep.	Aug. 29-Sep. 15. (14 ploughing days) 3 double horse & ox-ploughs at 3 acres a day and 1. harrow at 3. acres a day plough in 40. acres of clover for Wheat, and harrow in the grain.		gather peas.
	Sep. 16.-29. (10 ploughing days) 4. double horse & ox-ploughs break up 40. acres of wheat stubble, as a fallow for corn.		gather fodder.
Oct.	Oct. 1.-14. (10 ploughing days) 4 double horse & ox-ploughs break up 40. acres of corn for the next Pea-fallow for wheat.		gather potatoes.
Nov.	Oct. 15.-Feb. 18. the horsecart & oxcart to be hauling corn, rails, straw, dung, and carrying wheat to market.		gather corn. put up hogs.
Dec. Jan. Feb. Mar.	Mar. 1-14. (2. weeks. 10 ploughing days) 4. double horse & oxploughs flush- plough 40. acres for corn. Mar. 15-28. (2. weeks. 10 ploughing days) they flush-plough 40. acres for the Pea-fallow.		cut firewood. repair fences. get out clover seed. clear land. clean mowing grounds
Apr. May	Mar. 29-June 19. (12 weeks. 60 ploughing days) 4. single horse ploughs give 5 ploughings to 40. as corn and 3. plough- ings to 40. acres of Peas, each equal to ⅔ Oxen free. or ⅔ of a flush ploughing, & all equal to 5⅓ flush ploughings or 21⅓ acres which being but 54 days work leave 6. spare days		sow clover. plant corn plant potatoes. sow peas last week in May hand hoe corn.

June	June 20-Aug. 14. (8. weeks. 40 working days) 4. horses at half an acre a day each tread out 80 acres of wheat	June 20-27. (7. working days) the Ox-cart carries to the treading floor the wheat & straw of 7½ bushels at a load every half hour, or an acre an hour, or 12 acres a day, which is 80 as. in 7. days.	1st. cutting of clover handhoughers lay by Peas June 20.-27. (7. mowing days) 4. scythesmen cut 12. acres of wheat aday, which is 80. acres in 7. days
July		June 28.-July 25. (20 ploughing days) 4. single ox-ploughs, at half days work for each ox, lay by 40. acres of corn.	June 28.-July 25. the handhoughers lay by 40. acres of corn 2d. cutting of clover

(Courtesy of Mr. Lloyd W. Smith)

Calendar of work

4. Horses	4. Oxen	8. laborers, men & women
Sep. 1.-14. 10 ploughing days, 2 with horse ploughs 2. ox ploughs [<i>illegible</i>] a day, plough & [<i>illegible</i>] in the fallow feild, to wit 40, acres.		gather fodder
15.-28. 10 ploughg days. plough in rye after peas & potatoes. 40. as.	Sep. 15.-Oct. 5. 15 ploughing days. 2 ox ploughs fallow 30. as. of wheat for the next year.	
29.-Oct. 5. 5 ploughg days. 2 dble ploughs fallow 10. as. for next year's wheat		
Oct. 6- Nov. Dec. Jan. Feb.	The horse cart & ox cart to be hauling corn, potatoes, firewood, coal wood, rails, straw, dung & to be delivering wheat at market. the horses tread out rye.	Oct. get in potatoes Nov. gather corn Dec. put up hogs get firewood, & coal wood Jan. get red clover seed Feb. repair fences clean up stones of cloverfeild clear grounds
Mar. 1.-14. 10 ploughg. days. 2 horse ploughs & 2 ox ploughs plough in the Vetch in the Pea & Potatoe field. 40. acres.		Mar.
15.-31. 13. ploughg. days. a dble plough flush plough part of ye corn. to wit 25. as.	Mar. 15.-23. 7. ploughg. days. 2 ox ploughs flush plough 10. as. of the Corn.	
Apr. 1.-11. 8 ploughg. days. 2 dble ploughs list 40. as. of corn equal to flush ploughing 15. as.	24.-Apr. 26. 25 ploughg. days. 2. ox ploughs plough & sow buck- wheat in ye fallow feild. 40. as.	Apr. plant corn
12. June 22. 50 ploughg. days. the horse ploughs give 5. ploughings to 40. as. of corn, & 3. do. to 40. as. of peas & potatoes. each equal to 5/8 of a flush ploughg. [<i>line illegible</i>]	Apr. 27.-May 31. 25. ploughg. days. 2. ox ploughs turn in the buck- wheat.	May. cut clover. hand-hoe corn. plant potatoes & peas

June 23-July 5. 10 working days. 4. horses tread out 30. bush. or 2. acres of wheat a day. 20. as. July 6.-19. 10. ploughg. days. 4. horses at 4. as. a day lay by the corn. 40. as.	June 23.-July 19. the ox-cart carries the wheat to the treading floor, 4. acres a day, to wit 60. bush of wheat 3600 tb straw & chaff 100 tb to the bushel of wheat 6000 makes daily carriage <u>9600</u>	June 23-July 19. 20. mowing days. at 4. as. a day, for 80 as. of wheat & rye.
July 20.-Aug. 16. 20 ploughing days. 2. dble ploughs at 2. as. a day plough in 40. as. of wheat stub- ble as a fallow for next year's corn, sprinkling or drillg turneps & rape.		Aug. cut clover
Aug. 17.-31. 11. treading days. 4 horses tread out 30. bush. or 2. as. of wheat a day. 20. as. which fin- ishes.		clean up ye fallow feilds.

(DLC)

[1807]

Estimate 1. Acre of land to be cleared in 07-8. & worked 08. & 09.
A man will clear & clean up 20-30. as. of land in a year
consequently it costs 20/ an acre to clear. or 30/.
that land will bring 6. bar. corn to the acre. it's rent $\frac{1}{4}$ is $1\frac{1}{2}$ bar.
corn @ $\frac{13}{8} = 20/$
so that a year's rent pays the clearing.

If Craven lets me have the riverfield 30. as.

2. years rent of riverfield @ 1. D. £18-0-0

Cr. By rest of 18. as. new land the 2d. year 3-0-0

it follows that for every 5. acres of old land 2. years

he should be allowed to clear 3. as. & hold them 2. years.

but if clearing be worth 30/ it will stand thus

To rent of a acre of old land 2. years @ 6/ 0-12-0

To clearing an acre of new land 1-10-0

Cr. 2- 2-0

By rent of an acre of new land two years 2- 0-0

consequently the exchange should be acre for acre.

(MHi)

Land & Fields

JEFFERSON, in a letter of February 22, 1796, to Colonel John Harvie, offering his Pouncey tract of land for sale, wrote, "I certainly never expected to have offered another acre of land for sale, for of all things it is that of which I am the most tenacious." In spite of the many adverse circumstances which overtook him, Jefferson held to this resolution during most of his life.

The *Farm Book* contains the two best statements of Jefferson's Land Rolls. The one of 1794 lists $5,581\frac{2}{3}$ acres in Albemarle County and $5,258\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Bedford, Campbell, and Rockbridge Counties, making a total of $10,840\frac{1}{6}$ acres in the four counties. He also owned four lots in Beverly Town on the James River, and a part of a lot in Richmond.

The Land Roll of 1810 lists $5,682\frac{2}{3}$ acres in Albemarle, and $4,321\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Bedford, Campbell, and Rockbridge, making a total of $10,004\frac{1}{6}$ acres in the four counties. He continued to hold his lots in Beverly Town, but sold his part of the lot in Richmond to David Higginbotham. During the interval between 1794 and

1810 Jefferson gained 101 acres in Albemarle and lost 937 acres in Bedford.

The big transactions in land in Albemarle which involved Jefferson between 1794 and 1810 were the purchase of 1,162¼ acres at Milton from the heirs of Bennett Henderson, and the gift of Pantops, 819¼ acres adjoining Shadwell, to his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. John Wayles Eppes. In the same period Jefferson conveyed 1,450 acres in Bedford County to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Mann Randolph.

After 1810, except for the sale of the Pouncey tract of 400 acres, to Dr. Charles Everett in 1820, Jefferson sold only a few acres of his land. He made several attempts to sell certain parcels of land in Bedford and Albemarle Counties, but they appear to have failed.

The letters and the statements from the Account Books which follow tell much about Jefferson's dealings in land. Copies of others are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

In Appendix II of Dumas Malone's *Jefferson the Virginian* there is an excellent discussion of Jefferson's land-holdings. See also Marie Kimball's *Jefferson: The Road to Glory*.

From Account Book—Fee Book, 1767-1794

Sep. 17. 1771. to 560 as. land on Tomahawk, Bedford. sold to Charles Lambert. 100.00.

At a council held Mar. 11. 1773.

On the petition of Thomas Jefferson, leave is given him to survey, & sue out a patent for 1000. as. of land on the South West mountains in Albemarle, between the lines of Thomas Mann Randolph, James Hickman, the said petitioner Martin Key, and William Watson.

Copy

John Blair cl. conc.

(MHi)

From Account Book—Fee Book, 1773

Oct. 2. By 4. as. land at the limestone quarry. Albem. bought of Robert Sharp 4-5-3.

From Account Book, 1773

Nov. 29. I am this day taken in by Augustine Claiborne as a partner with himself Mathew Talbot and William Owen in an order of council for 40,000. as. of land in Augusta on Little river dated Nov. 5. 1750. note there are three

others named in the order, but they were only nominal and he supposes Talbot or Owen to be dead. so that I shall come in for 10,000 as. at least.

Dec. 27. agreed with Richard James to purchase his 300. as. of land adjoining my Tomahawk lands in Bedford for which I am to give him whatever Charles Lynch, William Austin & Daniel Gaines shall say they are worth.

From Account Book—Fee Book, 1774

Jan. 14. By 266. as. land Goochl. called Elkhill bought of Skipwith 710-0-0.

From Account Book, 1774

Jan. 3. Thomas Jefferson (myself) v. Thos. Mann Randolph (Goochld.) enter friendly cav. for 400. as. land Albemarle on the South West mountains adjoining Edgehill.

No. 1. Mar. 12. 1774.

Thomas Jefferson Esqr. enters for 1000 acres of Land more or less, to be included in the following bounds, beginning at the lower corner of the said Thomas's lands at Shadwell, on the North side of the Rivanna river, and running down the same according to it's meanders, to the lower corner of the lands of Thomas Mann Randolph esqr. thence across the River poles, to the opposite bank, thence up the same according to it's meanders to the lower corner of the lands of the said Thomas Jefferson on the South side of the said river, thence across the same to the beginning. Also 25 Entries of 400 acres each, between the South West mountains, the Rivanna River, and Buck Island creek, or any of the waters thereof.

Oct. 24. 1774.

Thomas Jefferson esqr. enters for 800 acres of land to be included by two entries of 400 acres each, to adjoin the land of Thomas Mann Randolph on the South West Mountains.

Copy
[] Bryan.

From Account Book—Fee Book, 1775

Jan. By 819¼ as. called Hickman's, Albemarle bought of Thomas Garth 450-0-0.

From Account Book—Fee Book, 1777

Aug. 7. By 169¼ as. called Smith's. Albemarle. bought of Walter Mousley 125-0-0.

Oct. 14. By 483. as. do. on the Highmountain Albemarle. bought of Colo Edward Carter. 190-0-0.

From Account Book, 1777

Oct. 15. left with T. Garth for Edward Carter £ 90 in part of £ 190. to which the 483 acres of land I bought of him were valued by N. Lewis & I. Coles.

Nov. 9. Chas. Carter (surviving trustee for Colo Byrd) executed deed to me for part of a lot in Richmond, for which I am to pay mr Wayles estate £ 25. as of this day & endorse it on the protested bill due from Byrd to the estate.

To Colonel J. Harvie

Monticello Jan. 11. 1790.

In the year 1773. I obtained an order of council in these words. 'at a council held Mar. 11. 1773. on the petition of Thos. Jefferson, leave is given him to survey & sue out a patent for 1000 as. of land on the Southwest mountains in Albemarle between the lines of Thomas Mann Randolph, Jas. Hickman, the sd petitioner, Martin Key, & William Watson. copy. John Blair Cl. Conc.' immediately on mr Bryan's coming into office, which was in June 1773. I notified this order to him, & desired him to survey it. this notification being made, the law required nothing more of me than to await the Summons of the Surveyor when he should declare himself ready to proceed to the survey. but I valued the order too much to be quiet under it. I pressed mr Bryan to survey as soon as possible; & for fear that in the change of the land law which mr Mason was bringing forward, & in which he seemed disposed to respect very little the orders of council, I reinforced mine by two entries with the surveyor in these words, 'Oct. 24. 1774. Thos. Jefferson esq. enters for 800. as. of land to be included by two entries of 400. as. each to adjoin the lands of T. M. Randolph on the South West mountains. copy p. Anderson Bryan S. A. C.' Mr Bryan from that time till I left Virginia, at such times as suited him, endeavored to investigate the old lines by which my survey was to be bounded, in which the principle difficulty was to find the back line of Colo. Randolph. in some of these essays I accompanied him: sometime he went alone; sometimes I went alone. when I left this country in Oct. 1783. I left him the strongest injunction to finish the survey & a written request to Messrs. Lewis & Eppes, my attornies, to urge him incessantly to it. he had told me before that mr James Marks had insisted on entering in the

same place, & that he had made the entry on the possibility of there being land to spare. mr Marks had also spoken to me & asked me to let him share the vacant lands, which I expressly refused. as soon as I was gone however he induced William Hay assistant surveyor to run out for him 490. as. before my prior title was satisfied & leaving as appeared when Walter Leak the succeeding assistant came to finish mine, only 485. as. I am informed that mr Marks has conveyed to you his right to the 490. acres. you will be able to judge by the premises what that right could be. between you & me I am sure there can be no difficulty. you desire nothing which is not just; nor do I. the order of council, as an appendage to my lands, to which they are contiguous, is too important to me to be neglected. if we differ in opinion about our right, let mutual friends be named to decide it, either in Albemarle or Richmond. in either case the deposition of Anderson Bryan is most material; & therefore I will be obliged to you to name somebody here who may attend on your behalf to take his deposition. the state of his health is such that he cannot come from home; therefore we shall be obliged to go to his house which I understand is about 20. miles from hence. this done, it may immediately be finished here or in Richmond, as you chuse; only let it be done before I leave the state. . . . (MHi)

To John Hanson

Philadelphia Apr. 5. 1791.

. . . I have sold to Mr. Ronald my Cumberland lands for £ 1076 sterling, one half payable Jan. 1. 1796. the other half Jan. 1. 1797. both bearing interest from Oct. 5. 1790. . . . (ViU) (Copy)

NOTES ON LAND IN VIRGINIA IN BULL RUN, SOUTH WEST AND GREEN MOUNTAINS AROUND ALBEMARLE, NATURE OF THE SOIL, PRODUCE &C.

Aug. 3. 1791.

The writer hereof is best acquainted with that tract of land which crosses Virginia from North East to South West by the names of the Bull run mountains, South West mountains & Green mountains, & is generally 6 or 8 miles wide, one half of which is the mountain itself & therefore steep; the residue lies at the foot on each side, in large waving hills, perfectly accessible to the plough. it is of a dark red colour. the richest of it is a pure mould or loam, without the least mixture of sand or grit, though often a good deal of broken stone. when first cleared of it's timber, it lies

loose for about a foot depth, that is to say as far down as the frosts have penetrated. but below that, for many feet, the earth is still the same, but hard, as having never yet been opened by the frost. when it is turned up by the plough & has been exposed to the frost a winter or two, it is nearly as rich as the original first soil. this land is excellent for wheat & rye, but yields poorly in oats. for Indian corn it is midling. the fruits which abound are apples, peaches, & cherries. the country perfectly healthy, & the climate more moderate in summer than that below, and in winter than that above. most of the parcels of land held by individuals have been so laid out as to contain about one third of the first quality as above described, one third of a midling quality, & one third of barrens well timbered. the husbandry is in general very slovenly. under such as it is, the lands of the first quality will produce 30. bushels of wheat to the acre when fresh, and being tended alternately in wheat & Indian corn (the latter of which is a great exhauster) without ever being rested or manured, they fall at length down to 8. or 10. bushels the acre. the soil of midling quality will yield 12 or 15 bushels of wheat the acre when fresh, & fall down to about 8. the grasses which have been found to succeed best are red clover & orchard grass. greensward does well also. only one good cutting of these can be counted on until the ground can be watered.

a tract consisting of the three qualities before mentioned in equal quantities, in that part which lies near the Rivanna river, say about Charlottesville will sell for about 22/6 to 27/6 sterl. the acre on an average. it will be more or less in proportion as there is more or less of the best or worst qualities. produce is water-borne from hence to the tide-waters, 70 miles distant. advancing North-Eastwardly along the same mountains these lands are dearer, tho' their produce cannot be water borne till they reach the Potowmac. going South Westwardly along the same mountains, lands become cheaper. where they cross the Fluvanna or James river they are about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the price before mentioned, and from that part their produce may be also waterborne to tide waters, 130 miles distant.

ordinary prices about Charlottesville are as follows.

a labouring negro man is hired by the year for 9. £ sterl. his clothes & food.

a good plough horse cost £ 10. to 12. £ sterl.

a cow 20/ a sheep 6/ a sow 10/ a goose or turkey 2/ a
[illegible] fowl 6d.

a bushel of wheat 3/ of rye 22d $\frac{1}{2}$ of Indian corn 1/6.

beef in autumn & pork in the winter 16/ the 100 lb. bacon 6d to
8d the lb.
hay 48/ the ton. (DLC)

To M. de Barth

Philadelphia Mar. 17. 1792.

. . . I take the liberty of putting the inclosed paper into your hands, presuming you will generally be acquainted with those in want of a settlement. the paper contains the description of an estate [*Elkhill*] of mine, which I wish to dispose of, because it is too small & too distant from my principal estates to be an object. indeed I have kept it hitherto on account of it's beauty, & the abundance of wild fowl and game (gibier) which induced me to go to it sometimes on hunting parties. my present situation renders these properties of it useless, and I can better employ otherwise the sum at which it is valued. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Jan. 21. 1793.

. . . I have received information from mr Hylton that he has compleated the sale of Elkhill, & has the bonds & mortgage in his possession, which I desired him to keep till he shall see you, & give them to you to be deposited safe at Monticello. I wish to hear of the sale in Bedford. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Feb: 27: 1793.

. . . 3. This I received from Mr. Pohatan Bolling; it may concern you as proprietor of the Natural bridge. He learnt while in that neighbourhood lately that one Captain Barclay had discovered the title by which you hold it, to be insufficient & designed to locate it himself. He did not explain the matter to me nor could I have understood it being totally ignorant of the subject but I mention it as he thought you might possibly lose the land. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Mar. 18. 93.

. . . I see no possibility of defect in my title to the Natural bridge. it was King's land, entered & surveyed for me by old Tom Lewis, who was too attentive a surveyor to have done this if it had not been vacant. I received the patent in the usual time & form. I believe the taxes were regularly paid while I was in Europe. . . . (DLC)

LAND AND FIELDS

To Colonel J. Harvie

Monticello Feb. 22. 1796.

. . . I am told you wish to buy my lands at Pouncey's hill. I am at this moment under a situation which makes me willing to sell that . . . I have lately been over the land at Pouncey's and find it very superior to what I had an idea of. it lies on the ridge between Pouncey's & Carrol's creeks, and is as level through the whole as the lands from Tuckahoe house to the public road. the soil is gray, & of a fine farming quality. the growth large pine with an undergrowth of hiccory & oak. . . . besides the value of the soil, the timber on it is of capital value. my father bought it 40. years ago for it's timber, but when he built at Shadwell he thought the trees had not yet got sufficient growth. it was the same case when I built here, so that it has escaped being plundered, and has now had 40. years more growth. . . . I certainly never expected to have offered another acre of land for sale, for of all things it is that of which I am the most tenacious. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1797

Oct. 2. gave order on P. Lott in favor of John Spiers for £ 9-14-6
= 32D.20 in full for the price of his claim to 100. acres of
my Pouncey tract of land.

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Oct. 8. 1801.

. . . wishing very anxiously to do anything I can to make your situation & that of mr Eppes easy, I have contemplated to do it in a way which may be permanent. I have desired Bowling Clarke, who is perfectly well acquainted with Poplar Forest lands, is an honest & judicious man, to lay off for each of you a parcel of that tract of 6 or 800 or 1000 as. as the convenience of the tract will admit, making the two as equal in value as he can. I expect daily to learn that he has done it. then I will propose that each of you shall hire 10. laboring men for the ensuing year, to be employed solely in clearing the lands, and I will pay the hire and maintenance of the hands. I presume that at the end of the year you would each of you have a fresh farm opened of 300. as. which you could either occupy or rent as might suit your own convenience. as soon as I hear from Clarke, I will communicate to you what he has done, but in the mean time you may safely take any measures for the execution of the plan, which opportunity may offer you. from an actual survey of the plantation I occupy there which was made this

last summer, it appears that one of these parcels must be laid off on the Southeast side of mine and the other to the North, adjoining yours. I am afraid the land in the S. E. end is not as rich as to the North. in that case I have directed Clarke to equalize the two by a difference in quality, but how the fact is, I am not intimate enough with the land to say. it may require a difference in the size of the clearing also to produce in inferior lands a rent equal to that those of superior quality may command. but when the exact state of the thing shall be known, some modification of arrangement may be formed to produce equality. . . . (CSmH)

From Account Book, 1803

Sep. 20. gave Craven Peyton ord. on Gibson & Jefferson for 213.33 = £ 64. the interest settled by him on the payment to the Hendersons which closes all sums on that account. paiable at 30. days.

From Account Book, 1804

May 1. purchased of John Henderson his 5. acre lot of land at the upper end of his father's land, & adjoining to the lower end of my land on the river, for which I am to give him 40. D. also the bail & screws of his mill stones for 40. D. also his pair of 5. f. Burr millstones for which I am to give him £ 80. and as much more not exceeding £ 100. as they shall be valued at. paid him £ 20 = 67.67.

To James Strange

Monticello Sep. 18. 06.

In the year 1770 Wm. McGehee being indebted to James & Robt. Donald on dealings in Albemarle & Richmond conveyed his lands in Albemarle (193. as) by an absolute deed as security for the debt. in 1773. he sold the lands to me & I undertook to pay £ 15. towards the redemption of the mortgage. . . . I gave the lands to Philip Mazzei without price or warranty, so that I was not answerable to him. it has been sold 4. or 5. times since to innocent purchasers. . . . (MHi)

Jefferson Note, October 20, 1808

1808. Oct. 20. Wm. Jenkins of Rockbridge calls on me and offers to buy my lands at the Natural bridge. he says they are worth as much as the adjacent tract which has sold 2. or 3. times at 10. D. & some of it £ 4. an acre. he sais the land is thin. his view is to build a public house. he lives about 4. or 5. miles from the Bridge,

which is 4. or 5. miles also from Greenlee's ferry. he will call on me the next spring. (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Jan. 17. 09.

. . . I have three detached tracts of about 2, 3, & 400 each in Albemarle which, as being smaller might perhaps find a purchaser. These are Pouncey's 400. and two tracts on the waters of Buckisland. the first is really of value. . . . the consequence is that I shall fall short 8. or 10,000 D. I shall be able to get it accomodated for some time, and my Bedford crops of the last & current year will pay about 5000 D. of it, & an offer for my Natural bridge tract 1600. to 2000. D. within a twelvemonth. . . . it will be necessary for me to make my possessions in Albemarle support the house & themselves. Craven's farm, when his lease is out, if well managed, ought to go far towards this. but I know nothing of management. I have ever been unwilling to trouble you with my affairs, knowing that your own required your whole time. yet when Craven's farm returns on my hands, it's yield will be so important that I shall be obliged to ask some aid from you in it's direction. . . . (MHi)

To Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

Washington Feb. 27. 09.

. . . I look with infinite joy to the moment when I shall be ultimately moored in the midst of my affections, and free to follow the pursuits of my choice in retiring to the condition of a private citizen and reducing our establishment to the style of living of a mere private family, I have but a single uneasiness. I am afraid that the enforcing the observance of the necessary economies in the internal administration of the house will give you more trouble than I wish you to have to encounter and I presume it is impossible to propose to my sister Marks to come & live with us. perhaps, with a set of good & capable servants, as ours certainly are, the trouble will become less after their once understanding the regulations which are to govern them. ignorant too, as I am, in the management of a farm, I shall be obliged to ask the aid of mr Randolph's skill & attention, especially for that of Tufton, when it comes to me. it will be my main dependance, and to make it adequate, with my other Albemarle resources, to support all expenses, will require good management. if I can sell the detached tracts of land I own, so as to pay the debts I have contracted here (about ten thousand Dollars) and they are fully adequate to it, my wish would be to live

within the income of my Albemarle possessions. they will yield 2000. D. rent, besides the profits of the lands & negroes of Monticello & Tufton, the toll mill, & nailery. my Bedford income; about 2000. to 2500. D. would then be free to assist the children as they grow up & want to establish themselves. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1810

May. 7. purchased of Joseph Brand his share in the Milton warehouses which now consolidates my title to the whole of the lands of the late Bennett Henderson *around* Milton. I am to give Brand £ 48. qu. if not £ 45 = 150. D. what he gave.

To Mary Stith

Monticello Mar. 7. 1811.

In the year 1753 your father, mine, Colo. Fry, Dr. Hopkins, Major Meriwether and mr Scott purchased of Philip Mayo a tract of 400. as. of land in this county (Albemarle) on the branches of Hardware, for the sum of seventeen pounds. the land itself was deemed, as it now is, of little or no value; but the vein of Limestone which passes from North to South through this state, shows itself in this tract, and as all of them had valuable lands not very distant, they supposed the use of the limestone might become a convenience worth the 9. or 10. dollars a piece they were to pay. mr Stith then held Edgehill about a dozen miles on this side of the tract, and the Barringer's creek estate, 8 miles on the other side. my father held the lands I live on adjoining Edgehill, and those my brother holds, 10 miles on the other side, to whom the share in the Limestone tract was given. he sold it to me some years ago for £ 10. being about the original cost of the share, with 5. per cent simple interest on it to that time. . . .

I avail myself of this occasion of recalling myself to your recollection. I imagine our acquaintance is of longer standing than that of either of us with any other person now living. I believe it goes back to about 1748. or 1749. I recollect the infantile scenes in which we participated with peculiar pleasure even at this day. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1811

Oct. 20. sold my lot in Richmond to D. Higginbotham for 130. £ to be credited in my account with him.

LAND AND FIELDS

From Account Book, 1812

June 18. purchased of Craven Peyton 20. lots in Milton, being all he holds there under the Hendersons, except the improved one in which Conrad & Henderson's store was. the consideration 150. D. to be credited in his acct.

To William Caruthers

Monticello Mar. 15. 15.

. . . I have no idea of selling the land [*Natural Bridge*]. I view it in some degree as a public trust, and would on no consideration permit the bridge to be injured, defaced or masked from the public view. . . . (DLC)

From Account Book, 1816

Sep. 10. renewed my note in bank for 2000. D. date Sep. 24. desired P. Gibson to pay to Sheriff Henrico 42.29 taxes on my 4. lots in Beverlytown for 1787. to 1797 inclusive.

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Feb. 22. 19.

. . . these operations [*paying of notes*] are so disagreeable to me that instead of waiting to relieve myself and my friends from them by annual profits, I have determined to do it by the sale of some detached lands which I have long held unimproved & unemployed. I have given orders accordingly in Bedford and shall pursue the same object here. as soon as this resource can be brought in I shall be able to wipe off the whole at once. this done I shall be for ever at ease, because I know that my income is more than the double of my expenses if once cleared of interest. . . . (MHi)

To James Leitch

Monticello June 3. 19.

I have never been more mortified than by the disappointment in paying you 1500. or 2000. D. the last year, on the receipt of which I counted with so much certainty that I had parted with all the money which was within my power before I found I was to be disappointed in that, and this year the fall in the price of flour & tobacco had shortened me a full third in the proceeds of my crop. I have been led on by the flattering expectation that a good crop the next year, and the next year, and so on would enable me to do you justice; but finding the expectation delusive and that the next year, like tomorrow, never comes, I determined early in the present year to sell some detached lands which I have both in this county

and in Bedford, if I could do it without too great a sacrifice. but as yet I have had no offer of half of what a year ago would have been readily given. . . . (MHi)

To John I. Moorman

Monticello Nov. 16. 25.

In answer to your letter of Oct. 29. I have only to say that I have no thought of parting with my property at the Natural bridge. on the contrary I mean, as soon as I can make it convenient to improve it by such buildings as may accomodate the great numbers of it's visitants. I believe that at this time it recieves as many visitants, taking the year thro' as any of the medicinal springs and more equally thro' the year, and consequently, that it is as valuable as any of them. . . . (CtY)

FIELDS IN JEFFERSON'S PLANTATIONS IN ALBEMARLE AND BEDFORD COUNTIES

THE names of the fields, taken from the *Farm Book*, letters, and memoranda, in Jefferson's plantations in Albemarle and Bedford Counties are listed below for each of the plantations. The names of the fields varied from year to year, and the same name is sometimes used for fields in different plantations.

MONTICELLO	SHADWELL	TUFTON	LEGO
Antient field	Chapelfield	Barnfield	Barnfield
Belfield	Eastfield	Franklin field	Beltedfield
Brokenfield	Middlefield	Highfield	Culpeper field
Cooper's field	Mountainfield	Indian field	Dryfield
Crossfield	Pantops	Infield	Hickman's field
Elbowfield	Roadfield	Meadowfield	Mountainfield
Highfield	Southfield	Milton field	Oblongfield
Hollowfield	Squarefield	Morgan field	Squarefield
Knobfield	Trianglefield	Outfield	Trianglefield
Longfield	Upperfield	Poggio field	
Meadowfield	Westfield	The Tuft	TOMAHAWK
Northfield	The Yard		Early's field
Oatfield		BEAR CREEK	Forkfield
Parkfield	POPLAR FOREST	Holloway field	McDaniel's field
Raggedfield	Beltedfield	Hubbard's field	Ridgefield
Ridgefield	Early's field	Lowerfield	Shopfield
Riverfield	Forkfield	Middlefield	Tomahawk field
Slatefield	McDaniel's field	Trianglefield	Upper Tomahawk
Smith's field	Ridgefield	Upperfield	field
Springfield	Tomahawk field		
Squarefield			

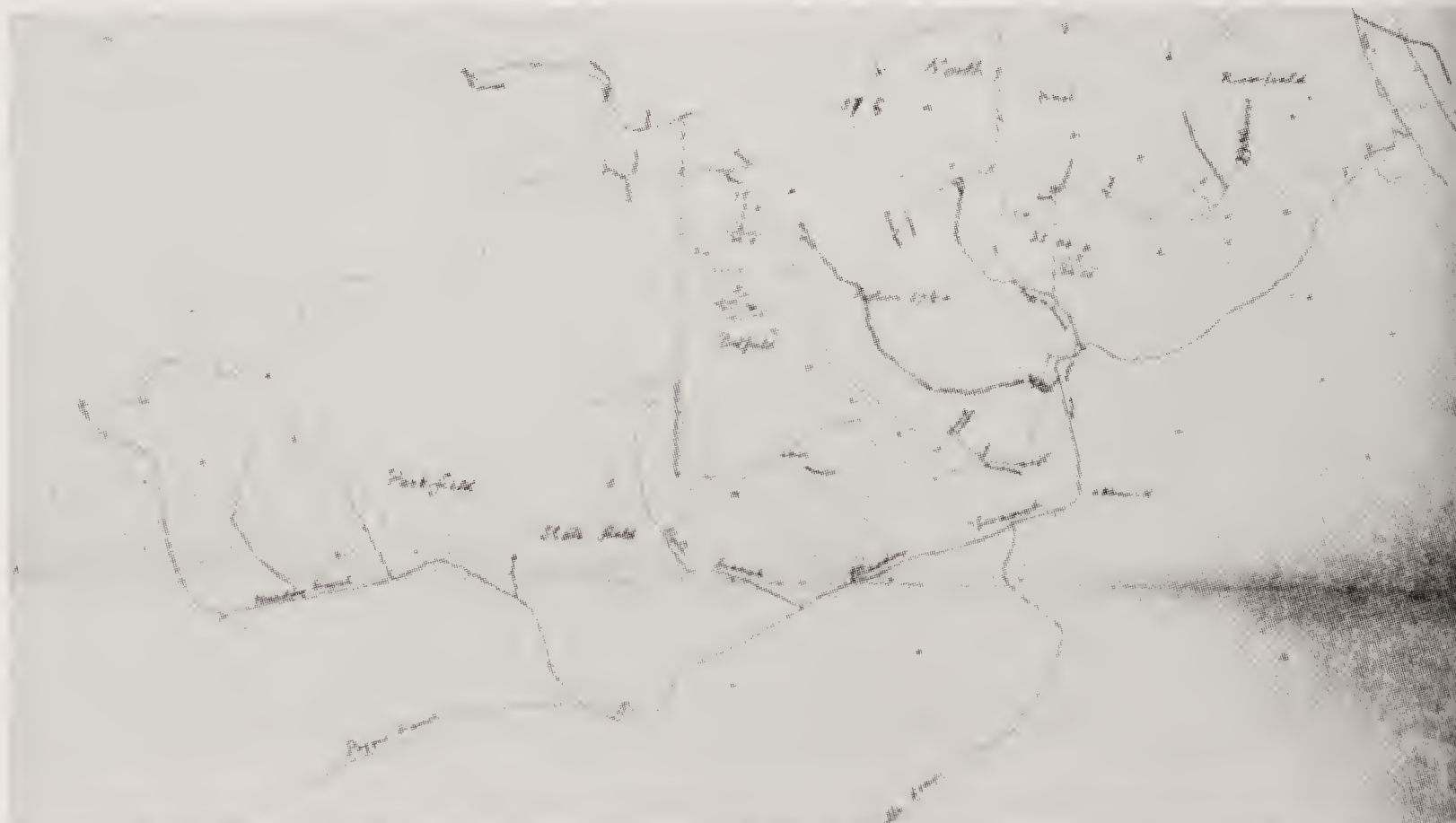
See illustrations following this page.



Jefferson's survey of parts of the fields of Monticello and Tufton, July 3, 1796. These two adjoining plantations were on the south side of the Rivanna River. Poggio and Franklin fields belong to Tufton.



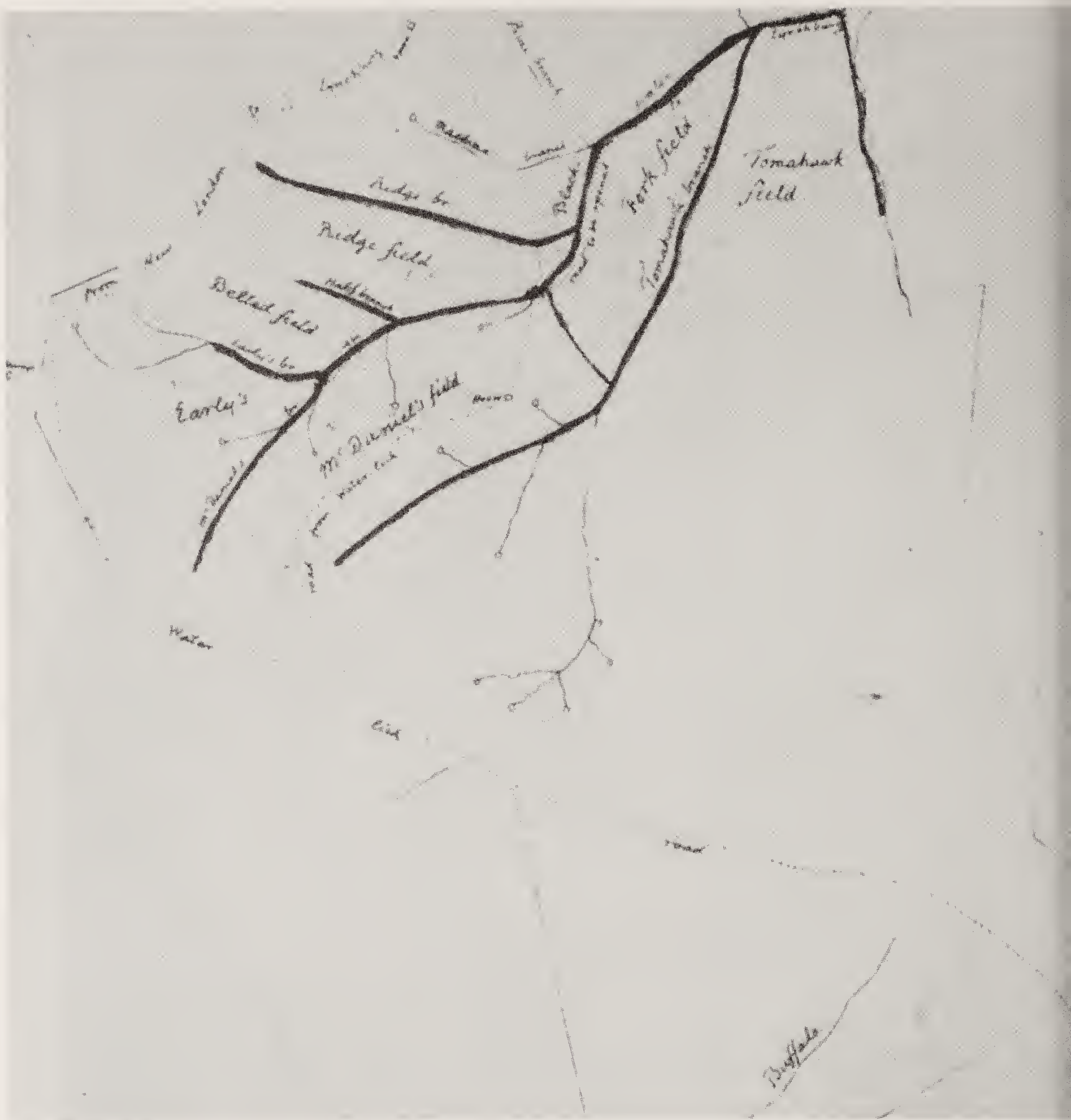
Jefferson's survey of the fields of the Shadwell plantation in Albemarle County. It was here that Jefferson was born in 1743. Note the "tobacco ground" and "tobacco house."



Jefferson's survey of the Monticello fields. A portion of the Rivanna River is at the extreme upper right of the plat.



Jefferson's survey of the fields of Tufton. Note the location of a corn house, tobacco house, barns, and the overseer's house.



Plat of the fields and streams of Jefferson's Tomahawk Plantation, in Bedford County. Tomahawk adjoined Poplar Forest.

Building

BRICK, STONE, WOOD AND TIMBER,
LIME, GLASS, PAINT

BUILDING was a passion with Jefferson that was never satisfied. Throughout his long life he was building, tearing down, and rebuilding, in order to meet the new conditions that were constantly arising at his plantations. His biggest building projects were at Monticello and Poplar Forest. At these two plantations elaborate dwelling houses were built, as well as the usual quarters for slaves and workmen, barns and stables, a nailery, a joiner's shop, and a spinning and weaving shop. At his smaller plantations, Shadwell, Tufton, Pantops, Tomahawk, and Bear Creek, smaller dwelling houses and the usual outhouses were erected.

The building materials—brick, wood and timber, stone, lime, and glass, mentioned in the *Farm Book*—refer almost exclusively to building at Monticello and Poplar Forest. All of the bricks used for buildings were made in brick kilns at the places where they were needed. Stone for foundations, for walls, and for chimneys, was gathered or quarried on the place. All the timbers used for sills, floors, and general woodwork were cut from Jefferson's forest or bought from his neighbor's forest. Mahogany and some other woods for doors and window frames were usually bought and then made into doors and window frames at Richmond. This was especially true for those at Monticello. James Oldham was the joiner.

Lime for building purposes was either made on the place or bought from dealers. Jefferson owned a plantation called Limestone, on the Hardware River in Albemarle County, from which he quarried limestone. It was brought to Monticello and burned in lime kilns. Glass and paint were bought at Richmond or Philadelphia. Marble for fireplaces came from Italy.

Jefferson carried on two building periods at Monticello. The first one he began in 1768; it lasted probably until the beginning of the Revolutionary War. The south pavilion, the mansion house, and some outhouses on Mulberry Row were built during this period. The offices, which now connect the mansion house with the north and south pavilions, were not built until the second period.

The second period began in 1793 and continued until about 1809, when Jefferson retired from the Presidency. During the

second period, the entire mansion house was remodeled and most of it was rebuilt, the north pavilion was added, as well as the offices connecting the two pavilions with the main house. Most of the brickwork on the main dwelling house, during the second period, was done in 1796. Several shops and slave quarters also were erected on Mulberry Row between 1791 and 1809. During both of the periods, houses for overseers, slave quarters, houses for workmen, stables and barns were built when needed.

Building the mansion house at Poplar Forest began in 1806 and lasted until about 1824. In 1814 the offices were added to the main house. As at Monticello, slave quarters, houses for workmen and overseers, barns, and stables were added when the need arose.

See the following references in the *Garden Book*: "Brick-kilns," "Bricklayers," "Bricklaying," "Brickmaking," "Brickyard," "Stone," "Stone Columns," "Stone-cutters," "Stone Houses," "Stone Masons," "Lime," "Limestone."

From Account Book, 1771

July 31. Bishop has worked $3\frac{1}{2}$ days for which am to give him 2/6. he will undertake to mould and burn bricks for 7/6 the 1000. and requires two men, three boys and no more he counts only those that are worked up. but better give him £ 3.10 a month.

Sep. 11. Stephen Willis sais it takes 15. bushels of lime to 1000 bricks.

Sep. 16. Defoe begins to blow lime @ 30/ per month Will Beck to find him provns for [which] allow 15/ per month.

From Account Book, 1772

Nov. 12. Wm. Gillam sais it will take a bushel of limestone (which he sais is equal to 2. bushels of slacked lime) to a perch of stone work 18. I. thick.

From Account Book, 1774

Walnut Plank should be sawed into cuts $4\frac{1}{2}$, 9, $13\frac{1}{2}$, 18, $22\frac{1}{2}$ f. long. and 1, 2, or 4 I. thick after it is sawed.

plank for wainscoating & flooring should be $1\frac{1}{2}$ I thick in the clear. Cornice plank 1. I. in the clear.

Whether better to waggon bricks, or the water & wood that makes them.

BUILDING

	lb
1000 bricks will take 3. hhds of water	3000
1 cord of wood, supposed 96. cub. feet	5760
	<hr/>
	8760
allow a loss of one fifth	2190
	<hr/>
	10950
1000 bricks weigh	6000 lbs.

To Richard Morris

Monticello Aug. 29. 1803.

. . . I have thought myself obliged to decline every application which has been made me for timber of any kind, without that resource I could not have built as I have done, nor could I look forward with any comfort. . . . (DLC)

Richard Barry to Mr. Lenox

Hagers Town Decr, 2 1804

Sir

I recd, your letter dated the 17th Novr, In which you Mention that the President Agrees to give Me Thirty Dollars Pr, Month will want me to go to Monticello about the 10th, day of March next, he also wishes to Know what Quantity of paint will do one yard square, The general Allowance of Mixed white lead is one pound to do eight yards square one Coat, In Mr, Ringgolds House I have finished ten yards with four pounds paint allowing the Work to get four coats, that is one pound to give Ten yards one coat the lead was good and ground by My own directions every hundred of white lead dry takes to grind and Mix it fit for use three gallons of Oil and two of Turpentine its Much to the Presidents advantage to get lead unground its the only way to get few of adulteration it will go farther and look Neater. I expect to be in the City about next February will go to Monticello as it is required against the 10th March. I conclude with great regard for you and family Your Much Obliged and Hble. Servt. (MHi)

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

Richard Barry to mr Lenox
a very loose estimate of the painting to be done
at Monticello

	yds		
Parlour	25	} 180. at 4. coats	720
Hall	28		
Ding. Room	22		
Tea Room	14		
Chamber	18		
Dome	33		
8. bedrooms	40		
<hr/>			
externl. entabl.		130. at 4. coats	520
roof		750. 1. coat & cement	3000
			<hr/>
			4240

	lb
1. lb giving 1. coat to 10. yards will require	424
to ever Cwt 3. galls. oil 127 galls. oil	
2. galls. turpentine 85 galls. turpentine	
lb	
424 white lead unground @ 13. D. Cwt	55.12
127 galls. linseed oil @ 1.20	142.40
85 do. spirits turpentine @ .50	42.50
<hr/>	
240.02	

6 books of gold leaf wanting.

Michael Roberts 87. Chesnut
Zane Wm. & co. 23. S. 2d.
(MHi)

To Joseph Donath

Oct. 9. 07.

Presuming you are still in the line in which I formerly knew & dealt with you, I take the liberty of applying to you for 250 panes of glass 18. I. by 12 I. and 150. panes 12. I. square; to be very exactly cut to their measures, because in the country those who could trim them are few & awkward & occasion great loss, to be of the same quality you formerly furnished me, that is to say Hamburg or Bohemian glass of the middle thickness. . . . (MHi)

The Rivanna River, the Mills, The Canal, and the Dam

RIVANNA RIVER

THE RIVANNA RIVER was one of Jefferson's earliest interests, and it continued to be of great importance to him until his death. In his childhood he played along its banks. Soon after he became of age he "got an act of assembly passed" for the navigation of the river. And during the remainder of his life the river became the medium of getting his produce to market, and likewise for sending his commodities up the river to Milton, Shadwell, and Monticello.

By his close association with the river Jefferson knew every bend and every cliff in its course. He was familiar with all the shallow and deep places in its bed. He knew where all the dams and locks were situated, and whether they aided or hindered navigation and the passage of fish. Many times he had seen the river overflowing its banks, causing destruction to the lowland crops. His dams, his locks, and his mill houses had been destroyed by severe freshets. He had also seen the bed of the river so dry in summer and so clogged with ice in winter that boats could not go up and down with their produce.

In order to make the Rivanna River navigable, dams, canals, and locks were built at needed places in the river. The town of Milton was the upper terminus for navigation. When produce was sent from the Shadwell mills, it was usually placed on flat-bottomed bateaux or canoes, which carried from eighty to one hundred barrels of flour or from forty to sixty hogsheads of tobacco, and floated down the river to Milton, where it was transferred to larger boats. These larger boats carried the produce down the remainder of the Rivanna River and finally by the James River to Richmond. See "Rivanna River" in the *Garden Book*.

TOLL MILL AND MANUFACTURING MILL

JEFFERSON owned three mills on the Rivanna River: a toll or grist mill, a manufacturing or merchant mill, and a saw mill. They were located on the Shadwell estate, which was three-fourths of a mile above Milton, and six miles below Charlottesville. The first toll mill was built about 1757 by Peter Jefferson. It was the only toll mill on the river for many years. The toll mill house, along with the dam and canal, was destroyed by the great freshet of 1771.

Because of Jefferson's long absences from home, the toll mill was not rebuilt until 1803. On December 24, of that year, Gabriel Lilly, the overseer at Monticello, ground the first grain. An addition was made to the mill during the following two years, and it again began to grind in December of 1805. The toll mill was not leased to tenants, as was the manufacturing mill, but was kept for Jefferson's own use. The first miller was a Negro, named Martin. He soon proved unsatisfactory and was replaced by one of Jefferson's slaves, Davy. About 1808, he was followed by a white miller, Youen Carden, an excellent miller who remained with Jefferson, except for short periods, until the spring of 1824.

Jefferson formulated plans for a large manufacturing mill as early as 1793. It was not, however, until 1803 that the site of the mill was laid out by James Walker, a millwright, and a contract was made with a Mr. Hope to build the mill houses and with James Walker to install the machinery. Although this mill was almost completed by the end of 1806, it did not begin operations until the next year. In describing the mill in a letter of February 23, 1806, to a Mr. Gooch, Jefferson writes, ". . . she has two independent water wheels, singled geered, one turning a pair of 5. f. Burr stones, the other a pr of 6. f. do. she will be finished in the best manner with every modern convenience, is about 40 by 60. f. 3 floors in the body which is of stone, & 2. floors in the roof. . . ." Later he wrote another inquirer that the mills had one grain elevator, one meal elevator, one set of conveyors, and one hopper boy.

The manufacturing mill was leased to its first tenants, Jonathan and Isaac Shoemaker, in January 1807. They carried a lease for five years and were to pay \$1250.00 per year. The money was to be paid quarterly. Because of their unprofitable management, and their poor dealings with Jefferson and with other farmers, they were compelled to sell their lease at the end of four years to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jefferson's son-in-law, and to James McKenny, of Culpeper, Virginia. Mr. Randolph and Mr. McKenny were unsuccessful with the mill and after a short lease Mr. McKenny retired and Thomas Eston Randolph joined with Thomas Mann Randolph as lessee. After a few years Thomas Mann Randolph retired from the mill and was succeeded by a Mr. Colclaser, who with Thomas Eston Randolph leased the mill until the early 1820's, when Mr. Colclaser gave up his part of the lease, and Thomas Eston Randolph ran it alone.

The rent of the manufacturing mill was paid in money while

the Shoemakers leased it. After their lease expired, Jefferson changed the yearly rent to 200 barrels of superfine flour, @ 6.00 per barrel, and stipulated that 50 barrels were to be paid each quarter. Later the rent was paid in money, and finally it was changed back to flour, which Jefferson preferred to a money rent.

Jefferson's manufacturing mill cost him over \$10,000.00. Because of poor management, controversies with the lessees, and the constant repairs to the mill house, the dam, and the canal, he was never able to carry it on successfully. It proved a bad investment, as the letters and memoranda which follow will show. See also "Mills," "Millstones," and "Milwrights" in the *Garden Book*.

The Shadwell mills were sold in 1829 by the Jefferson estate to John B. Magruder and John Timberlake (Wood's *Albemarle*, p. 261).

CANAL AND DAM

JEFFERSON's first canal to the toll mill and his first dam across the Rivanna River were built by his father, presumably in 1757 when the earlier toll mill was erected. The canal and dam, along with the mill house, were destroyed in the flood of 1771.

In 1776 a new canal was begun. Jefferson reasoned that by moving the intake of the canal up the river three-fourths of a mile to a natural ledge of rock a new dam would not be necessary. This plan proved unsatisfactory, however, and he later built a dam. Work on the canal continued until 1784, when Jefferson left for France. During his stay in France and while he was Secretary of State, work on the dam was intermittent and it was not begun again until 1796. This canal, which was cut through solid rock for most of its distance, was six feet at the bottom with sloping sides covered with grass. It was completed in 1803 at a cost of about \$20,000.00.

After moving the intake of the canal up the river to a natural ledge of rock, Jefferson found that more water was needed for his mills than he had anticipated. He therefore constructed a dam on top of the ledge. The dam was begun in the fall of 1805 and by December 21 more than half of it was built. It was completed the following year. The year after its completion, a flood in the river destroyed half of the dam. Subsequent freshets took their toll of the dam as well as of the canal and mills.

In 1806 The Rivanna Navigation Company was incorporated for the purpose of opening the Rivanna River for navigation between Milton and Charlottesville, a distance of about six miles.

As mentioned above, Jefferson's mills occupied a site on the river about three-fourths of a mile from Milton and almost six miles from Charlottesville. Since he had built a dam and a canal at the site of his mills, some way had to be provided for boats to pass either through or around the dam, if they were to reach Moore's Ford, near Charlottesville, from Milton. Several letters below indicate the long controversy that ensued between Jefferson and The Rivanna Navigation Company on riparian rights, the location of the locks, and many other aspects of navigation of the river. Locks were finally placed in his canal, but they proved unsatisfactory. The Rivanna Company continued its operations for many years after Jefferson's death.*

From Account Book, 1770

the new canal which it will be necessary to open from my pier head down, will be 150 yds. in length and 9 f. deep (by rough measuring) if 3 f. wide at bottom and 6 f. at top it will be 675 cubical yds of earth to dig. to continue the canal up to the falls above the landing (which would render my milldam unnecessary) would be 450 yds; about 50. of which would be 9 f. deep; the remaining 400, wd. be 6 f. deep. if made 3 f wide at bottom and 6 f. at top it will require 1425 cubical yds to be dug.

[1771?] Virginia Colony. General Assembly Project for Making the [*Rivanna*] River Navigable.

Trustees. Thos. Walker, Edw Carter, Chas. Lewis, Nich. Lewis, Thos. Jefferson, Nich Meriwether, John Walker, Valentine Wood, James Adams, Richd Harvie, Roger Thompson.

Trustees shall give them the benefit of a moiety of subscriptions till shall have made thereout sum of £ and another moiety till &c. shall empower them to use their names in petitions and suits. but not to be chargeable themselves.

[*illegible*] to clear passage from Rook's Ford to mouth of river. shall be 15. f. wide in all falls &c. [*blank*] f. wide in other places. the passages thro' falls and for [*blank*] feet above them shall be strait, and elsewhere reasonably so as well respecting the convenience of the waterman as the labor of the undertaker there shall be no rock, gravel or other obstruction left within 21. I. of surface of water at Winter tide.

* Copies of other letters on the mills, the dam, the canal, and the Rivanna River are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

Winter tide to be accounted the lowest tide betw. 1. Jan. & 30. April.




Adams's falls to be cleared by 30th. Octob. 1772.

The rest by 30th. Octob. 1773.

to be examd & recd by Wm. Cabell, Jos. Cabell, James Neville, Cornelius Thomas, Bennet Henderson, Martin Key. . . . (DLC)

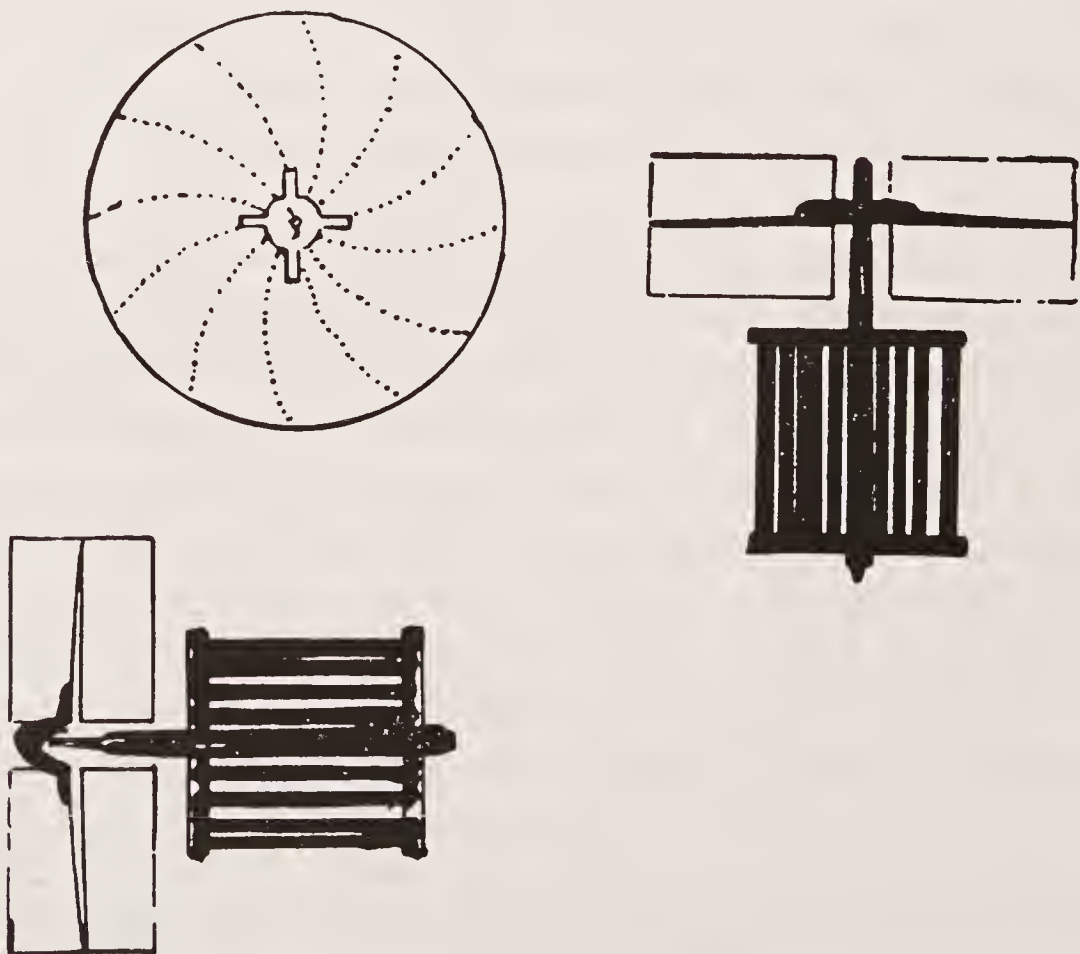
To M. l'Abbé D'Arnal

Paris July 9. 1787.

I had the honour of informing you when at Nismes that we had adopted in America a method of hanging the upper stone of a grist mill which had been found so much more convenient than the antient as to have brought it into general use. whether we derive the invention from Europe, or have made it ourselves, I am unable to say. the difference consists only in the Spindle & horns. on the former plan, the horns were of a single piece of iron in the form of a cross, with a square hole in the middle, thus  which square hole fitted on the upper end of the spindle. the horns were then fixed in cross grooves in the bottom of the upper stone, which was to be laid on the spindle so as that the plane of it's grinding surface should be perfectly perpendicular to the spindle. this was a difficult & tedious operation, and was to be repeated every time the stones were dressed. according to the present method, two distinct peices of iron are substituted for the horns: the one in this form  of such breadth & thickness as to support the whole weight of the stone. it's straight ends are to be firmly fixed in one of the cross grooves of the stone, the circular part should rise through the hole in the center of the stone so as to be near it's upper surface. in the middle of this semicircular part [& on it's] under surface (at a) should be a dimple to which the upper end of the spindle should be adjusted, by giving it a convexity fitted to the concavity of the dimple. the other piece of iron is only a straight bar, to be firmly fixed in the other of the cross grooves of the stone, & to have a square hole in it's center thus  the corresponding part of the spindle must be squared to fit this hole. the office of the first peice of iron is to suspend the stone, that of the last is to give and continue it's motion. the stones being dressed, & these peices firmly fixed in it, it is turned over on the spindle so that the point of the spindle may enter the dimple of the semicircular iron, & the stone be suspended on it freely. it will probably not take at first it's true position which is that of the plane of it's grinding surface being truly perpendicular to the

spindle. the workman must therefore chip it at top, with a chissel, till it hangs in that just position. this being once done, is done for ever: for whenever they dress the stones afterwards they have only to return the upper one to it's pivot and it will resume it's equilibrium. it sometimes happens that one side of the stone, being softer than the other, wears faster, & so the equilibrium is lost in time. experience has shewn that a small departure from the equilibrium will be rectified by the bed-stone, which serves as a guide to the running stone till it assumes it's motion in a true plane, which it will afterwards keep. but should a defect of the stone render this departure from the equilibrium too considerable, it may be necessary to set it to rights at certain periods, by chipping it again on the top. I had promised, when I had the honour of seeing you at Nismes, to send you a model of this manner of fixing the mill-stone: but the expence of sending a model by post, the danger of it's being lost or destroyed by the messagerie, and the hope that I could render it intelligible by a description & figures, have induced me to prefer the latter method. I shall with great pleasure give any further explanations which may be necessary for your perfect comprehension of it, and the more so as it will furnish me with new occasions of assuring you of those sentiments of respect & esteem with which I have the honor to be Sir your most obedient & most humble servant.

(DLC)



To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia July 24, 1791.

I had always intended to endeavor to engage with some miller of capital here to erect my mill on such plan as he should chuse and then rent it to him for a term of years. Your letter informing me that mr Divers & others were proposing to take mr Henderson's mill, but that they had not been able to agree, induces me to suppose it possible they might be willing to take mine. I should propose to make the necessary stoppages in the river & to build the millhouse on such plan as the tenant should chuse, & for this I should ask 10. per cent per annum on account of the risk & decay to which they would be exposed. I should finish the canal & ask 5. per cent on the cost of that, to which I should add a reasonable interest on the value of the position, water fall &c. they to erect their own running geer & of course to pay no rent on them. I should be willing to rent for such term as their running geer might be supposed to last, or for double that term if they should prefer it. if you should have an opportunity of sounding mr Divers on this subject I will be obliged to you: and if he is disposed to the contract it shall be concluded when I come to Virginia. tho' I believe it would be better for the neighborhood that there should be two rival mills, yet I suppose the Miller would rather be without rivalry. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Feb. 3. 1792.

. . . I had digested a plan of operation too complicated to be pursued by any one less interested in it than myself: and there seems no way to save myself from great loss & disappointment but to change the order of the objects, and to take up first that one which is the most simple & the most important, I mean my canal. and here, my dear Sir, I am under the necessity of giving you a trouble for which that necessity alone must be my apology: that is, to undertake to direct the manner of carrying it on. George, aided by Clarkson, will be sufficient to see that the work is done, and to take all details off of your hands. but they will need to be instructed in what manner to conduct it. I think the mouth of the canal is already indicated by what has been done. the bottom of it should be a foot lower than the common surface of the river in winter, and it may be carried on at a dead level, as it will then be easy for me when I come home to dress off the bottom to the fall which may be necessary. I propose that it shall be 6. feet wide at bottom, and

to slope at the sides so as to permit grass to grow on them. it was my intention that the Carpenters should join in this work, so that the whole force will consist of the following. George, Davy, John, Abram, Phill, Lewis, Johnny, Jupiter, King, Goliah, Mingo, Fanny, and Moses. the invalids to work only when they shall be able. they will probably be equal to the hauling away the earth & forming it into a bank on the side next the river. I consider George rather as their foreman, and should not require him to lay his hand to the hardest work. the time for the carpenters joining them will depend on the rise of the sap, as they should cease then to get stocks for the house, and having sawed up what they shall have gotten, will then only join the canal people. you will be so good as to judge whether one or more strikers & blowers will be necessary, and indeed to govern the whole matter according as you shall think circumstances render best. the bringing home stocks, common stone & limestone too will influence the commencement of this work, at least it's commencement in full force. I am in hopes that the canal may be so far got over in time to make that part of the addition to my house in the fall which I had meditated to have made in the present spring. therefore it is that I wish the timber, stone, & limestone to be prepared before the season is open enough for the canal. I am not without hopes that I may find a tenant here for my mills. mr Brown at Richmond will furnish the gunpowder & iron necessary. I think the Rafter level, accurately adjusted is the safest to use in levelling the bottom. were there to be times when water or other circumstances should hinder the working *in* the canal there is a great deal of earth which has been very unwisely thrown on the upper bank, and which they will be well employed *at such times* in throwing over on the lower bank, in order to fence out the river in flood times. . . . (MHi)

To Jacob Hollingsworth

Philadelphia Mar. 3. 1793.

. . . as soon as the roads become quite good in the spring I propose to take a trip to Brandywine to endeavor to procure there a tenant for a mill I am building. . . . (ViU) (Copy)

To Robert Gamble

Philadelphia May 19, 1793.

. . . I wish to heaven the spirit of mill-building & manufacturing which you mention to have taken place in Augusta &c. could spread itself into Albemarle. we are miserably circumstanced there as to

the disposal of our wheat. we can neither manufacture nor sell it there. and tho we have fine mill seats at the head of the navigation of the Rivanna, we cannot get mills built. we are, however, under these discouragements, going entirely into the culture of wheat, & shall be able to furnish a great deal. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia May 19, 1793.

. . . but I doubt whether it would not be better (as I scarcely expect now to do any thing to the house this fall) to devote this season to my canal. it is a great object, & enters materially into my plan of renting my estate. to carry it on with vigour will require that all our force be concentrated on it, & every thing else laid by for it. when the canal is once done, the water visibly brought to the place and the fall demonstrated, the greatest obstacle to renting it will be removed. till this be done also, I cannot begin my pot-ash plan which I have also at heart as a resource for money subsidiary to the farm. the motives then are very powerful for getting the canal out of hand and if this summer could accomplish it, I should think it a great acquisition in itself, and that my way would be cleared for other interesting objects. to this therefore I would rather now point all our efforts. . . . (DLC)

From John Clarke

Richmond June 15th 1793

. . . I have not yet found a man who will Lease your mill-seat at Monticello, altho' I have conversed with several who appeared much inclined to do it, but they seemed to think three hundred Barrels of Corn or the value of it, too great a Rent, I however think differently and would not advise you to take a smaller Rent, nor lease it for so long a term as twenty years (which you proposed when we conversed on that subject). The generality of the planters of this State, and those on the James River in particular have almost dropped the culture of Tobacco, and turn their attention principally to the raising of wheat, the greater part of which is purchased by Merchants who are situated on Navigation for that purpose, who find their interest in having it manufactured before it is sent down the River as it seldom happens that a Boat-load of wheat is brought a considerable distance down the River, free from injury, which if manufactured could not easily be damaged, this is so often the case that the purchasers get all the wheat manufactured up the country they can, and I am positive that if

there were a sufficient number of Mills to manufacture all the wheat up the Country, there would be none brought down the River unmanufactured. The Flour business has lately become a consequential one in this State, and Millseats are a species of property which increase in value faster than any other that I know of. These are the reasons which lead me to think your Millseat inferior to none in any respect whatever. And I do not doubt but in a short time it will command as great a price as any situation I am acquainted with, for neither its local situation with respect to geting wheat nor the power of the Stream to do the business, can be doubted. . . . (DLC)

To John Spuryear

Philadelphia June 18. 1793.

The bearer hereof, mr Biddle, is a person whom I have employed as a manager of my farms in Virginia. as I have a mill-seat there for which I wish to find a tenant I have given him a description of it, and desired him to make some enquiry about Brandywine to see if any body there is disposed to take such a place. . . . (MHi)

[*Inclosure*]

Notice of a mill seat near Charlottesville, Virginia,
to be rented. Shadwell Mills

June 18. 1793.

To be rented

A Mill seat, Near Charlottesville, in Albemarle county, Virginia, at the head of the navigation of the Rivanna river, being the North branch of James river. the water for the mill is taken out of the river about three quarters of a mile above the seat of the mill house, where a natural ledge of rocks crosses the river, & requires only two or three sluices, of a few feet wide, to be filled with loose stones, to turn any proportion of the river through the canal. the fall of water is 20 feet, or perhaps a few inches more. the country round about is very healthy, fertile, and producing a wheat of the best quality, weighing from 60. to 62. lb. the common price of it is from 6/ to 6/3 the bushel Pensylvania currency. there is not a single merchant mill on that river, nor within many miles of it. it is about 70. miles from Richmond, to which there is batteau navigation, except in the dry parts of the year, and good roads leading to the same place.

There was formerly a toll mill at the place, which has been discontinued in order to enlarge and lengthen the canal so as to do without a dam. the canal will accordingly be finished this summer,

& the seat will be rented then for 1500. bushels of Indian corn a year, worth there generally a quarter of a dollar the bushel. the former mill brought in about two thirds of that quantity in toll, & a pair of stones appropriated to grind for neighbors now since the increase of population, it is supposed would pay the whole rent. the mill house & works may be built either by the owner, or tenant, as shall be desired, proper allowances being made to the builder, and a lease of almost any length may be had. (DLC)

To Henry Knox

Monticello June 1. 1795.

I recollect you were so kind as to undertake to give me an account of the success of an experiment made at Boston with a mill on the construction which was invented & contested by three different persons. Clarke of this state was one. a Physician of one of the Eastern states, whose name I do not recollect, was another. he had brought forward some other inventions. the third claimant was of New York. the mill was to go with either wind or water. the axis was vertical. the sails were in frames like doors, vertical also. they opened & shut on the side next the axis, and their hinges were at the extremity of the arm. this description is meant merely to bring into your mind the kind of machine, & perhaps the wretched diagram in the margin may assist. I hear there is one constructed at Boston which succeeds. I want much to erect something which may work a saw mill, or work a smith's smiting hammer in a place where I have no agent but wind. I wish to know if this machine has answered in experience, and in that case the dimensions of the sails will be important, & of what substance made. I think the Eastern inventor had a convenient method of stopping the machine when he chose by cords. I would not trouble you with other particulars because I presume we can contrive them. . . . (MHi)



To Bushrod Washington

Monticello Sep. 23. 1795.

I presume I am not mistaken in supposing that an injunction is the proper and most effectual mode of preventing a person from drowning a mill seat of mine by raising his dam below it. with this view I have prepared the inclosed bill & documents, and trouble you with them to procure & send me an injunction. the def. being very actively employed at present in raising his dam, the case was too urging for me to wait till our next court (Monday sennight) to compleat my order, on which there will be no dispute. besides

asking you to obtain the writ, there are two difficulties to be foreseen. the one that it will be discharged, & he will go on raising his dam. what is to be done most speedy & effectual in that case? 2. the family being absolutely pennyless, tho' they can get work done to raise their mill by hypothecating it's profits, cannot raise a shilling to pull down what they build up. what is to be done here again? that it may not be supposed I take advantage of their poverty to suppress any right they may have, I give them notice that I will advance money for them to any counsel they may think proper to employ to defend it. but if I am to furnish the expence of pulling down what they have built up & are building, it will be considerable. I pray you to send me the writ with your instructions without a moment's delay which may be avoided. . . . (MHi)

To Bennett Henderson's Heirs

November 7th 1795

To John, William, Sally, James, Charles, Isham, Bennet, Hillsborough, Eliza, Frances, Lucy & Nancy Crawford Henderson, children of Bennett Henderson decd.

Be pleased to take notice that on the 24th of November at the dwelling house of Thomas Morgan between the hours of eleven and one in the day, I shall proceed to take the deposition of the said Thomas Morgan by virtue of a commission issued from the high court of Chancery in a suit instituted by me against you in the sd court concerning the reflowing of backwater on my mill seat occasioned by your mill-dam. (CtY)

From Henry B. Latrobe

Richmond Sep. 22. 1798.

A round-about application has just now been made to me respecting a navigation in your neighbourhood, between Milton and Charlottesville, for which, I am told, a very considerable subscription is already raised. . . . (DLC)

To Henry B. Latrobe

Monticello Oct. 18. 98.

. . . the canal which is the subject of it [*letter*] is a very small affair the whole fall about 30. feet, of which two thirds now past by my mill canal 1200 yds long, and one third by Henderson's canal 200 yds long. all between us is dead water. doubling the breadth of our canals would make them wide enough for batteaux, and this we know from [*illegible*] making our canals would not cost £ 1000. . . . (DLC)

THE RIVANNA RIVER

A Decree of Court

Oct. 1. 1799

Decree of court in favor of Thomas Jefferson *vs* heirs of Bennett Henderson de'cd, restraining them from flooding mill seat of Jefferson, plaintiff. Attested by Peter Tinsley. [*The above-described decree is omitted.*] (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

June 13. 1801

. . . Lillie has begun to work on the Canal & was going on with much spirit but has been compelled by Craven's discontent to return to the new clearing to collect & burn every scattered chunk & grub up every neglected bush in it, altho it was already done in a manner much better than usual. . . . (ViU)

Agreement between Jefferson and James Walker

Abstracts of an agreement entered into with [James] Walker
Sep. 28. 1802.

. . . he is to come over, designate to mr Lilly & mr Hope the spot where my small mill is to be built, so as not to be in the way of the large one, and is to give John Perry a bill of scantling for the saw-mill, which mr Walker is to come & build in time for her to work thro' the winter.

In the spring he is to designate to mr Lilly & mr Hope the spot for the large mill, which he is to plan exactly as formerly [*illegible*] except it is to be 10. feet longer, and to be a [?] instead of a geared mill: he is at all times when not engaged for mr Scott to be employed in preparing the mill-wright's work of this large mill, and to direct mr Hope the mason, John Perry the Carpenter & mr Stewart the smith how they are to execute their part of the work.

When employed otherwise than in the mill wright's work he is to recieve ten shillings a day: the millwright's work is to be paid at the prices for which he does similar work for mr Cocke.

Committed in writing Sep. 30, 1802. for remembrance. (MHi)

To James Walker

Monticello Oct. 1. 1802.

In examining more carefully into the work still to be done in the Canal, I find there is no prospect of getting the water to the mill seat before the ensuing summer, consequently there is no occasion to do any thing towards the buildings this winter. in March I shall

be here, when I shall be able to form a still better judgment, and will inform you of our progress & expectations. . . . (MHi)

To James Walker

Monticello Mar. 25. 1803.

I find it to be the opinion of mr Lilly that having hired extraordinary forces for the year he shall be able to compleat the canal for my mill this summer. I have contracted with mr Hope to build the mill houses for both the small & large mills. the small one we will begin immediately. I will therefore ask of you to come over without delay and mark out the site of both. if you come before Tuesday I shall be at home. if afterwards apply to mr Lilly my [overseer] who will send for mr Hope and both of them will attend you on the ground. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington June 8. 1803

. . . the neighborhood will gain by having more than one mill, and I desire no advantage but from the intrinsic merits of my position. I should indeed be glad to have my toll mill up a season before another, merely to learn people the way to it. . . . but this I am in hopes Lilly will enable me to effect. . . . (DLC)

To James Walker

Monticello Sep. 20. 03.

The walls of my toll mill will be finished in a fortnight, and the mason mr Hope wishes immediately to begin the manufacturing mill, as he thinks he can raise the walls to the lowest floor this season. I must therefore ask the favor of you to come over in the course of a fortnight & lay off the foundation & give him a plan to proceed on. you know we agreed to make it 10. f. longer than mr Cocke's, and to arrange the space for the milltail so that we might hereafter turn her into a geered mill if it should become desirable. the toll mill will be going in a month. a person has undertaken to have the sawmill built himself & pay me rent for her. there remains therefore for you to have every thing ready for the manufacturing mill to be going by this time twelvemonth. by laying the foundation story this fall we shall have such a start in the spring as will ensure the walls & house being compleated within the next summer. I hope therefore you will be able to occupy yourself entirely with your part of the work so as to keep pace with the other parts. the compleating her for grinding the next crop will make a year's rent (1000. D.) odds to me. . . . (MHi)

THE RIVANNA RIVER

From James Walker

Buckingham October 1st. 1803.

I am sorry to inform you that it will be quite out of my power to fulfill my engagement to you so early as you wish, it seems as if it will be impossible with me to get Mr. Scotts Mill in operation sooner than some time next fall. as the walls of the house will not be began untill spring I shall be very busily employed ali next summer in puting up the machinery in his mill, I do not suppose that either yourself or Mr. Scott would consent for me to carry on both Mills at the same time nor do I think that I can do it to any advantage, as both jobs consists chiefly in machinery it will require the greatest attention to be paid by the master workman, if you cannot pospoan putting up the works next summer I must loose the job but if you can I will as soon as possible draw a plan of the house and direct Mr. Hope how to procede on his part, likewise draw bills of scantling plank &c. for the wood work in order that it may be got in due time to be well seasoned, you will please to send me an answer as soon as convenient. (MHi)

To Maria (Jefferson) Eppes

Washington Nov. 27. 03.

. . . mr Lillie having finished the mill. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Edgehill Dec. 24. 1803

I have been today to see your Mill & Canal. The river being uncommonly full afforded an opportunity to judge what work is yet wanting for the complete introduction of its water to the wheel at all times. What I saw and judged I cannot refrain from communicating as I mentioned rather inconsiderately the report of the neighbourhood in my last, as unfavorable as it was, and as likely to be incorrect. The current does not enter the Canal at all, for the first water which goes in receiving a check immediately, from the narrowness & curvature of the channell and the unevenness of the sides becomes still and the current afterwards passes wholly by, not inclining in the least towards the Canal's mouth. It is manifest that this must be completely remedied by the extension of the little jetter at the mouth and the throwing out another on the opposite side above: the main current must then get directly in the canal. By the accounts of some, the Canal begins to have water in it when the river has risen about six inches above the State next to the lowest, which was its condition three days since. The water does not till

it has continued to rise a short time perhaps till it has risen one foot higher, get well down to the mill. There are two places in the bottom too high; they are both between the middle point and the bridge and both in the part where the earth has been thrown from the greatest depth; where the long job of blowing last fall was done: Some say neither of these elevations extends farther than four or five yards: Lillie believes not more than 10 or 12 feet. From the last of these there is a rapid current down to the mill at which the present state of the river would give a lead as high as the eaves, all admit, if the bank had not given away 300 yards above. The wheel begins to be completely submerged about the time the last rock is. The ford from Shadwell to Monticello is covered. It is believed that it would turn with rapidity sufficient to grind well when covered 12 inches. The jetties, a mere trifle of blowing and the increase of the bank about the forebay and at one place above, seem to be all the work wanting to make it the best mill in the Country. At present the water runs back into the river where it falls from the obstructions I mention & shews no current from the bend near the entrance to that place. The wheel has been set in motion today & moved with great velocity when 4 inches covered. Lillie was determined to grind some grain before night. (ViU)

To James Walker

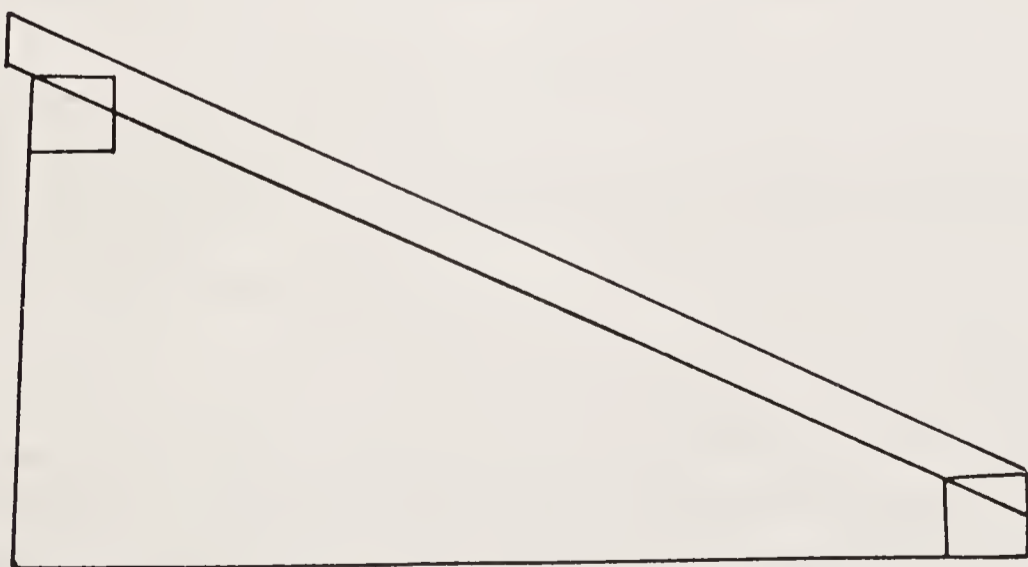
Washington Jan. 28. 1804.

Your letter of Oct. 1. was recieved in the course of that month. Altho' the delay in compleating my mill will not only lose me the intermediate work, but endanger rival establishments getting the start. yet my absence from home, rendering it impossible for me to make other satisfactory arrangements, I must acquiese in the delay of another twelve months as you propose, and expect you to begin for me in autumn next. by that time mr Hope will have done the walls and mr Perry the covering and the carpenter's work generally. I must therefore get you to lay off the exact spot for the millhouse for mr Hope, furnish him with a plan, and give mr Lilly a bill of scantling which he will have sawed at the sawmill if compleated, or by hand if not compleated. I presume the sooner the ground is laid off the better, that mr Lilly may commence digging the foundation. possibly he may find blowing to do in it. you can also be so good then when you are there as to advise him about the canal, which has not yet been properly compleated & the wing dam. in defects in both I understand the water does not get to the mill in proper quantity. . . . (MHi)

From James Walker

Received September 13, 1805.

I have this day viewed the canal from one end to the other also the place where the Dam is to set. It is my opinion that a dam less than four feet high will not throw a sufficient quantity of water into the canal for three water wheels in consequence of its extreem narroness great length & rough sides, all which tends to retard the motion of the water. I think that as we have a dam to make we had better raise it five feet high for several reasons first that it will be more certain to supply the mills, secondly that it will enable us to have larger wheels which will be a great advantage to the preservation of the gears which will be very subject to get wet by freshes, & thirdly that should you be compelled to make Locks for boats to pass up and down the canal it will lessen the labour very much to make it wide enough for boats to pass. The method that I should take for building the dam is this. Suppose the dam to be 12 feet thick, lay a sill along on the rocks that now sew out of the water and bolt it down to the rock, then raise the wall in all vacant places up to the sill which will be a guide to face the wall by for the upright planking to bear against. raise the lower wall up to a proper height to lay on a sill and fill in between the walls with the cast off stone up even with the sleepers which are dove tailed into the sills and pinned fast. plank the slope with inch or inch & quarter plank and at the top to pin on a plank 4 or 5 inches thick to prevent logs from breaking the edge of the plank then level off the top nicely in order that the water may tumble over regularly from one end to the other, then the timbers will be always wet and will last a long time.



it may easily be made tight by fixing a tumbling body on the ferry boat and boat dirt from the banks and tumble in against the upright planking. a dam built on this construction I think may be made tight and safe from being swept off by freshes and will also look handsome. I would hire the two young men that works with Mr. Hope to lay the stone in the lower wall of the Dam whilst the other hands are attending on them and filling in between the walls. (MHi)

From James Walker

Shadwell 10th. October 1805.

. . . Since you left home I have presented a bill of work done for Mr. Scott, who rejected it. and not having agreed positively on the price before I executed the work, it seems that I am compelled to settle on his own terms or go to law, which would be very disagreeable to me, it seems to me that workman has not an equal chance with their employers unless prices are agreed on by the parties before the work is done. Mr. Scott is willing to refer to arbitration but that their shall be no workmen appointed as arbitrators, but men who probably never done a days work nor perhaps never had a days work of this kind done, and perhaps men who are interested in reducing prices of work as low as possible. I have inclosed a bill of prices of Millwrights work which is reduced as low as I can afford to work, & indeed lower than any good workman that I am acquainted with will work, if you think proper after examining the bill to give the prices therein contained you will please to assign the bill, that you will give the prices therein contained and send it back to me by the first post, the work shall be well executed and in as short a time as possible, and be assured that nothing prompted me to make this request but the circumstances which I have above related to you, at which I feel much agrieved. . . . (MHi)

To James Walker

Washington Oct. 16. 05.

. . . I think with you that it is better people should settle the prices of work before hand and I generally do it myself, & think it has already been done between you & me. when I saw you at mr Cocke's Sep. 28. 1802 it was agreed between us that you should undertake my mill & details were settled. it was as we walked about the mill together, where I had not the conveniency to commit our verbal agreement to writing; but on the next day I returned home, & the day following I committed our agreement to writing for remembrance. I kept a *press* copy of it myself and certainly sent

you the original signed by myself. I could be certain on this point were I at Monticello but the circumstance of my possessing the *press copy* & not the original is sufficient presumption I sent it to you. . . . (MHi)

From James Walker

Shadwell 1st. Novr. 1805.

This comes to inform you that my motive for writing to you respecting the work still to do for you, originated from what passed between you & me at Monticello the second day of last April, I observed to you that as I had changed my situation in life I had rather find myself while at work for you which you readily consented to. I then thought that our bargain made at Mr. Cockes was void supposing that you probably had reather I should do the work by the piece in consiquence of my finding myself which I thought might perhaps prove more satisfactory to each of us, I must acknowledge that my Idea of our bargain being changed was unjust as nothing but the finding was mentioned, I well remember our bargain made at Mr. Cockes & am perfectly satisfied with it as I always was, & think with you that it could not be put on a fairer footing. I have received the bolting Cloth, but no gudgeons, I suppose in consiquence of low water, however Mr. Higginbotham says he will write to Mr. Jefferson to forward them on by a waggon. Mr. Stewart has done nothing to the Mill Irons as yet for want of coal nothing has been done to the Dam but some stones raised. (MHi)

From James Walker

Shadwell 21st Decr. 1805.

. . . We have the Dam considerably more than half done. should the weather continue good shall complete it this winter also the waste in the canal. The toal Mill will start the day after tomorrow, you may probably think it has been a long time about as it has but it has been for want of timber & Irons in due time, I have been obliged to work some at the large mill, agreeable to your desire shall try to get it in operation by the time that the crop now growing will be ready to grind. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington Apr. 21. 1806.

I inclose you a bill of lading for a pair of 6. feet mill-stones, weight 6000. lb. which were to leave Alexandria on the 19th. the person who made them told me he had bargained for their freight at 20. Dollars before the Capt. saw them, & that when he saw them

he protested against them, & was only prevailed on to take them by an assurance that it should be referred to me to give him more, and he tells me that in fact the freight is worth 25. D. which sum therefore I will pray you to allow him. they are to be forwarded to Milton by the boats. their weight is such that it will be necessary to fix the price of carrying them up the river which I presume should be somewhere from 20. to 25. D. . . . (MHi)

To Jones & Howell

Washington June 10. 06.

I have to ask the favor of you to send me, under the shortest delay possible, the assortment of iron below stated. it is for the completion of a mill which will be waiting for this iron before it can reach Virginia. you will address it to Gibson & Jefferson as usual, advising me of it's departure, and amount. . . .

bar iron $2\frac{1}{2}$ I. broad $\frac{3}{16}$ I. thick amounting in lengths to 80. f. runng. measure.

3 I. broad $\frac{5}{8}$ I. thick. 36. f. length running measure.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ I. broad $\frac{5}{8}$ I. thick 40. f. do.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ I. square. 2 bars.

2. bundles of the largest sheet iron

2. do. of the next size

2. do. of *Deck* rod. (this word *Deck* is so illegibly written in the memorandum sent me that I may mistake it. I am led to doubt the more because I do not understand the term. you can probably correct it.)

200. square feet of sheet iron a full sixteenth of an inch thick & in rather long lengths.

(MHi)

To Oliver Evans

Washington June 10. 06.

I am not certain whether I act on correct information in applying to you for the following articles: but I have understood that you are in the way of furnishing the implements for mills to those who have occasion to call for them. I risk the application the rather because I know, if it is not improper, that the articles will be chosen with a skill and good faith in which I have entire confidence. as soon as you shall inform me of the amount it shall be remitted to you in a draught of the bank of the US here on that at Philadelphia. be so good as to have the articles safely packed, & addressed & for-

warded to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson at Richmond to which place there are vessels constantly going from Philadelphia. . . .

- 24. yds Bolting cloth No. 7.
- 8. yds do. No. 6.
- 6. yds do. No. 4.
- 4. yds canvas that will let shorts pass through.
- 10. sides of strong white harness leather for elevator straps.
- 1. wheat scale beam not less than 4½ f. long.
- 1. flour do. of smaller size.

(DLC)

To James Walker

Washington June 16. 06.

On the 13th. inst Messrs. Jones & Howell shipped for me from Philadelphia for Richmond the articles below stated, being as near the order sent them as they could furnish without waiting to have them especially made at the forges. being addressed to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson, they will probably recieve them about the time or soon after you recieve this. of course you may immediately take measure for ensuring their being brought up. I wrote at the same time to Oliver Evans for the bolting cloths &c. of your memorandum but have not yet recieved an answer. I have bespoke the weights here. . . .

- 10. pieces of rolled iron 2½ I. by ¾
- 10. bars 2½ by 3. I. by ⅝
- 2. do. 1½ I. square.
- 6. bundles rod iron of three sizes
- 5. bundles sheet iron about 200. sq. feet (for the cotton gin.)

(MHi)

From Oliver Evans

Phila July 4th. 1806.

[Inclosure]

Thos. Jefferson President
of the U. States

1806 June 30th.

To Oliver Evans Dr.

To 24 yds of S. fine bolting cloth No. 7 ¾ at 6\$	\$144.
“ 8 do of No. 6. ¾ at	5\$ 40.
“ 5 ⅞ of No. 4 “ “	4 “ 23.50
“ 5 do of No. 0 ¼ “	1.33 6.65
	<hr/>
	\$214.15

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

To Arthur Howell & Son for 10 sides of skirting leather for Elevator straps at 2/2 per lb 179 lbs	}	\$51.71	
To Saml. Wheeler for a large scale beam, hooks, & Swivels well finished and one small one hooks & swivels and a box for holding them 12/6			
Porterage on the above		50	
		<hr/>	
		\$127.62	
Commissions at 2½ per cent		3.17	\$130.79
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		total amount	\$344.94
(DLC)			

To Oliver Evans
Monticello Sep. 1. 06.

I thank you for your attention to the little commission I troubled you with. the articles are all safely arrived. mr Barnes, my agent at Washington will, this day sennight remit you three hundred & forty four Dollars ⁹⁶/₁₀₀ the amount thereof. my mills will be going in October. the situation is one of the best in the Union, without exception, and I am in want of a tenant for them. perhaps it may be in your way to fall in with some one, worthy of being recieved, who would rent them, which would oblige me. I shall be here to the last day of this month, and after that at Washington. . . . (DLC)

To James Walker
Washington Oct. 13. 06.

By this day's post I remit a sum to mr Bacon, out of which he will pay you 100. D. further reflection on the mode of making the waste for the canal convinces me that that I proposed to you is the best: that is to say, beginning at a proper distance from the side of your canal, dig the bed of your [waste] sloping regularly down to the water edge in the river, & lay 18. I. depth of loose stone on the bed, with a ridge of stone on each side to give it the form of a trough. should it ever sink in any part we can fill up the sunken part again with stone.

I would wish you to fix in the toll mill both the bolting chest, & a wheat fan to go by the same water which moves the mill. you will decide whether they can recieve their motion from the millgeer best by a hand, or by geer.

Mr. Shoemaker tells me he expects he has engaged a miller who has a wife, & no child. he will go on some time before his wife, & of course can board with you. . . . (MHi)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Dec. 28. 06.

. . . I am chagrined at the malconduct of Martin in the toll-mill. I fear I shall be as much disappointed in his principles as in his health. but if in addition to negligence & dishonesty, he disoblige our customers, he must be instantly removed & set to work with the other laborers. were we to have recourse to a white miller, we should not be more secure as to honesty, & be at much greater expence. a black miller does not cost more than 100. D. a year including cloathing & finding. the black person among my own in whom I have the most perfect confidence is Ned. but he will not be subject to me for 3. years to come. in the mean time I should think Davy (the father) the best for the purpose. I believe he is honest: but he is addicted to drink at times. you can try him however, & put Martin to work in his place. your visiting the mill as often as possible, at least once a day, will enable you to secure a better conduct, and it is so important a part of my affairs under your direction as to occupy this much of your time. should Davy go wrong, I must leave to yourself to find the best remedy you can, as my distance and occupations renders it impossible for me to direct. . . . in the mean time consider the finishing the waste, and all the banks about the mill & pier head as the most urgent business you have to do, and the most dangerous to be delayed. . . . (DLC)

[n. d.—probably 1806]

Grounds for estimating the value of the Shadwell mills according to actual cost.

The original mill, house dam & every thing else were so completely swept off by the great fresh of 1771. that nothing was left but the stones peak the horns of the spindle imbedded in them. it was then thought that by moving the canal higher up so as to take the water out above the ledge of rocks about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile above, no dam would be necessary. it proved otherwise however.

The new canal was begun in 1776 and continued at intervals till 1784. down to which time by an estimate made in Sep. 95 generally

but as accurately as could then be made the work done amounted to
 6270. days of common laborers and
 736. days of blowing

7006 days in the whole.

besides the digging then done in common earth there were 12,000 cub. f. of rock blown of uncommon hardness. this estimate was made on the occasion of an injunction addressed on oath to Chancellor Wythe in the case of Jefferson v. Hendersons, now of record in the court.

The work was then intermitted during the absence of the proprietor in Europe and Phila 12. years and resumed in the beginning of 1796. by a gang of laborers hired on purpose and employed exclusively on that work except during harvest, and such intemperate days of winter as they could not dig. this gang was not every year exactly the same; varying from 10. or 11. to 13. or 14. and an overseer to be constantly with them. the average no. was probably about 12. of whom one was a woman to cook for them. nor was their hire uniformly the same, but may be reckoned at 70. D. a man, & half as much for the woman, to which was to be added their clothing, lodging, subsistence, and taxes.

Of the quantity of steel used for boring & of gunpowd for blowing no estimate can be made, during the 1st. period of 9. y. from 1776. to 1784. and the 2d. period of 11. y. from 1795. to 1805 being 20 years in the whole of constant work.

The overseers employed were

1796.	}	Hugh Petit
1797.		
1798	}	Wm. Page
1799		
1800		
1	}	Gabriel Lilly
2		
3		
4		
5		
1806.		John H. Freeman

in Oct. of this year the mill was so far compleated as to get 1. pr stones going.

The whole acct. may be stated in the following form, leaving prices to be extended by the valuers

THE RIVANNA RIVER

1st. period. work of common laborers 6270. days
of blowers 736. days
powder and steel
superintendence not charged because not
exclusive
2d. period. hire of 11. men and 1. woman
@ 805. D. a year for 11. years
their cloathing, lodging, subsistence & taxes . . .
their overseer, his lay, feeding, firewood &c. . . .
the mill houses, mason's work, carpenters, smith's
3. burr millstones & 1 pr of Peak do.
The mill dam, of stone in pens
Dwelling houses and a store house of stone . . .

(DLC)

From James Walker

Shadwell Jany. 16th. 1807.

. . . Mr. Shoemaker has concluded to board himself after agreeing to board with me whilst I was at work here or if he did not board with me that I should have a part of the house untill the work was done. he has since got a Miller who has a family & is I believe anxious to have full possession which he shall have as soon as the situation of my wife will admit moving. in order to get over what he has once agreed to has as I am informd. and have reason to believe taken a method to get us out of the house and mill that I did not suppose any Gentleman would have pursued which is to place us in as uncomfortable a situation as possible. these steps he kneed not have taken as I told him previously that as soon as my situation would admit I should get out of his way. this with the unusul attention paid to him since he has been here having no one to do for him ought to be sufficient satisfaction to any reasonable person. I must make the best arrangements I can for boarding after my family moves. the tim will not be long that I shall labour under this disagreeable situation therefore I shall content myself as well as I can. . . . (MHi)

To Jonathan Shoemaker

Monticello Apr. 18. 07.

I arrived here on the 11th. and found that the 2d. pair of stones had been in readiness to go for a considerable time except for the want of a day or two's work on the spindle by Stewart. this I had done immediately & sent it over two days ago. tho' I have been here

a week I have not had time to go to the mill having a great deal of planting to do, & the season having burst out upon us very suddenly after my arrival, & passing off very rapidly. but what I hear from my neighbors induces me to write this letter to you and to press your coming on. there is great dissatisfaction among them as to the quality of the flour recieved from the mill, that which they have sent to Richmond having been passed chiefly as midlings, & the best part but as fine, tho from wheat of extraordinary quality. they suppose your son unskilful in the business; the alarm has got among them, & prevents much from going there. Rogers, a next neighbor you know, and having a large crop, has sent it to a much more distant mill & wide off from the river. this proves the reality of the alarm. I know nothing but what I hear from them: but always feeling the interest of a tenant as my own, I think myself bound to communicate to you what I hear, & particularly that the accounts from Richmd. confirm the ill character of the flour sent there, and the unfavorable effect which such a beginning has had on the character of the mill. wishing myself to give umbrage or uneasiness to nobody I pray you to consider this as confidential, & for yourself alone. . . . (MHi)

From Jonathan Shoemaker

Columbia Mills Apl. 24th 1807.

Thine of the 15th Instant was yesterday handed me by Dougherty and is now before me, and I am sorry to observe what the[e] says about the Carracter of the Flour made at the mills, altho my son does not profess to be master of the maufactoring business himself I Expected he had got an hand that was, but if it is as thy Neighbours has stated wich I have no Reason to doubt, I confess I am somewhat disappointd.

Altho' I am Sensible there is some difficulty in Starting all new mills to get the Stones in proper dress for grinding to suit the texture of the boulting Cloaths, then there is a Certain degree of Velocity proper for the Stones to have & if they much Exceed that point or fall much below it, the flour will not be of the best Quality, likewise if the Boults run too fast too much of the coarse flour will pass through the Cloath & the flour will be Streaky and on the other hand if they run too slow the Cloath will furr up & the flour will not pass through it, so that from the above Facts thou will concieve there is at least some dificulty in getting a new Mill to do as good work as one could Wish, & altho my son's Miller may be a good Manufactores in an old Mill which I believe he is, altho he may not

be possessed of a small portion of Philosophy which he ought to be to sett a new Mill to work to advantage for a Wile.

I do not know that I can be of much Service to them on the Subject but if my family Should be Well I shall try to be at Monticelo by the 6th or 8th of May at furthest. (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington May 22. 07.

. . . A pair of mill stones, 4. f. 3. I. diam. of between 2500. & 3000. lb weight will be shipped for me at Alexandria the ensuing week, which, when recieved I will pray you to send up by water by the first opportunity to be obtained, as we have work waiting for them, & the river may fall & disappoint us. the carrier must be referred to mr Higginbotham for freight in this as in all other cases. . . . (MHi)

To James Walker

Monticello Aug. 6. 07.

My mill stones have been arrived some time, and the wall and roof of the toll mill house are finished. every thing therefore waits for you, & as the season is approaching when they will be wanting, & custom begins now to thicken I hope you will come immediately. I shall recieve 100. D. for you by Saturday's post, which will be ready when you come. hoping to see you immediately. . . . (MHi)

To James Madison

Monticello Aug. 16. 07.

. . . The late flood has swept all the mills in our neighborhood. about one half of my mill dam is gone. . . . Wood's mill on the river has stood tolerably well. Macgruder's dam has stood, but the lock is gone, which interrupts our navigation. . . . (DLC)

To John Moody

Monticello Aug. 31. 07.

. . . my mill stones have all been hung and in use, and the bolting cloths provided & in use also a considerable time; and being now in the hands of a tenant under lease for 5. years, they are no longer at my charge. I can only therefore thank you for your kind offer respecting them, without availing myself of it. . . . (MHi)

From Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

Jan. 30 1808

. . . I suppose you have heard of the loss of your dam. Mr Randolph begs particularly that you will transmit your orders about

the repairs to *him*. he has nothing to do having two overseers to overlook his business and will do the dam with your own hands without it costing you any thing; he thinks Bacon has not understanding & Shoemaker wants honesty to do it properly. I know it will give him real pleasure to recieve any little commission from you and it can not possibly put him to the least inconvenience. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Feb. 6. 08.

. . . Martha informs me that your own affairs are so arranged as to permit you to direct the repairs of my mill dam. this will indeed be rendering me a great service. Bacon is so little acquainted with such things that I had considered it's repair as desperate during my absence. I presume however it must not be attempted until the weather & the water becomes warm, say in the summer. in the mean time I suppose we may keep a supply of water to the mills by throwing loose stone into the gap. the former dam had two faults: the cross pieces were not large & strong enough; and the lower side of the dam was higher than necessary. I think that whenever the water was up to the top of the face or upper side of the dam, the mills had water enough. whenever it got on upon the top of the dam, the leakage there was so great as to let it all through. After repairing it of it's former breadth, I propose to double it's breadth by adding to it on the lower side. the stone ought certainly not to be tumbled loose into the pens, but to be laid as a mason would lay them in making a solid wall. this is equally necessary to give it strength as well as tightness. I shall write to Bacon by this post to conform to your directions. . . . (DLC)

From John Moody

Albemarle County [October] 20th. 1808.

Permit me to inform you I am Employed By Oliver Evans to settle his Business with the Millars Respecting their using his Improovements for Manufacturing flour without a Licence, or permit to Erect and use the Same, Mr. Evans has authorized me to propose to these Millars & owners of Mills, that if they will pay Interests for the time they have used his Inventions with the principal he will Grant a permit at his old price of 40\$ for each waterwhee. They have Been Applyed to, & I am to give them a Certificate of the Situation of their Mill Viz. the County Stream Number of waterwheels and mill stones also how many parts of his Improovements

they have in use with the name of the Mills which will Enable him to issue the permits. Mr. Evans gives me half the Interest as Commissions and my Receipt on the Certificate will pass to the Millars Cr. the Amount & Certificate to be forwarded to Mr. Evans in Philadelphia. . . . (MHi)

From John Moody

November 3r. 1808.

Commonwealth of Virginia Viz

This is to Certify That Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, a Citizen of Albemarle County, is Now the Owner of a Merchant Mill which he has Erected & Built, Situate on the Rivanna or North fork of James River with Two water wheels, Turning Two pair of french Burr Mill Stones, And in Said Mill there is Erected Applied and Now in use, the following Inventions and Improvements Secured to Oliver Evans by Letters from the United States, Viz. One Grain Elevator, one Meal Elevator one Sett of Conveyors And one Hopper Boy: for and During the Space of Two Years last and past without any permits from Said Evans or his Agents And that the Said Thomas Jefferson Esquire hath voluntarily by his Letter to John Moody willingly Agreed to pay the old price of Forty Dollars for each water wheel with Interests for two years on the Same to Mr Oliver Evans in Philadelphia. . . . (MHi)

To Oliver Evans

Washington Dec. 6. 08.

In the interval between your 1st. and 2d. patents, a mill was built for me in Virginia, the whole construction of which was left to the builder. I did not know whether he had used your machinery or what part of it, and the patent being then out, I presume he thought it unnecessary to note it to me particularly. by a letter from mr John Moody who says he acts for you I am informed I am indebted to you for the machinery erected & interest on it 89D.60c. which sum I therefore now remit you in a draught on the bank of the US. here on that at Philadelphia. . . . (DLC)

From Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

[Edgehill] March 2 1809

. . . but I am afraid you will be very dissappointed in your expectations from Shoemaker. it is the opinion of the neighbourhood that it would be better for you to get the mill back upon any terms than to let him keep it. in the first place he is not a man of business. his bargains are ruinous to himself and more over he has not one

spark of honesty. his credit is so low that nothing but necessity induces any one to trust him with their grain; and the general complaint is that it cannot be got out of his hands. he told Higginbotham that if *perfectly convenient* [sic] he might perhaps pay the 500\$ on your order but not one cent more would he pay until there had been a settlement between you. and it is the general opinion that he means to keep the mill & set you at defiance. from some circumstances I am afraid you have been deceived in the character of his Father. there are strong doubts of his honesty in the minds of many here. in short My Dear Father disagreeable as it is to tease you with tales of the kind I think it my duty to tell you the opinion of the whole neighbourhood of the man and your prospects from him. if the bargain was made with the Father perhaps you may secure your self though even that is *doubted*. as for the son your chance is I fear desperate for certainly a greater rascal or a more bitter personal enemy to you does not exist. they say farther that he will contrive to destroy the geer of the mill so as to make it scarcely hold out his time. you may depend upon it that I have not exaggerated the reports and I have reason to believe them too well founded. people allow your mill to be invaluable from its situation and if it was in the hands of a tolerably honest or industrious man it would be a public benefit. as it is by the time his lease is out it will be totally destroyed as far as it will be possible to do it and you get nothing from him in the mean time. . . . (MHi)

To Jonathan Shoemaker

Monticello Apr. 6. 09.

It is with great regret that I write you a letter which I am sure must give you pain, but your interest as well as my own makes it my duty, & yours is still more urgent than mine. I have little doubt that your sons write you flattering accounts of their proceedings & prospects at the Shadwell mills, & it is possible they may flatter themselves with retrieving their affairs, but however I doubt it, the sooner your attention to it is warned, the more possible it may be. I shall write no fact of my own knolege, because I have not been to the mill, but such as I have from such persons as cannot be doubted, & either have no interest or such an interest as enables them to speak with the more certainty. one of these told me he went over the mill as thro' curiosity but with a view to see what quantity of wheat was in the mill & he was satisfied there was not more than 200. bushels, & he at the same time enumerated to me claims of upwards of 2000. bushels which he knew to be due for wheat recieved & not ground,

besides the quantities of which he was not informed. one of them being asked how they would make up their deficit, said he supposed they must buy. but this must be with ready money, for no one will trust them an hour. mr Randolph, to his great mortification, was obliged to send his wheat to Richmond. mr Rogers did not bring his crop here. mr Divers sent his by the mill to Magruders, 9. miles further, to his extreme inconvenience. mr Carter wished to have brought his there, but was afraid from the accounts he recieved. these persons make about 12,000 bushels. Craven & Alexander brought theirs, & by stint of attendance got it ground. others, who have had their wheat in the mill for months are not able to get it at all. I am assured by the neighbors that from 40. to 50,000 bushels of wheat would have been carried there this year, but that people were afraid to trust them with it; & that the ensuing year there will not be 1000. bushels carried there, except what they can pay ready money for, and you may rely on it they are considered as in a state of perfect bankruptcy. I have encouraged the expectation that you would come on & establish yourself there and then all could go right, & such is the distress of the neighborhood for want of a mill, that they fix their hope on this. but be assured, Sir, you have no time to lose to prevent avowed bankruptcy. come and inform yourself: ask such questions as you can see whether the answers are true or not, and judge for yourself, & not from what they or any body else shall tell you. but the sooner you come & look to it, the more practicable is recovery of the affairs of the concerned may be. I shall say nothing of myself. within a month, they will have had the mill 2. years & not a cent of rent paid. I could distrain, but this would bring all their creditors on them in an instant, & I trust more to your good faith than to the law, which I abhor. you were the person to whom alone I trusted so an important a portion of my interest as the mill. I knew you, but I knew nothing of your son. it was your wish to have him in partnership, to which I did not object, because I had entire confidence in you. I write you this to excite your attention to this concern, because no one else will do it. I wish it for your reading only, because I do not wish to have any quarrel with your son. yet when you come I will state facts to enable you to enquire. . . . (MHi)

To Jonathan Shoemaker

Monticello June 15. 09.

Your favor of the 5th. was recieved on the 11th & recieved with great joy. I had begun to despair of your coming, & in that case I

must have proposed the rescinding the lease, for that it is a concern compleatly bankrupt everybody in the neighborhood seems convinced, and some (I am told for I do not know the fact) have brought suits for their wheat, & others propose to do it. that there are many demands for wheat delivered which cannot be obtained I have assured evidence. I wrote myself to your son two months ago for a paiment of rent, & altho two years are due & not a copper paid he has never condescended to give me a word of answer. in the mean time I am in real distress, insomuch that in buying bread for my family I have been obliged to give 15/ a barrel on a little credit, when it was offered me at 12/ cash. my nailery too will shortly be stopped for want of rod, which cannot be obtained but on short paiments. I take patience however under the expectation of your coming and I have given such assurances in the neighborhood that you will put all to rights, that I think they will await your coming. the total discredit into which the mill is brought will lay you under disadvantages, but a good disposition towards yourself prevails. you must take the concern however into your own hands entirely, and the entire separation of your son from it can alone give confidence in it. indeed the mail contracts are quite as much as he can manage & engross all his attention. it is painful to me to say these things to you. but others who have not the same interest in the mill as I have, will not give you the information. it's importance to me is too great to let you be ignorant of the true state of things. . . . (MHi)

From Jonathan Shoemaker

Augt 1t 1809 Washington City

Supposing from what the[e] said when I Saw the[e] at Monticelo it would be an accomodation I Send inclosed a Check on the Bank of Pensylvania for 350\$ and in bank notes 140\$ with respect to higenboton [*Higginbotham*] draught on me I can't conveniently pay before the 1t Octo as the funds of the General Post Office are so low they Can't pay a Dollar in advance, & with dificulty their bills when due, the P M G says they will be Obligated to apply to Congress for an Appropriation to keep up the Establishment, and the late news of the disagreement of the British Government to the propositions of their Minister with our Government for the Settlement of our differances, alarms Everybody in such a way as makes it very dificult to Collect Money & the general Opinion I find is that Produce of Every kind will be Low, & perhaps we shall have an nonintercourse with France & England. taking this state of things in view, discourages me very much from Coming to Shadwell as it

must in that Case be a very Loosing business to us & would rather give up the lease at Once, except thou would think it right to make some abatement in the rent, & I Should think right to fix it in such away that Each of us Should partake of the Loss or gain in the rise or fall of the Market, that is that the rent Should be Proportion to the Price of Flour. in this way if the Average price of Flour through the Season at Richmond Should be but 4\$ per barrel then the rent to be 800\$ per year if 5\$ then 1000\$ & if 6\$ then 1200\$ and so on Either more or Less and I would rather Flour would be 10\$ if this arrangement or something like it Should meet thy approbation & thou will please to Signify it by the next Mail, I Shall be ready to come on Emedately, thou will Please to acknowledge the Receipt of the Money Sent. . . . (MHi)

To John Barnes

Monticello Aug. 3. 09.

. . . I am distressed by old mr Shoemaker your neighbor, who has rented a mill of me two years without paying as yet a cent. he promises fair but never performs. can you give me any information of his circumstances. he has the mill for 3. years to come at 1250. D. a year. . . . (DLC)

To Jonathan Shoemaker

Monticello Aug. 8. 09.

I have to acknolege the reciept by the last post of your letter of the 1st. inst. & in it of 490. D. that is to say a draught on the Philadelphia bank for 350. D. & 140 D. in bank bills. as mr Higginbothan's order had been drawn on the rent due the first year, he was, in all justice entitled to the first money recieved and the rather as he had waited with indulgence a twelvemonth. I therefore paid it immediately to him, & am still where I was as to my engagements at Philadelphia. these I explained to you, and the degree to which I should be injured by a disappointment. and I have still no other reserve to look to but from you, which I hope therefore you will take into consideration. as to the difficulties of the post office they may be proper in answer to the demands of the creditors for the mail stage, but not to me whose claim is on the profits of my mill which you have been so long recieving. trusting to the effect of the motives which I am persuaded regulate your conduct, I hope that the pressure & the justice of my case will urge you to relieve me. you know that the rent of the 1st. quarter of the 3d. year is now become due.

You propose giving up the lease unless I will consent to lower the rent of the mill according to a scale which you state. this I can by no means do. on the contrary I should insist on considerably enlarging it at the termination of the present lease. we now know the quantity of wheat which might be counted on were the mill well managed and in hands which possessed the confidence of the customers, & that this would justify the requiring double the rent I now have, & this would be but indifferent interest on the money the mill has cost me. I am aware that the present times are critical & dubious for the sale of produce. I suppose indeed that a non intercourse must take place, but this measure will be temporary, and cannot be a ground for a permanent abatement of my rent. but desiring to take no advantage of the times which you apprehend will make this lease ruinous to you & which induce you to propose the alternative of surrendering it, if that of abating the rent be declined, I prefer the surrender & therefore accede to that proposition. fix therefore any day for the termination of the lease, not earlier than 15. days after I shall have recieved your letter or other act surrendering it, and not later than 30. days from the date of this letter, & I agree to it. I hope you will come yourself to deliver the possession in the condition in which our articles require the redelivery. I much rather do this than continue in a course of disappointment and misunderstanding with my tenant. in the meantime I wish you every happiness. (MHi)

To Robert Quarles

Monticello Oct. 4. 09.

I am sorry it is not in my power to give you any information how far the making a dam across the Rivanna might interfere with the rights of the James river company. having been absent from the State almost constantly for 25 years, I am become quite uninformed of it's laws, not having even a copy of them. my dam affords no precedent, it's rights being prior to those of the company. my mill & dam have been established 52. years, and altho carried away in the mean time, & very long in the rebuilding, yet the right was always kept up by constant renewals of the order of court. (MHi)

[Nov. 29. 1809.]

On settlement with Youen Carden there was due to him on the 15th. Day of this month 40. Dollars for his year's service as per agreement, to which I now add ten Dollars as a gratuity making it up fifty dollars for that year, now due to him. I further agree that his wages for the second year shall be fifty Dollars which I do

voluntarily in consideration of the satisfaction he has given me by his services as miller at my toll mill at Shadwell. Witness my hand this 29th. day of November 1809.

1809. Dec. 2. paid him 25. D. Th: Jefferson.

(MHi)

To Jonathan Shoemaker

Monticello Dec. 26. 09.

I have considered your proposition of yesterday to endorse a bill of 500. D. for you to be put into the bank of Richmond & on mature reflection must decline it. I have never carried my name into that bank, & if anything could have induced me to it, it would have been my own present difficulties. but for a mere farmer to go into a bank for money destroys his credit at once. . . . (MHi)

To William D. Meriwether

Monticello Dec. 27. 09.

By the Enquirer of the 19th. just now recieved here I see that the petition of Ashlin to build a dam across the river adjacent to Ross's lands, & consequently not far above it's mouth has been reported reasonable. where a mill dam assists navigation it is well to allow it because it becomes a public good. McGruder's I believe stands on this ground. Wood's I am assured does not, and is a great obstruction to the speed necessary with us to take advantage of accidental tides. our watermen here concur that the little difficulty on which Ashlin's pretensions are founded, is really trifling & not to be balanced against the inconveniences of a lock. to this then add the removal of our resort for fresh fish from Magruder's to Ashlin's, & the deprivation of all the intermediate inhabitants who now catch them at their door. the rights & conveniences of the whole body of inhabitants above Ashlin have certainly a claim for mature consideration & time for bringing forward evidence on their case. this is what we wish. let his petition lie over to another session with such measures for intermediate enquiry as the house shall direct. precipitation cuts off the rights of a county; time only delays a favor asked by an individual. unless vigilance & steady opposition be observed by the upper inhabitants of the river, it is evident we shall lose the benefits of it's navigation & fish, or have them rendered useless by the erection of one stoppage after another from it's mouth upwards. an interested petitioner will always procure names by his activity: while the mass of those to be injured are silent because no particular person will undertake to procure a hearing for them. . . . (DLC)

To Jonathan Shoemaker

Monticello Feb. 6. 1810.

It has been a sincere affliction to me to be so importunate with you on the subject of my rents, but my necessities; which I only partly explained to you, have forced it on me. I inclose for your perusal two letters recieved by the last mail, which will show you how sorely I am pressed, and that the urgencies I have stated to you were really less than the truth. be so good as to return the letters by the bearer. at the close of this week there will be upwards of four quarters rent due. you promised me a considerable paiment from what was due you from the person who had purchased the stage line. I hope you will not fail me, & that it will be such a sum as will give me sensible relief. I have ceased to trouble you lately in the expectation that this resource would enable you to pay up arrears, and I do it now with infinite regret. . . . (MHi)

From Jonathan Shoemaker

March 1. 10.

We have not been able to get but very little Flour off & that not untill this morning & the Quantity so Small that I hardly think it worth wile to go to Richmond after it, I will however make an Arangement with our factor to Pay Gibson & Jefferson on thy account 200\$ by the middle of next month. (MHi)*

To Peter Minor

Monticello Sep. 30. 10.

An accidental misplacing of the papers from the Directors of the Rivanna company, which I recieved thro' you, & the never having been able to find them till yesterday, nor otherwise to know their contents (for I had not read the principal one) must be my apology for not having taken them into consideration till this moment. on reading their resolution of the 12th instant it is a subject of sincere regret that I cannot coincide in their opinion that I am bound to erect a lock, & to keep it in perpetual repair at the ridge of rocks on which my dam rests. I regret it the more because I observe it to be an unanimous opinion of the 4. Directors then present, and because it is so possible that my opinion, in opposition to theirs, may be under a bias of interest insensible to myself. however it is so much a law of reason & right that no decision shall be conclusive until the parties interested are heard, and that even opinions, formed

* Copies of other letters to and from Jonathan Shoemaker are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

before that, should be erased from the mind & the new as well as former views be candidly weighed together, that I shall avail myself of it on this occasion. and I am the more encouraged to do it by a thoro' conviction of the disposition of the Directors to require from me no unnecessary or unjust sacrifice, & of their desire to hear every thing & to do only what, on full discussion shall appear to be right.

They consider my obligation to erect a lock as founded 1. on the principles of Natural law, & 2. on the right of free navigation reserved by the Inquest who were charged with the execution of the writ of *Ad quod damnum*.

Under the 1st. head I must observe that I hold the lands thro' which the navigation is to pass, under a purchase & grant from the crown, comprehending the bed of the river, across which the chain was stretched both above & below, that the bed of the river was estimated as a part of the contents of the grant, for which the same price was paid as for the other parts of the land; that quitrents were paid regularly for it before the revolution; & since that it has made a part in the estimate of my lands, & the same taxes demanded & paid for it as for the other parts. it is therefore as much my property as any other part of what was conveyed by the patent; & that patent grants all the rights which the nation held in these lands on waters, reserving only the Quitrent, & a certain portion of gold & silver mines, & makes the river as much my private water as the spring from which we drink. the grantee then could exercise over the river, as well as over the soil all the natural rights of property, by building on it, or in it, whatever he pleased, or using it otherwise as he pleased. he is limited only by the universal principle of not so using his right of property as to injure the equal rights of his neighbor. he must not, by making a dam, overflow his neighbor's land, nor prevent the passage of fish to him, nor obstruct his ordinary navigation, if the river admits either, nor annoy his health by stagnating the waters. and in order to prevent these encroachments on his neighbor's equal rights, the law provides that an inquest shall be charged to ascertain these facts. two inquests have been accordingly charged in the present case with these enquiries, & both have found, that no man's land will be overflowed, no one's health annoyed, that no fish pass the river, & that it's natural obstructions admit of no navigation. on this the court have authorized the use of my natural right of laying a dam on my own soil. in doing this therefore I have committed no wrong, & therefore cannot be subsequently subjected to any penalty on damnification whatever, for what I have done.

consequently none such can be imposed on me, ex post facto, by any principle of Natural law. (DLC)

From Peter Minor

Ridgway Oct. 10. 1810.

Your communication of the 20th [30th] of Sep. has been recieved & laid before the Directors. It is their wish to have a personal conference with you on the matter in agitation, & for this purpose they have appointed a meeting of their body at Shadwell Mills on Wednesday the 17th. instant. I am instructed to request your presence at that time and place by the hour of 12 oclock. (MHi)

To Peter Minor

Monticello Oct. 31. 10.

I proceeded according to agreement to make notes of what I understood to be the intention of all parties on the day of our conference, but soon found it would be quite as easy to put them at once into their ultimate form, which I accordingly did & now inclose you, subject to the correction of the recollections of the other gentlemen. according to the best of mine there is but one article in it which was not mentioned. this I will explain, I have often mentioned that if the upper landholders wished to bring their produce to the Shadwell mills I would build a small batteau in the canal to recieve & carry their grain from the mouth of the canal to the mill. I intended to do this for my Lego plantation adjacent to the mill pond on the East side, settled this present year. I had no wheat sowed there last fall, but shall have a crop the ensuing one which I shall make a batteau for, to carry it to the mill. possessing a navigation therefore made by myself, sufficiently practicable, I have inserted a saving of my [fracture] of the navigation for my lands adjacent & their produce coming to the mill. the plantation is but a small one & therefore not much of an object. . . . (MHi)

To Peter Minor

Monticello Nov. 18. 10.

Your favor of the 10th. came to my hands the last night only, and I hasten to reply to it, being anxious to change my position from that of an obstacle, to a promoter of the object of the Directors. if I know myself, I wish nothing unjust, and I am more certain that the Directors do not, because they have no personal interest to blind them. if we have not the same opinions, it is because we see the same objects under different views. the saddling, with permanent burthens, a valuable property now held unconditionally, will I

hope justify a reasonable caution on my part. I will proceed to the articles of your letter, and subscribe at once to such of them as reason or prudence will justify, and to others with such modifications as I trust will be thought reasonable.

1. you propose to omit the expressing that I am proprietor of the bed of the river. agreed, provided we omit also the words 'on both sides of the river,' which would imply that I am not proprietor of what is between the two sides.

2. it is proposed to strike out the words 'or suffer them to remain' meaning the mill dam & Canal. Agreed.

3. no produce, other than of my own lands adjacent, to pass by water to my mill, toll free. agreed. provided it pay toll for the navigation *to* the mill only, and not *from* it. that toll *from* the mill should not be paid on the issues of the mill, however brought there, the Directors unanimously agreed on my first mentioning it to them, and that the law should be changed as to that. the toll on 10,000 barrels of flour would take exactly every farthing of my rent, that is the whole profits of the capital employed, or in other words annihilate that capital. that what comes then to the mill *by land* & is water-borne from thence shall not pay toll, unless it passes thro' the Milton locks or other works, is agreed to be right, provided these works do in no wise lessen the facility of passing along the bed of the river, as we have improved or may improve it. the work we have done there could not have been done by hired labour for less than 300. D. and it affords now so perfect a passage that every boat, in the late swell (about 10. or 12.) took in it's full load at the Shadwell mills, and passed the sluice without fear, danger or difficulty. but it is equally right that what comes by water (after paying navigation-toll *to* the mill) shall go *from* it along the bed of the river without paying further toll. for the issues of the mill, there can be no distinction between what comes to it *by land* and what *by water*, as to our right of carrying them thro' our own sluices. the discrimination too would be as impracticable as unreasonable.

4. the company is to maintain the dam, if raised, and canal, in a state of sufficiency only *for their purposes*. agreed. but I propose as a more unequivocal expression, to say, for the *purposes of navigation*, this being the real purpose of the company. but that, if they raise the dam two feet, for instance, they shall maintain only the additional two feet and I the present three feet, cannot be just. the height of the dam is certainly a principal cause of it's risk. the bed of rock, on which my dam is built, is so broad and unbroken, and the dam so low, (3. f. on the upper side) that I have no fear of

making it permanent, whenever I shall be able to double it as I have always intended, and which the late accident obliges me now to begin. but, raise it to 5. feet, and it will be carried away by floods which would pass almost unobstructed over three feet of height, and a double thickness. to make me replace the lower three feet, when the upper two feet shall have been the cause of their being carried away, cannot be just. I would rather recur to my original plan of having no dam, & deepening the canal. to any responsibility therefore for the dam after it shall have been raised I cannot consent. but further, as to an exoneration from it, even in it's present height, may I not reasonable ask. For all the burthens, embarrasments and uses, with which I am charging my lands for ever, & giving the use of my dam, canal, and grounds, what is the equivalent I am to recieve as a consideration? not a single one can be named but an increased volume of water, which I do not want, and exoneration from the maintenance of the dam, which might be of some value to me. and yet the company does not stipulate either. all is covenanted absolutely on my part and nothing on theirs if they content themselves with the dam as it is. where then am I? by no means where I was, with unembarrassed property, and sole master of it. the increase of water will be urged as a consideration, but it will really be none. we can now have as much as we please in winter, and in summer, a dam 100. f/ high would give us no more. we are not slack of water then for want of a higher dam or wider canal, but from the difficulty of tightening the dam, and because the river does not furnish the water. I leave therefore to the consideration of the Directors whether the use of my dam and canal, the scites of their locks & houses &c. are worth nothing to the company, and whether their duties can forbid them to yield a just equivalent: to reflect whether what is to benefit all, should be the burthen of one alone, & of one who in the works erected, has acted under the rights & sanctions given him by the law.

5. the company to be answerable for suspensions of the mills occasioned by *their operations* for more than 30. days. agreed, if instead of 'their operations' we say 'accidental breaches of the dam.' a suspension by breach of the canal we know from experience need never be of a day, or an hour, within which time a temporary bank can always be made. but the suspension, which I fear, is an habitual one; that which may be occasioned by drawing off all the water to fill the locks, which, in a canal $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long may not be supplied in less than an hour. in this circumstance my mill is very different from Wood's & McGruder's. I apprehend that, the lock being

above, whenever the lock sluice shall be opened the water will run backwards from the mill to the sluice, and that arm of the canal being very short, will be immediately exhausted: whereas if the lock be below the mill, the water, passing the mill troughs in it's way to the lock will enter them; and moreover the large reservoir which might be below the mill, would furnish the lock so much as to make very little draught on the canal. the Directors however seemed so confident that the action of the mills would not be sensibly checked, that I acquiesced in their experiment. but if it proves in event that they were mistaken, I ought not to be the victim of their error of opinion. I conclude therefore that accidental breaches of the dam alone should be entitled to exoneration for the 30. days, & that all others should be indemnified.

6. I shall lastly observe on the idea that no perpetual obligation can be established by a company incorporated for a particular purpose, & to be dissolved as soon as that purpose is effected. this is not correct. either the company, or those for whom they act will be perpetual, & in either case the act of the agents binds their constituents, as well as themselves. when I appoint an Attorney to execute a particular deed, tho' his authority ceases with the moment he signs & delivers it, the deed binds one forever. when the legislature of Virginia authorized their Delegates in Congress to execute conveyance of the whole Western country to the US. altho' those delegates & the legislature itself were all out of office within the year the deed remains eternally obligatory, between the people of Virginia & those of the US. in this I am so confident that I am perfectly willing to accept the stipulation of the Directors & run the risk of their validity.

On the whole the only material difference now between us is the exoneration from all responsibility for the dam, which I cannot but think the Directors will consider as a moderate price for the uses of that, of the canal, banks, roads, scites & every thing else they have asked. their neutral position, & their equal disposition towards both parties will impress on them the desire as well as duty of allowing a just equivalent to one for what it obtains for the other, this being the very purpose for which monies are subscribed & tolls allowed. I return you the deed with the alterations I propose, in red ink, and pray you to accept the assurances of my great esteem & respect.
(MHi)

To Peter Minor

Monticello Nov. 20. 10.

I inclose an answer to your favor of the 10th. should the Directors still dissent from my propositions, I should wish a personal conference with them, for there is no end to writing. the ground on which we stand now is simply this. 1. they ask the use of my dam, and perhaps to raise it. I answer, take it & use it: but if you endanger it by raising it, you must maintain it. 2. they ask the use of my canal. I answer, use it, but if you so use it as to suspend the going of my mill, pay me for it. if you do not like to take the risk attached to placing the lock above the mill, then place your lock below the mill, and the risk shall be mine, if a good reservoir be made. I have said that if they use the dam *as it is*, I will maintain it, and having said it, I will not retract it. but I think the exaction an unjust one, because it requires me to maintain solely an object which is to be used by others having an infinitely greater interest in the use. however I hope we shall be able to come to a friendly conclusion on it. . . . (MHi)

From Peter Minor

Ridgeway Nov. 21. 1810.

P.S. I recd. yr communication upon the River business yesterday. It shall be submitted to the directors as soon as possible, but I think with you that the matter can be better understood & settled personally than by writing. The directors will all be at Court next & a rule of theirs is to meet on the business of the River the day after every court, on one or the other of these days, if you would attend in Charlottesville, I think the business between you could be finally arranged to the satisfaction of all. (MHi)

To James Monroe

Monticello Jan. 8. 11.

. . . the sum of what has passed is this. you, gentlemen Directors observing that my mill dam & canal present a dead sheet of water from the entrance of the river into the mountain at the Secretary's ford, to it's exit at my mill, desire the use of my dam, to keep the back water in it's present navigable state. use it. I shall maintain it for my own purposes. 'but we wish to raise it two feet.' then you must maintain the dam yourselves because being raised to 5. f. it will be carried away 10. times for once if it remains at 3. feet. 'then we will not raise it; but we wish the use of your canal.' you are welcome to it. 'but we must widen it for batteaux.' you are free

to widen it but as admitting a greater volume of water will certainly destroy the bank in some places, you must maintain the bank. 'agreed, but we shall want a site for our lock at the lower end.' I give it to you. 'timber, earth, & stones to build it.' I give to you, all common timber. fine timber trees must be paid for. 'agreed. we want a site & timber for our toll house.' I give them to you. 'but while we are widening the canal, we must stop your mills, perhaps for a month.' you may do it, & I will charge nothing for the rent of my manufacturing mill for a month, nor the suspension of my toll mill, the two objects amounting to about 200. D. if after this your works, or the using your locks should stop my mill you must pay for the time. 'we agree to it,' and I thought the matter settled: but I have heard that they are not satisfied nor decided. observe that this is not a general but merely local object. it is only to carry the navigation from Milton to Moore's ford, in other words to Charlottesville, a question between the two towns. the people up the river are left to open their own navigation. nor do I believe the navigation will be used when done. because a waggon once at Charlottesville will go on to the Shadwell mill for less than even the toll of a barrel of flour, which is 9d. besides the price of the waterman. I state all these things to you, & have asked you to peruse the correspondence, because it is well you should possess the whole subject, as perhaps it may go to the legislature. indeed the Directors acknowledge that the former act has done wrong in authorizing the toll to be taken at Milton instead of the falls next above the Shadwell mills, from whence there is at present a perfectly safe navigation. for mr Randolph & myself, at our expence (of about 300. D.) have opened a sluice thro' the Milton falls which we shall still further perfect. I am told there is a law past some few years back declaring there shall be no future [*illegible*] of the beds of rivers or creeks, and annulling all the past. the former is within the powers of the legislature, the latter is not. they can neither pass a law that my head shall be struck from my body without trial, nor my freehold taken from me without indemnification, and where not necessary for a public use in this case. in this case the public can use the bed of the river without taking the property of it from me. by the common law, which was the law here till this act, the king cannot grant away *tide waters*; they are reserved for the use of the nation. but *all other waters* were ever grantable here as well as in England. and how is a line to be drawn between rivers & creeks, and other brooks and branches? I think the judges would determine the annulling former grants as merely void. it is material in my case only as

shewing that when the Shadwell mill was built 50. years ago, no trespass was committed on the bed of the river which was private property, & that no wrong having been committed it does not subject the proprietor to any ex post facto burthen, as the building of a lock &c. in the case of Magruder, who did not own the bed of the river, and who got leave to build a dam after the public had been 40. years in the exercise of their right of navigation along the river, Capt. Meriwether and the other Commissioners for improving the navigation, gave him 500. D. to build and maintain a lock. this was more perhaps than he had a right to and is mentioned only to shew the difference of measure meted to him & to me, if it should be proposed to force me to build & maintain a lock. . . . (DLC)

To James Monroe

Monticello Jan. 16. 11.

Since my last to you, the Directors of the Rivanna company have changed their minds, and instead of going through my canal they have determined to go through the bed of the river; and it being a question between us, whether they or I must build & maintain the lock at my dam, which dam they must have built had I not done it, they have proposed a reference to Arbitrators, to which I gladly consent, & leave to themselves the naming them. I must therefore pray you to return me the papers I enclosed you, as they will be to be laid before the arbitrators. I have lately also had an opportunity of seeing the two laws of 1792. & 1802. which had been stated to me as retrospective, but I find they are not so, and that they admit, on the contrary, the validity of former grants of the bed of water-courses by a necessary implication. I had been afraid that a momentary inattention might have led our legislature to what I was sure they would not have done but by surprise. but yet I suspect that the just rights of riparian landholders have not yet been so well investigated & understood as they should be. . . . (DLC)

To Peter Minor

Monticello Mar. 3. 11.

I received, just as I was preparing for a journey to Bedford, your letter of Jan. 15. informing me that the Directors of the Rivanna Company had changed their first resolution of carrying the navigation thro' my canal, and had determined to follow the bed of the river: that in that case they would consider my mill dam as an obstruction to the navigation, and a lock to pass it necessary; and whether that should be built and maintained at their or my expence

was a question which they proposed to refer to arbitration. I immediately, by letter, expressed my acquiescence, from a desire to make everything as easy to themselves & their object as consists with the most moderate attention to my own rights and reasonable interests. revolving the subject afterwards, in the same spirit of lessening collisions with them, it occurred that I could save them the trouble even of an arbitration, it shall no longer be an obstacle, I will remove it to it's foundation, in such place as the Directors shall desire, and of the width deemed necessary for the passage of boats. the two sections of the dam, then performing the office of wing-dams, will give greater depth to the sluice, and aid, instead of impeding, the passage of boats. I must, in that case, make abutments, below the broken ends, sufficient for their support, & sluice-gates to be kept shut when no boat is passing. in this way the natural bed of the river will be laid open to their use, and the ground of the reference proposed to be entirely done away, besides removing the obstacle. I continue to them the assurance of every aid & accomodation which my lands adjacent can afford, as heretofore proffered them, and avail myself of the first moments of my return to inform them of the satisfaction I derive from thus withdrawing the difficulties which have hitherto embarrassed us. . . . (ViU) (Copy)

From Peter Minor to Thomas Mann Randolph

Ridgeway July 16. 1812.

The directors of the Rivanna company intend to recommence their operations on Monday next their first essay will be at the Milton falls, where they have determined to make a sluice around the Island in preference to improving the [*illegible*] which yr self & Mr. Jefferson have attempted. This course they deem much more practicable in the execution, & much safer for the passage of boats, on account of the greater graduation of fall that will be effected. In doing this some part of the work you have done will be destroyed & the head of the sluice necessarily tossed up. I was directed to make you acquainted with this their determination, & at the same time to assure you that all idea of demanding toll upon the issues of the Shadwell Mills will be abandoned in consideration of the advantages afforded by the use of the canal & its recent improvement by Mr Jefferson. This explanation is intended to prevent the possibility of any collision, which might have taken place had the directors proceeded to pull away your work without due notice. . . . (MHi)

To Jeremiah Goodman

Monticello Aug. 9. 12.

. . . it is difficult for me to fix exactly the time of my coming up. the whole gable end of my great mill next the water wheel is near tumbling down. I am preparing to take it down partly & replace it with wood. this will occupy us 10. days or a fortnight more. the moment it is done I shall set out for Bedford. . . . (DLC)

To Philip Barbour

Monticello Oct. 12. 12.

I should at all times be happy to see you here, but at this moment have a particular occasion to ask that favor of you. the Rivanna company, engaged in clearing the river from Moore's ford to Milton, have called a meeting with a view to petition the next legislature to enlarge their powers, that is to say their powers over my property, for it is over that of no other human being. . . . (DLC)

To Philip Barbour

Monticello Jan. 4. 13.

I see by the Enquirer of Dec. 24. that a petition has been presented to the legislature by the Rivanna company 1. to perpetuate their charter, or extend it to such term as shall seem most proper. 2. to provide for the annual appointment of Directors by the court of the county. 3. to empower the Directors to regulate tolls, not exceeding certain rates. this is the first notice I have of a petition to enlarge powers which being to be exercised almost wholly and exclusively within my lands & over my property cannot fail to be interesting to me. on each of the objects it proposes I will say a preliminary word. as to the 1st. I hope no perpetuity will be established. it is an evil in all cases, and especially onerous when it affects the public right and use of water courses. temporary powers, if they prove inconvenient, give opportunities of amendment at every renewal. but if their term is without end their evils will be so also. I hope then that the alternative proposed by the petition itself, of a limited term, will be adopted, and that this may not exceed 5. years, a term as long as their wooden locks may reasonably be expected to last, if they stand one winter's freshes. the 2d. proposition is a good one. and so is the 3d. provided the power of regulating the toll be given to the court, instead of the company. but I observe that this petition proposes no protection for the interests of individuals whose property, or rights may stand in the way of the company. and yet I am persuaded that while the legislature are

making just provisions for 3. or 4. millholders on the river above, to give them it's use, they will not prostrate before them the property and rights of those below. and this is all I ask. in order to recall to your memory the observations I made to you verbally when you were so kind as to examine the principal scene of these operations, I will here recapitulate them.

The navigation of the Rivanna, extended naturally from it's mouth at Columbia, up to where it passes thro' the South West mountains: that is to say to the Sandy falls, at the foot of the bed of the mountain. these are about 150. yards above the Shadwell mills, and a mile above the town of Milton. I say it extended *naturally*; because from the mouth up to the Milton falls, it needed a little help only, which had been given about 45 years ago by contributions of labor & money by the inhabitants to a small amount of £ 200. as well as I recollect. and mr T. M. Randolph & myself, for about half that sum, had made a very practicable passage through the Milton falls, three quarters of a mile below the Shadwell mills, and meant annually in the dry season to work on & improve this passage. to this we were urged as being the adjacent landholders, & by our interest in these mills, to which the boats came habitually thro' this passage. the real difficulties of the navigation therefore were from where the river enters the S. W. mountains at the Secretary's ford, to where it issues from them at the Sandy falls. this is a space of about two miles & a quarter, within which the fall is between 20. & 25. feet. thro' this whole space the lands on both sides are mine. about 56. years ago my father built a mill at the site of those now existing, which continued 15. or 16. years, until carried away by a great flood. I resumed the work on a larger & safer scale, and tho' the difficulties of the canal exceeded every thing which could have been imagined, I persevered working on it from the year 1776. to 1806. with the intermission of 4. or 5. years only while I was in Europe, & here & there a year occasionally at other times; during which period I expended not less than twenty thousand Dollars on the Canal alone; and since that a great additional expence has been incurred in making it wide enough for the passage of batteaux, in erecting a solid pier head of stone of a sufficient width & height of arch to admit them to enter, and in building a dam of about 400. feet long over a most powerful stream. this dam gives a sheet of dead water a mile & a half upwards to the Secretary's ford at the entrance of the river into the mountain, and the canal continues it the remaining three quarters of a mile downwards, to the Shadwell mills below it's issue at the Sandy falls.

Not to notice the acts of assembly of 1794. & 1805. which never went into execution, in 1806. an act was passed incorporating a company for the purpose of clearing & improving the navigation from Moor's ford to opposite Milton, a distance of about 5 miles, within which however there was nothing to do, but what neighbors would have assembled & done, except in the $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles before mentioned from the Secretary's ford to the Sandy falls. a subscription of about 3000. D. having been made up, & Directors chosen, they proceeded to their object. their first idea was to open the bed of the river, with a view to which I offered to cut my dam wherever they desired a passage thro' it, & as soon as the passage below should be ready for use. but sufficient examination & trials of the obstacles in the bed of the river soon convinced them that a passage could never be opened along that which would be practicable without funds infinitely beyond what they had, or ever could obtain. the only alternative then would be a canal, which, had the ground been unbroken & in it's natural state, & they authorized to pass thro' it, my experience had proved would cost 6. or 7. times the amount of their whole funds. but my works were there ready done, the dam covering all the difficulties above it, and the canal leading over those below; & nothing wanting but a lock to let down the boats into the river at the foot of all the falls. they therefore asked leave to use my canal for the purposes of the navigation. I consented without hesitation, on condition it should be so done as not to injure my mills. whether the canal conveyed water enough for both was of course a question at their risk. they proposed to take the water from the canal a little above the mills, & there to place their locks. I objected to it for two reasons. 1. because whenever the lock gates should be opened they would intercept the current of the canal, draw it off into the locks, & retard or perhaps stop the mills, and 2. because the Canal banks were tender there, and if their locks should be carried away the bank would go with them, & lay the canal open to the river. this would not only require a new & artificial bank of great cost, but experience has proved that such an one could never be made tight. I offered at the same time, if they would place their locks below the mill (where there was a natural bason which might recieve as much water in the night as might work the locks thro' the day) that I would release them from responsibility, for injuries to my works. this they declined, and to guard against the risk of depriving the mills of their necessary water, they proposed to make the aperture into the lock so far above the bottom of the canal as to leave water enough for the mills, & to make a

bason above which might hold an extra supply sufficient to fill the locks without encroaching on the mills. but both of these expedients have proved insufficient; besides which their lock gates are so illy fitted that they let as much water thro' when shut as would carry a pair of millstones. the consequences have been that all this autumn we have been able to run but one pair of stones. that when the locks have been opened to let a boat down, that single pair has been retarded for half an hour, and when a boat is to come up, the locks cannot be filled at all without stopping the mills entirely for an hour or an hour & a half. to this is added another evil. they have no keeper of the locks; & every boatman, whether he ever saw a lock before or not, throws open the gates at all hazards & so leaves them. and on a late occasion of a considerable tide in the river, the whole flood being let into the canal by an ignorant or careless boatman, overflowed the bank of the canal at the door of the upper mill, and acting directly on the foundations of the house, would in a few minutes more have undermined & thrown down the walls of the house which are of stone. To all these we have still to add it seems, the threat of a demand of toll for every thing shipped from my mills, as if it had passed thro' the locks, instead of passing merely by them; the law permitting them to collect the toll at Milton, by which our flour must necessarily pass altho' from below their locks. at the first meeting of the Directors I represented to them the enormity of this, that my mill could no more be held liable to toll for passing their locks than the other mills on this river below the mountains, or than those of the main river or of Richmond, all being on the same footing of having no occasion to use their locks. they agreed at once & unanimously that it was wrong, and that lock-toll ought not to be required of my mill. but since that I am assured that some of them at least have changed their minds, whether a majority or not I do not know. this would indeed be extraordinary—not permitted to float my own wheat, down my own canal, to my own mill without paying for it. I say, *my own wheat*, because whether purchased for cash or flour, it is equally a purchase, & makes it ours. this would be to use me as our forefathers, when they came here, used the Indian natives, who recieved them hospitably into their country, & then were turned out of it by their new guests. on their admission into my canal, they not only take my water from me, to fill their locks, but make me pay for passing along what they do not take. one would hardly believe this could be insisted on, yet I know it is urged by some members of the company, owners of mills, who wish to reduce the competition of mine to a level with theirs, by

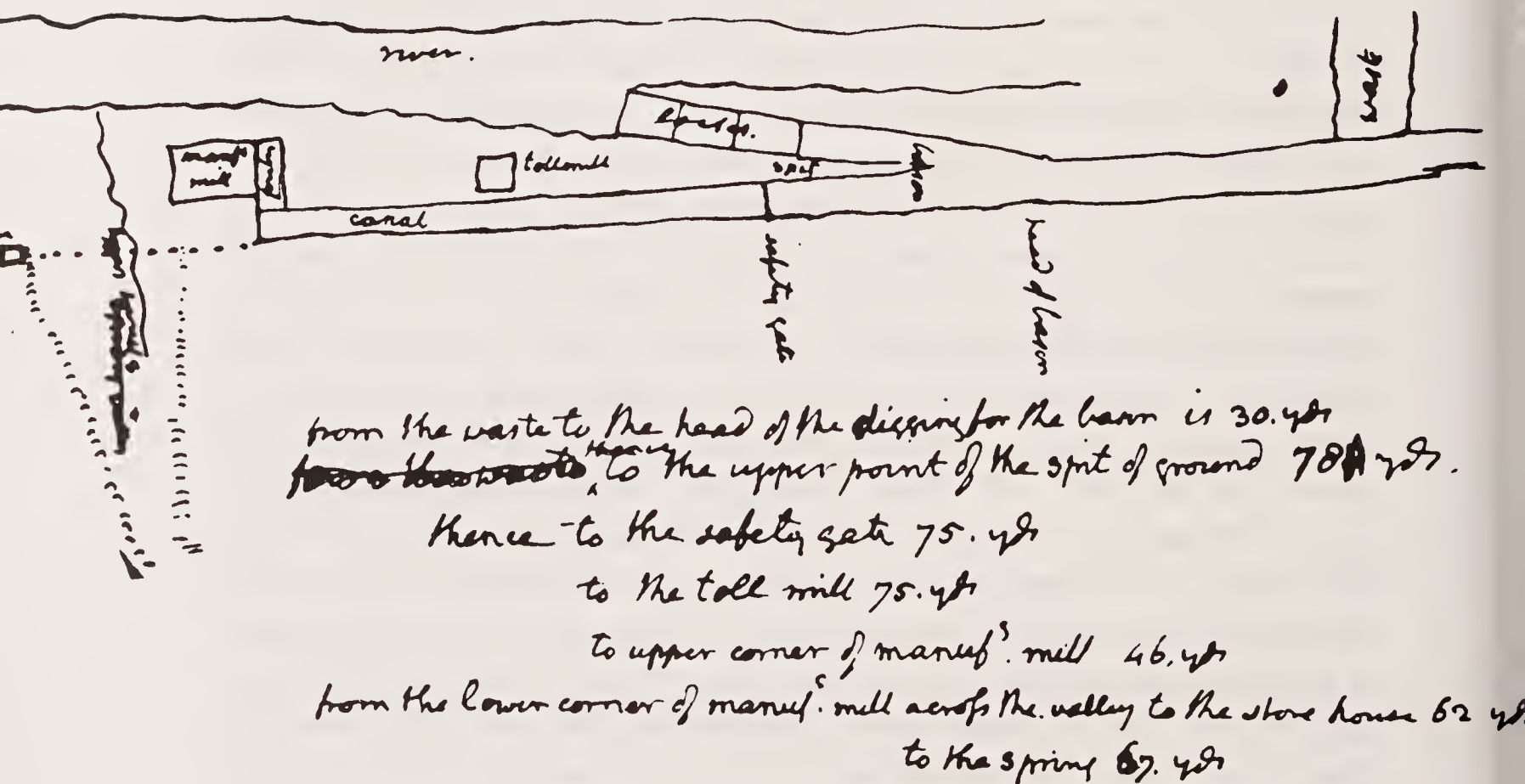
taking from it it's natural advantage of being on the navigable part of the river. surely I ought not to be left at the mercy of such considerations. the former law (passed while I was absent from the state in public service, & ignorant of it's passage) has done me a wrong by inadvertently authorising the collection of toll at Milton, a mile below the locks, as if every thing which passed there must have past the locks. the new law ought therefore to redress the wrong, by making the toll demandable at the locks, and only on what has passed thro' them. to these facts let me add that, on their request, I gave them leave to get on my lands whatever timber they wanted for the locks. that nearly the whole has been taken from them, for which I never recieved, nor meant to recieve a cent: and I mention it merely to shew that so far from being disposed to throw obstacles in their way, I have yielded them every facility in my power; because I sincerely wish those above to have fair benefit of the river according to their positions. I never opposed with urgency any measure of the Directors but that of locating the locks above the mill; from which I at length receded, unfortunately for them as well as myself, since from thence have flowed the dangers and difficulties to which I am immediately & they ultimately exposed.

These are the facts of the case. the Directors have explained their wishes to the legislature; I shall now explain my claims to their protection from wrong. 1. the new law should establish unequivocally the exemption of my mills from toll, by fixing it's collection *at the locks*, and only *on what has passed thro' them*. 2. with respect to their liability to me for damages, should my mill houses be carried away, the bank of the canal destroyed, or my mills be prevented from grinding by their taking away the water, I do not know that the law need make special provision. because I suppose that on the general principles of law every member of a company is liable in his whole fortune for the acts of the company; and that this is not prevented by their incorporation unless the incorporating act expressly declares that each shall be liable only to the amount of his subscription. if I am mistaken in this point of law, then the new act should expressly give this redress against the individuals of the company: for redress against their subscriptions when these have been all expended, would be but a mockery. the grounds on which alone they could claim a toll from my mill, are that they have done something in the river above it's entrance into the mountain, and something at the Milton falls below it's issue. between Moor's ford and the Secretary's, there was a single rapid, out of which they

have blown a few, and removed some other rocks, which the neighbors would have assembled & done with their common laborers in two, three, or a very few days, and actually had it in contemplation. and at the Milton falls mr Randolph & myself had already opened a strait sluice of about 60. yards length, down which loaded boats regularly passed without difficulty or danger. the ascent indeed for the returning boat is more laborous; but we should have continued improving it. the Directors however stopped this sluice and opened a way along an arm of the river which turns so suddenly round a small island, that loaded boats can with the utmost difficulty be kept from being dashed against the bank. it is true that their manager has carried a boat through to shew that it can be done: but it is equally true that one boat has been cast away there, others thrown ashore, and the danger has finally deterred the boatmen from loading at our mill, in consequence of which we have been obliged to waggon our flour to Milton. nor have they expended on this passage nearly what mr Randolph & myself had expended on our sluice. but if they take from us the passage we had made, have we not a natural right to use theirs? and can they make this trifle a pretext for levying toll at all, much less lock-toll on us? they talk of making locks at the Milton falls. but 1. they are not necessary. a safe & quicker passage can be had without them. 2. they have not the funds. 3. they have not the right. because their canal & locks must lead thro the adjacent lands of mr R. or myself, to which we have not yet given our consent—no law forces us to do this, nor ought to force it where it is not necessary, and in a case where other indulgences have been so much misused. 3. another very material attention in the new law should be to say nothing which can give them any right whatever in my canal, but to leave that as it now stands, on the footing of my voluntary consent. that consent was merely gratuitous. but, as in consequence of it, they incurred the expence of building locks there, they have a certain measure of right to use the canal. but this must be so exercised as not to deprive me of it's use, or subject me to any injury to which I should not be exposed if they passed along the bed of the river. if they destroy or endanger my mills, take the necessary water from me, or interrupt my use of it for navigation or otherwise, I have a right to withdraw my consent & exclude them from the use. that consent went only to the surplus water. if the two feet which they proposed for their aperture above the top of the wheel do not leave me water enough, the aperture must still be raised. nor has any definite term of time been ever fixed to this permission, whether during pleasure,

during the reasonable duration of their wooden locks, or how long. to all these questions I consider the ordinary courts as competent, & only desire that the new law may leave it on the footing on which the transactions between the parties have placed it. for this purpose I suppose the Proviso usual in these cases will suffice, 'Saving & reserving to all persons, all their legal rights respecting the premisses, as if the act had never been passed &c. or to sum up my petition in fewer words, it is that after fixing the collection of toll *at the locks* and on what *has passed thro'* them, and inserting a Salvo of private rights, the law may avoid saying any thing which may take away those rights.

Colo. Branham, one of the members of our county, is a Director of the Rivanna company, is a gentleman of truth & candour, & I appeal with confidence to him to vouch the facts which I have stated, at least so far as they lie within his knolege, and I am equally confident of his concurrence in every just provision for the protection of my rights. I would ask the favour of you to make a communication of this subject to mr Cabell our Senator, and to mr Johnson the Senator from Staunton who, tho' not our immediate representative, is acquainted with the localities which enter into the



Jefferson's drawing of the location of his mills on the Rivanna River, at Shadwell. The mill dam is not shown. It was located up the river to the right of the drawing. Note the locks built by Jefferson in the canal so that bateaux could pass his dam in plying between Milton and Charlottesville.

case, and of all of you I ask nothing but to have done that which you think right. my view in troubling yourself and those gentlemen is solely that no injury may be done me thro' inadvertence, that the legislature, acting on full information of circumstances, may be enabled to do justice, and to their decision I shall bow with perfect submission. confiding myself therefore entirely to your justice and friendly care, I tender you sincere assurances of my high respect & esteem.

Th: Jefferson

P.S. I inclose a map of the river from actual surveys to give a clearer view of the situation of the different places named in this letter. (DLC)

To John Eliason

Monticello May 30. 13.

. . . As long as he [*Mr. Randolph*] chuses to keep the mill, I should prefer him to any tenant, not only from a natural wish to promote whatever he thinks his interest, but because experience has taught me not to expect from another tenant the same care of the tenement which he takes, not only for it's preservation but it's improvement and interest. . . . in answer to your request in your letter of the 22d. to be informed of the terms I will state in general that they will be nearly what I agreed with mr Randolph, say 55. barrels of superfine flour a quarter, payable quarterly, to reclaim the landlord's right of being hopper-free, as is the law & custom of this state, that is to say to have my own crop of wheat ground at any time in preference to all others, and on the usual terms, to keep the hull of the house in repair myself, but the tenant to maintain all internal repairs & deliver the running gear in as good repair as he recieves them. I maintain the body of the dam & he jointly assists in the tightenings sometimes necessary in dry seasons, & in cleaning the canal when necessary; if the dam is carried away by floods, I repair it, & the rent is suspended during the time it cannot grind, the tenant pays the taxes, the lease is not assignable but with my consent, but may be terminated at the will of either party on a notice to be agreed on. this is the general outline. . . . (MHi)

To Chapman Johnson

Monticello Jan. 5. 13.

I observe that a petition has been presented to the legislature by the Rivanna company for an enlargement of their powers. as these are to be exercised wholly within my lands & almost solely over my

property, and have not hitherto been marked by a very tender forbearance from injury to me, it becomes necessary, while they ask for power, for me to ask for some just protection from it. mr Philip Barber was so kind as to ride over the ground and make himself acquainted with the situation. I have therefore written him a long letter on the subject & request him to communicate it to you. altho' you are not our immediate representative, yet as a general legislator for us all I am sure you would prefer acting on full information. I therefore ask the favor of you to read the letter, and when the bill comes before the Senate that you will so far attend it as to apprise them of the material facts that no injury may be done me through inadvertence, and whatever you & they shall think right I shall cheerfully submit to. I have given, & shall continue to give every facility to the improvement of the navigation which does not go to the destruction of my mills, and of this I am sure it will be seen that I have given sufficient proofs. . . . (MHi)

From Chapman Johnson

Richmond Jany. 9. 1813

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 5th. of this month, on the subject of a petition, presented to the Legislature, by the Rivanna Company. If that subject should come before the Senate I will take pleasure in investigating the facts, and in presenting them to the other members of our house, in their true character. . . . (MHi)

To Youen Carden

Monticello Aug. 20. 13.

I did not know till yesterday that mr Randolph intended to give up the lease of my toll mill. I shall now be glad to employ you there upon our former terms. I shall be glad to know by the return of the bearer whether you will engage to come. if you say so, this letter binds it on my part. I am to set out for Bedford in a day or two & shall be absent about three weeks, and on my return I will send to you, as I expect you will be wanting about that time. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Nov. 14. 13.

. . . the manufacturing mill is just beginning to recieve wheat and to do something. there have been some discouragements to the bringing it in. the want of a visible and responsible head is supplied to a certain degree by Jefferson's taking that post, which I dare say he will discharge satisfactorily. some flour for neighborhood use,

perhaps too closely ground (to wit the barrel from 4 bush. 7 lb) has discredited the mill for awhile. an assistant miller has been engaged by Jefferson on trial, and after a month's trial, the opinion of his skill & good conduct is favorable, and perhaps that he may understand grinding better than Gilmer. but he could not supply Gilmer's place as principal. I am still afraid it will be a losing concern to you as long as you are absent, unless you had a skilful and honest partner, not easy to be found. since our last operation on the dam, altho' the river is now very low indeed so that no boat can go down, we have the greatest abundance of water. I was at the mills yesterday. all were going with full heads, the locks leaking as usual, and a great deal of water running over the waste. I was disappointed in raising the breast of the dam a foot higher by the water becoming extremely cold just as we had got all our logs & stones in place ready to be laid down. this is therefore deferred to the spring, and will remove our difficulties from the dam to the canal bank which will be in danger of overflowing. the Rivanna company have had their works reviewed by Commissioners and it is presumed they will be recieved at the next court, and toll begin to be levied. they have agreed that the bill respecting them shall pass as amended by the Senate, which provides that they shall recieve their toll *at the locks*, and only on *what passes thro' them*, saving moreover all other private rights. . . . as yet prices do not look up. the new wheat is sold here @ 3/6 & 3/9 and at Buckingham mills & all above them at the same. I have heard of no price at Richmond further than that the new flour is dull @ 5. D. . . . (MHi)

From Peter Minor

Ridgeway Novr. 15. 1813.

I stated to you the other day in conversation that I believed the Directors of the Rivanna Company were entirely satisfied with the Law respecting the Navigation of our River, as it was amended last winter by the Senate, a copy of which you have seen. I have now the pleasure of confirming that statement. The matter has been agitated in full meeting & decided unanimously that the passage of such a law would comprehend every object of their petition to the last assembly: And if you have no objection to it they will petition that the Bill as amended may pass into a law.

The objects of their late petition to the Assembly were Simply these. 1st. To get the tolls reduced, which had been fixed so high as effectually to prohibit the passage of all produce, And as they had built locks which would require from time to time rebuilding &

repairs. 2dly. to get their charter extended or perpetuated for the purpose of keeping up these locks, after the company would be dissolved by the provisions of the first law. This was the extent of their petition.

It never was their intention to demand toll any where but at the locks, nor upon any lading but what passed the locks. This I am induced to mention from an Idea that you have been impressed with a contrary belief. Nor did they ever think of demanding Toll upon your Property, but at all times to grant you a free use of the Locks in consideration of your granting to them the use of the canal.

The amendments proposed by the Senate seems to have been predicated upon a supposition that the Directors would ask contrary to the above statement. I assure you they never had such an intention. It remains to be settled (& on this point the Directors have instructed me to consult you) How far you consider yourself bound to grant them the use of your canal for the purposes of Navigation, a scite for their Toll House Bg. & in what way you will have this obligation expressed, whether by a contract or Grant as formerly proposed to be recorded here, or by some provision which by your consent might be incorporated in the Law. For the satisfaction of those for whom they act, they deem some act of this sort on your part necessary. . . . (MHi)

To Peter Minor

Monticello Nov. 18. 13.

Your favor of the 15th. is recieved, notifying me that the Directors of the Rivanna company have had under consideration the bill respecting the navigation of our river, that they have decided unanimously that the passage of that law as *it was amended by the Senate*, would comprehend every object of their petition to the last assembly, and that they propose to petition that the bill, as amended, may now pass into a law. to this I give my entire consent.

I recieve with satisfaction your assurances that 'it never was their intention to demand toll any where but at the locks, nor upon any lading but what passed the locks.' this assurance would at all times have satisfied me if incorporated into the new law, so as to controul the former one. I acknolege I was under a contrary impression as to their intentions; and that this was not without foundation, as to a part of the Directors is countenanced by the following facts. 1. that the bill was drawn and passed the lower house without any Proviso to this effect. 2. that when amended in the Senate by the insertion of this proviso, Colo. Branham, one of the Directors &

a member of the lower house, did not think proper to let it pass. and 3. that Capt Meriwether, another of the Directors, was so displeased with the Senator of our district for the insertion of this proviso, that he endeavored to prevent his reelection by denouncing him in letters to Amherst as having sacrificed the public interest to that of an individual, to which was added his opposition to him in this county; altho' certainly, as our common representative, it was the duty of the Senator to see justice done to all. that a majority of the Directors wished nothing but justice, I have ever believed, and now beg them to accept my sincere assurance of it; and what I have said is merely for my own justification, and to shew that I have made no opposition, but on a point which themselves consider as right; and I hope I may further appeal to themselves to say whether, in every other instance, I have not yielded to their undertaking every aid and facility they have asked. I certainly would not have said thus much but to secure myself against the suspicion of making my private interests an obstacle to a public right, for which I am not conscious of having in my whole life given occasion. however we have now explained, & understand one another, and there is an end of the question

To the use of my canal, a site for a toll house, & any other necessary conveniences I have always without hesitation consented & now consent: and I am willing to confirm them by grant or contract for a reasonable term of years, and for this I ask no consideration, no use of the locks, for they can never be of any use to me. I only request such provisions by the Directors as may secure my mills against interruptions to which the boatmen have already shewn themselves wantonly prone, and so they will be unless there be some person, or some rules at least, to controul the opening & shutting of the locks. the enormous leakage of the locks, too, when either open or shut, is a great evil to be provided against, with such other regulations as reason and experience will call for. I am sure there will be no difficulty in these arrangements, because I ask nothing but protection from injury, which the Directors could have no interest or wish to permit. and there will be the less difficulty in making satisfactory arrangements, as I have raised the water in my dam one foot, and have the materials ready & in place for raising it another foot in the next warm season, so that the surplus of water, beyond what is necessary for the mills, will be sufficient for the locks if used according to reasonable regulations. I set out tomorrow for Bedford, and immediately on my return shall be ready to enter into such stipulations as may give reasonable security and content-

ment on all sides. and as the object is entirely new & untried I think it will be better to leave an opening for amendments from time to time, as experience may shew them necessary.

I have said and say I am willing the bill should pass as amended by the Senate. but I will suggest two other verbal amendments which concern me no more than every other person, and which the Directors would probably desire to have made for the sake of correctness.

In the 2d. section of the bill it is said they are to take such toll as will enable them to keep the locks in repair, and to keep open the navigation '*of the said river.*' say rather '*of the sd portion of the river.*' otherwise it might be construed to extend power over the whole river from it's source to it's mouth, which is not intended.

In the 1st. amending clause of the Senate it is provided that no toll shall be demanded but at the locks, and '*on vessels passing the locks.*' this would make the vessels themselves, whether loaded or empty, liable to toll, which I understand is not intended. instead therefore of '*vessels passing the said locks*' say '*articles liable to toll passing thro' the sd locks.*' I suggest these amendments merely for the consideration of the Directors, who would doubtless prefer removing uncertainties before circumstances which may not be foreseen shall render them important; and with assurances that I am sincerely disposed to facilitate to them all the objects of their institution and to give as little trouble or impediment as possible to those who may use the navigation of my canal. I tender to them & yourself every sentiment of esteem and respect. (DLC)

To Thomas Eston Randolph

Monticello Jan. 20. 15.

As mr Randolph and yourself have the Shadwell mill in partnership this year and the details of it's business, on account of his absences, will chiefly fall on you, I submit to you the following considerations as to the rent. While Shoemaker held the mill the rent was fixed in money at 1280. D. a year payable quarterly. when mr Randolph and McKinney took it they wished it to be fixed in flour @ 6. D. a barrel, to which I consented and it was settled at 213⅓ Barrels of flour payable quarterly. flour getting afterwards to 10. & 12. D. a barrel, and this being thought to make the rent too high, I consented to change it back again to money at the old rate, and so it now stands. but flour, instead of double price as before, is now at half price only, so that to pay the rent in money now would take a double quantity of flour. I propose therefore to leave to your-

selves now to say whether the rent shall be fixed in future in money or flour, and to remain unalterably in whichever article is now determined on. I think myself that flour is the safest, because it's value is so much more fluctuating than that of money, and it is the sole article on which the mill is employed. if the rent be payable in that, both owner & tenant bear proportionably the loss of low prices and reap the gain of high ones. and it is the sharing in both of these which alone can give to either a proper average of value. however I leave the election between the two articles entirely to yourselves. by special agreement between mr Randolph and myself, the year begins always the 1st. of July, so that whatever you determine will have retrospect to that date. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Eston Randolph

21st. Jany. 1815.

I expect to go to Richmond tomorrow, and as soon as I see Mr. Randolph, I will communicate to him the contents of your letter of yesterday.

The proposition to pay the Rent of Shadwell Mill in flour, in lieu of money, will be very agreeable to me, and probably will be equally so to Mr. Randolph, under any possible arrangement we must sustain a considerable loss this year—at the present money Rent, certainly not less than \$600. the quantity of wheat which will be received is inconsiderable and that generally so very indifferent that we are obliged to grind higher than usual to make the quality of the Flour even what it is. It cannot I conceive be improper to state to you, that in consequence of a considerable loan from me to Mr. Randolph, and his retaining so much of the interest arising therefrom as will be equal to my moiety of the rent, it is understood that he is responsible to you for the whole rent as usual. . . . (MHi)

To Joseph C. Cabell

Monticello Feb. 2. 16.

. . . all I ask in my own case is that the legislature will not take from me *my own works*: I am ready to cut my dam in any place, and at any moment requisite, so as to remove that impediment if it be thought one and to leave those interested to make the most of the natural circumstances of the place. but I hope they will never take from me my canal, made thro' the body of my own lands, at an expence of twenty thousand dollars, and which is no impediment to the navigation of the river. I have permitted the riparian proprietors above (and they are not more than a dozen or twenty) to

use it gratis, and shall not withdraw the permission unless they so use it as to obstruct too much the operations of my mills, of which there is some likelihood. . . . (ViU)

To Thomas Eston Randolph

Monticello June 18. 16.

I have subjoined to the lease an acknowledgement that the rent of the next year is payable in flour as you desired. I wish I could, even by possibility postpone the October payment to January. but I shall not have one Dollar through the remainder of this year, but the rent of the mill, having exhausted all other funds, even of credit, in the purchase of corn, and oats, by the total failure of my overseers both here & in Bedford the last year, and I have more still to buy. I hope I shall not live to see such another year. . . . (MHi)

To Chapman Johnson

Monticello Dec. 26. 16.

You have heretofore known something of jarrings between the Rivanna company and myself. certain claims of right, equal, and even paramount to my own, which they set up to my canal, a work which has cost me 30,000. D. and which would render it's value almost null to me, oblige me to bring a suit in chancery *to quiet my title*. . . . (MHi)

From Chapman Johnson

Richmond 7 Jany. 1817.

. . . In your suit in chancery, with the Rivanna company you may count on my services as counsel, and so according to your request, you may expect me to appear for you. . . . (MHi)

To Howe Peyton

Monticello Feb. 8. 17.

I have built, as you perhaps know, very expensive manufacturing and grist mills on the Rivanna river, near this place, the canal to which alone cost me 20,000. Dollars. the Rivanna company claim a right to use this canal for navigation, independently of my permission, and of the regulations necessary to prevent obstruction to the operation of my mills. this obliges me to bring a suit in Chancery against them to quiet my title in which I ask the benefit of your aid, as I have done that of mr Johnson. at present I must request you to inclose me by return of mail a subpoena in Chancery against George Divers, William D. Meriwether, Nimrod Branaham, Dabny Minor and John Kelly of Albemarle subscribers, members, and Directors

of the Rivanna company. be so good as to send this by return of mail, as I learn that three of these gentlemen are about to resign, and I would rather make them parties than any new hands. . . . (MHi)

From Thomas Eston Randolph

Ashton 10th. March 1817.

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have communicated with Mr. Colclaser on the subject of paying a Flour rent for the mill, for a new Lease—he says no miller can afford to give the Rent which we are now paying, and declines a concern in it on the terms of the present year—I think however to continue the business, and as I shall be satisfied with a moderate profit, I will take the liberty to submit some remarks to your attention.

The season of 1815/16 Mr. Diver's mill was not in operation, his wheat (two crops I believe) was ground at Pen Park mill, that, and the Shadwell Mill together, did not grind over 21,000 bushels, nor do I believe any wheat was sent down the River—the loss at Shadwell mill was considerable—the Rent was paid in money—had it been a Flour rent the loss would have been much greater.

The prevailing opinion among Farmers, Merchants & Millers since the return of Peace, is, that Wheat cannot be lower than 6 shillings, which will be \$6 dolls pr barrel for Flour and it may be much higher—it is therefore evident that the Tenant can derive no possible advantage by a change from a money to a Flour rent *when rated at its lowest value*, but he may be a very serious loser. For instance, the season of 15/16 we did not recieve wheat enough to have paid a Rent of 213 bars. of Flour—there would have been a deficiency of 25 or 30 barrels which we must have purchard, suppose at a medium price of \$7—it would have been an additional loss of \$210.—to the Miller or Tenant, while the Proprietor at same time gains a dollar on 213½ barrels.

When the Shadwell Mill was built, \$1,200, was considered by very competent Judges, as a very sufficient Rent for it. Since that period Craven's Mill is built which will always command a very respectable custum. Capt. Meriwether is building a manufacturing mill, still nearer to Shadwell, and below, is Campbell's (at Woods) which will be completed the ensuing autumn. with all this competition, it appears to me only reasonable that the rent of Shadwell mill should rather be reduced, than increased.

I do not however ask for an abatement. I am willing to give \$1280. as formerly, and if you have any doubt about the regular

payment of it, quarter yearly, I will give you any security to insure it that you may require.

Or, if you insist on a Flour rent, let the price be fixed at a medium value, say \$6. the lowest, and \$8. the highest (and it must often be higher) gives \$7. pr barrel.

I will make another proposition. If you will furnish the barrels and receive the flour at the mill, I will continue to pay the present Rent, say $213\frac{1}{3}$ barrels, and as you seemed to intimate that 40 thousand bushels of wheat, or even a larger quantity, may be received at the mill, I will agree to pay an additional rent of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for every Five bushels and 20 ct of wheat delivered at the Mill over Thirty thousand bushels for each year during the lease. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Eston Randolph

Monticello Mar. 15. 17.

Your letter of the 10th. was handed to me yesterday afternoon only. when the Shadwell mills were built, the rent was settled on great enquiry made in this state as well as in those North of us, at one out of every 24. Barrels of flour expected to be manufactured, and to be taken at the place of sale. we supposed the Shadwell mills would manufacture 5000. Barrels of which, according to this proposition, $208\frac{1}{3}$ would go to the landlord, and $4791\frac{2}{3}$ remain to the miller and his customers, if he worked on commission, or to the miller himself, if he purchased. you say in your letter 'the prevailing opinion among farmers, merchants, and millers, since the return of peace is that wheat cannot be lower than 6/. which will be 6. D. pr. barrel of flour, and it may be much higher.' suppose this to be correct. when flower is at it's lowest price of 6. D. the landlord recieves 6. times $208\frac{1}{3}$ D. or 1250D. the miller 6. times $4791\frac{2}{3}$ or 28,750. D. if flour rises 1. D. say to 7. D. the landlord recieves $208\frac{1}{3}$ D. more, the miller $4791\frac{2}{3}$ D. more [illegible] 2. D. say to 8. D. the landlord recieves twice $208\frac{1}{3}$ more, the miller twice $4791\frac{2}{3}$ more. if it rises 3. D. say to 9. D. the landlord recieves three times $208\frac{1}{3}$ more, the miller 3. times $4791\frac{2}{3}$ more. thus, for every dollar more recieved by the landlord, the miller gets 23. additional, gaining always by a rise in price 23. times as much as the landlord does. the rent is properly fixed in flour, because it is safest and right that the landlord and tenant should share the loss as well as gain proportionably and and [sic] to guard both against the fluctuations of market and money. our money is no longer to be trusted as a measure of value, but from day to day. and it seems it

is to become less so. as I am assured it is a general sentiment of the legislature to permit, at their next session, every one who will, to set up a bank. the deluge of paper then is to be without limits. when the Shadwell mills were built 13. or 14. years ago, 1250. D. would have procured more capital, say of land or negroes, than the double of that sum now. this shows how unjust it would be to pay me now a rent of only 1250. D. but the half in value of what was then correctly settled. 5. Barrels were afterwards added to the 208 $\frac{1}{3}$ by particular stipulation as interest on the cost of the storehouse, subsequently build: I cannot therefore agree to have any thing to do with a money rent. I assure you, at the same time, that I sincerely wish you to retain the mill. it is neither my interest or desire to be frequently changing tenants. but still a rent, once established on sound principles, must be stable, and cannot be permitted to fluctuate with the monetary ups and downs of circumstances. I might perhaps agree to a part of the sacrifice suggested in your last proposition, that of finding barrels for the rent flour, which I can do within myself, while from you they require cash. this will be a reduction of near 100. D. but further than this I cannot change the established terms.

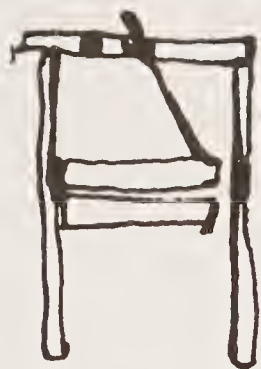
As to the competition of new mills, they cannot increase as fast as the production of wheat: and, if business be as well done at the Shadwell mills they will be preferred to those off from the river, because being at the landing from whence the produce is to be water borne, they save the farmer the trouble [of a] 2d. trip with his teams to move it to the waterside, often distant from him. the lower mills on the river certainly have the natural advantage of a shorter water carriage to market. but the difference is added to their land carriage, by their being that much further from the rich producing country. the farmer will gladly save this additional labor to his teams, by stopping at the nearest mill from which his produce can be water borne.

These views, which I believe to be sound, will I hope, have their weight with you. . . . (MHi)

To Archibald Thweatt

Monticello Mar. 16. 17.

. . . you ask the cost of a mill carrying 3. or 4. pair of stones. mine carries 2. pr of burrs, the one of 5. f. the other of 6. f. and a pr of rubbers for cleaning the grain, with all the modern labor saying machinery, the house very roomly, & walls of stone. it cost me 10,000. D. but good judges say it ought to have cost but



8000. this is exclusive of the canal which alone cost me 20,000. D. and of the dam. the best hand mill is that which has least machinery, so that the labor of him who works it is not wasted by friction. a pair of small stones about 2. f. diam. fixed under a gallows, with a hand-spike working loose in a hole in the runner going half thro' it, and another in the top of the gallows, is the best I have known. for a horse mill, the best is a horizontal spur wheel fixed exactly as what we call the horse wheel of a threshing machine. these spurs drive a vertical bundle on the spindle of which the running stone is fixed. . . . (DLC)

To George Divers

Monticello Mar. 27. 17.

I write to you because you are a Director of Rivanna company, yet not as a Director, but as an individual and friend for consultation. the present condition of the locks is such as to call ere long for an entire new rebuilding. before this is proposed, it is certainly desirable, both for the company and myself, that we should know of a certainty on what ground we stand in point of right: and this can only be settled by a judiciary decision. I propose therefore to bring a friendly bill in Chancery, on which, with the separate answers of the Directors, the Chancellor will, on motion, and without a day's delay decide this point authoritatively. with this view I have prepared a bill; and as I am anxious to state in it no fact which is not exact, I inclose it and ask the favor of you to peruse it with attention, and to take notice of any fact you think not correct. I will not give you the trouble of making notes, or writing letters on the subject, to which there is no end: but I will ride up the day after tomorrow, if you will be at home & ask a dinner of you, and exchange explanations verbally as to any thing which may need correction. there are some facts, which being unknown to the Directors themselves, will of course require depositions: particularly with respect to the Inquest of 1805. but for those which are within their knolege, their answers will of course save the time and trouble of calling on witnesses. . . . (MHi)

To Chapman Johnson

Monticello July 4. 19.

Your favor of the 1st. is recieved. the ruinous and completely rotten state of the locks at my mill is such that any thing of an extraordinary fresh will infallibly blow them up and sweep away the bank of the canal so as to unite it to the river to an extent which

no one can previously determine. an immediate decision therefore is of the first importance and takes place of all other considerations. . . . (MHi)

To Edmund Bacon

Pop. For. Aug. 11. 19.

. . . I am glad you have given the assistance of a hand to each cooper's shop, and wish it to be continued, and even more help to be given if necessary, for I look to the offal of the mill as our only resource for bread. I think it very certain that bread will not be made in the upper country generally. if we can keep the mill going it will be a resource for the present. after these two objects are secured, the next in importance is the river canal to the sawmill. I have engaged here the best millwright [I] have ever known to go and rebuild the sawmill and the gristmill as soon as the canal is done. . . . (MHi)

From John H. Peyton

Staunton Novr. 19th. 1819.

The Chancellor has pronounced his decree in your suit with the Rivanna Company this day. . . .

He decides that the bed of the river is clearly embraced within the boundary of the Patent to your father. That that patent vested the fee in your father & those claiming under him, a right of which you have not been divested by the acts of 1794, 1805 or 1806.

2. That no person, whether the owner or not, of the bed of any watercourse whether naturally navigable or not, can since the passage of the act of 1792 concerning mills &c. erect a dam across the bed thereof without complying with the requisitions of the act.

3. That the county courts under a sound construction of the act of 1792 have the right to impose a condition upon the applicant to establish a mill, relative to navigation not then practiced but contemplated in future.

4. That the jury empannelled in your case had no right to impose conditions or to make a contract, but that the court having that right might look at the contract reported as a fact inasmuch as it was not obligated to by you upon the return of the inquest did give it weight in their decision as a mean by which the obstruction to future navigation might be prevented.

6. The court hath not imposed upon you the condition of erecting & supporting a lock & consequently you are not bound to do so.

7. The court has imposed it as a condition that you shall permit

the public to navigate your canal but as to the extent of this grant the court coincides entirely with you.

The court considered it clear that this permission did not extend to the absurd length either of appropriating to the public the fruit of so many years labor & so many 1000 dollars of expence or of permitting the public to take possession of your canal, or that they had a right to appropriate to themselves the water in the canal giving you only such surplus water as they might not want, or to endanger or injure your mills, but that the correct interpretation of the condition was this, that the right of the company to the water was secondary, yours primary & that if there was not water sufficient for both that the mills were to have the preference, upon the subject of damages & precautionary regulations commissioners are to be appointed to view the canal, locks, &c. &c. & to make report at the next term. . . . (MHi)

To John H. Peyton

Monticello Dec. 17. 19.

I wait only to receive a copy of the decree respecting my mill, to suggest to you proper commissioners. must they be of the county? every man above our little ridge of mountains & on the waters of our river is interested on the side of the defendants. they must certainly come from below the S. W. mountains and not have rival mills. may they be taken from the adjacent counties? their report must be the foundation of a new and full bargain which the court will have to make for us. for example. where shall the locks be built? if below the mill, should they not be obliged to fill up the old chasm? who is to maintain the dam, & keep the canal clean? if both, in what proportions? must they not keep a lock-keeper on the spot? must they not give sufficient security against damage?

I have just compleated a canal for a mill at the West end of the dam, a lock a few yards below that end of the dam of 3. or 4. feet lift only would let them down below the bottom of my dam. can they have any right but to be placed where they could be if my dam were not there? shall I not have a right to use my own canals for other works, such as a threshing machine, saw mill (one being actually built and in use on the canal at the West end)? . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Eston Randolph

Monticello Jan. 15. 20.

I recieved yesterday an alarming account of the damages there is of the mill floors being crushed down by the weight with which

they are now loaded. I went to day to examine into it, and indeed I found it most imminent, and every moment to be expected. on the garrett floor is about 150,000 lb and on the ground floor about 120,000 lb, making a whole of 270,000. weight and the danger is proved and rendered most immediate by the wind beams of the principal rafters having their tenons withdrawn out of their mortises. no consideration would induce me to be 24. hours in the house, and if the upper floor falls in it will crush every thing down to the foundation. the question is what is the speediest relief? my opinion is that it would be 1. to waggon all the flour immediately to Milton. 2. to set both pairs of stones to work & clear out the wheat. 3. as soon as the floors are lightened so as they can be raised, to sure them up with posts properly distributed. 3. waggons could carry off the flour in as many days, and 2. pr of stones would grind up the wheat in 10 or 12 days, and would afterwards keep it clear as fast as wheat would come in. and as soon as the floors would be lightened I would give you the aid of my carpenters. if your lumber house at Milton is full, you shall be welcome to put your flour into my warehouse at Milton, without any charge. but permit me at any rate to press instantaneous attention to the subject. mr Colclaser being absent when I was there I could only leave the above ideas with Carden for him, & therefore have thought not amiss to submit them to you with pressing urgency. you may command any help I can give. . . . (MHi)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Jan. 16. 20.

I am entirely in despair, dear Sir, on account of the obstinate state of our river. such a thing has never been known before since the opening it's navigation 50. years ago, that the drought of the summer which commenced in June should meet the ice of the winter, without a single interval for a boat to make a trip. for of the 100. Bar. of flour I sent from here Oct. 10. I learn that 60. barrels are still lying in the lower part of the river, and none of the boats which went then have yet got back. I have flour enough ready in the mill, but see no prospect of getting it off unless a plentiful & warm rain should come to our aid, fill the river and melt and carry off the ice. . . . (DLC)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Jan. 27. 21.

. . . I find myself so much declining by age and ill health in the attention and energy necessary for business that I am turning every

thing over to my grandson whose industry and correctness renders him worthy of all confidence. he is now in Richmd. and I desired him to explain to you the unfortunate accident just happened to the Shadwell mill, of the main shaft snapping in two which will disable them from delivering flour for a month to come. Capt. Peyton, being the agent of my grandson in Richmond has been the occasion of my concerns being partly addressed to him: but really if produce is to continue at what it is, we must abandon raising as it does not repay the expence of culture alone, and I see no recourse but to clothe & feed ourselves and to buy nothing, as we can make nothing to pay for it. . . . (DLC)

To Mr. Barrett

Monticello Feb. 12. 21.

. . . I offer for sale a merchant mill which would pay every dollar I owe in the world, but I know not when I may meet with a purchaser. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello June 27. 21.

. . . my journey to Bedford will be delayed two or three weeks by the necessity of taking down the whole gable end of my mill and rebuilding it with wood. (CSmH)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Aug. 15. 21.

My visit to Bedford has been delayed by a serious accident to my mill. the workman on whom I relied, went on a journey, then returned and died, so that I have had to attend to it day by day myself. it will be finished and agoing tomorrow. . . . (MHi)

From Jefferson's Autobiography

1821, Jan. 6. *et sq.*

. . . The Rivanna river had never been used for navigation. scarcely an empty canoe had ever passed down it. soon after I came of age I examined it's obstructions, set on foot a subscription for removing them. got an act of assembly past & the thing effected, so as to be used completely & fully for carrying down all our produce. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Eston Randolph

Sunday 8th. Septr. 1822

Your favor dated Septr. 22 by some accident did not reach

Ashton before yesterday, and as I was confined at the Mill until nearly midnight, I only received it this morning.

The articles of agreement drawn by you in 1817, were returned to you unexecuted, and the objections to them, altho' not very important, were then explain'd to you; you did not renew them, nor did I ask it, conceiving, that in the absence of a new contract, the former one (which was well understood by members of your family) could be obligatory on both parties.

With regard to my expecting a suspension of part of the current rent, I am not aware of ever having spoken of it, and in truth I deem'd it totally unnecessary even to hint it to you, it being a matter not novel to us, and must I suppose be well understood, both by Landlords and Tenants of Mills. If during a lease, the repairs to be made by the Landlord are not executed in time, by which delay the tenant sustains considerable loss, surely the least he can expect is a deduction of Rent. I say nothing about damages, because in affairs of business, as on all other occasions, I wish to be governed by liberal principles, and your example has been worthy of imitation. This however is not a continuation of an old Lease, but as the commencement of a new one, and I will only observe, that as you assured me the mill should be ready for the first of the grinding season (and it assuredly might have been so) I cannot conceive it unreasonable that I should expect the Rent to commence only from the time of the Mill being in a condition to perform regular work. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Eston Randolph

Monticello Sep. 10. 22.

Yours of the 8th. was duly recieved. on the question of any suspension of current rent the facts are very simple. the sinking of the floor of the mill house which was within my care and responsibility having deranged the boulting geer which was under yours, I thought myself bound to repair it. and accordingly Gilmore, at my expence, put in into as perfect order as it ever had been, and I stood then clear of all future charge on that score. in like manner the sinking of the forebay deranged a water wheel. altho a question might well have been made and the wheel might have been repaired I undertook to have a new one made. this I could have easily have had done during the season that grinding is suspended. but you expressed an anxiety to have the boulting gear entirely changed, & constructed on a different plan which you thought would improve the mill. I was under no obligation to make any such improvement, nor did I understand it, yet I told you I would do it, and employed

mr Read to do it, entirely on your recommendation of him. but I observed to you, & to him in your presence that as I was bound to make the wheel, he must do that first that I might not fail in my obligation, and he might make such change in the boulding geer afterwards as you desired. you said however that you had rather have the boulding geer, first done because that would enable you to set one pair of stones agoing, and you were willing to wait for the 2d. wheel. as I wished the wheel done first only to clear my liability to you, I acquiesced, considering that a postponement at your request, and for your convenience, not mine, was a compleat dispensation, and release of my obligation in point of time and. certainly I could not have supposed that a delay asked by yourself could be imputable to me, it was a mere accomodation to yourself & which I verily believe has left the mill in a worse state. but if you think I have incurred liability to you by yielding to your request in every thing, let us leave it to arbitration at once & know where we stand.

You do not say in your letter whether you consider the form of lease I sent you as correct: if you doubt it we can easily compare it with Shoemaker's lease and the explanations on the Governor's handwriting when he and you took the mill. if it is correct I will make a fair copy for signature. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Eston Randolph

Monto. May 22. 24.

The distress in which I am to meet debts of the most pressing urgency obliges me to remind you of the arrearages due to me on the mill account. according to the account rendered by yourself to the 1st. of last July there was then a balance acknoleged due of 650.09 D. my acct made it more. this difference was left to Jefferson to settle with you, and it was agreed between you to arbitrate it as I understood. what delays that arbitration I know not, but it ought not to delay the part acknoleged due. since that too 3. quarters rent have accumed. I must then beseech you, dear Sir, to relieve me by the discharge of these balances. I am forced to sell my own property to pay what this amount would so far prevent and bring present relief to me. . . . (MHi)

[Letters continued to pass between Jefferson and Thomas Eston Randolph as long as he leased the mill. Copies of these letters are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.]

THE RIVANNA RIVER

From Account Book, 1824

Mar. 18. he [*Youen Carden*] gave up the mill on the 13th. inst.

SAW MILLS

JEFFERSON wrote to James Walker on January 11, 1811, "I am about opening a canal at the hither end of my dam, and carrying it about 300. yards through the low grounds to where I shall have 6. f. fall, with a view of there building a saw mill, and joining to it a threshing machine. I can afford it but little water, & the fall being small, I propose a breast wheel of $10\frac{1}{2}$ f. diameter with a spur wheel on each side, the one driving the wallower with it's crank and saw, the other my present threshing machine instead of the horse-wheel which now moves it. the canal will take me a month to dig & I should wish the mill to be immediately after that completed as soon as practicable. will it suit you to undertake it? if it would, I should wish you to call at convenience & give me a bill of scantling to be got by my carpenter's, and the irons necessary to be procured. In the meantime I shall be glad to hear from you if it does not suit you to come immediately. . . ." Notwithstanding Jefferson's well-made plans for building his saw mill, it was not completed until April 1813. Mr. Walker had promised to come and build it and had sent a bill of scantling on September 10, 1811, but on account of several reverses of his own he was not able to carry out the plans. Walker secured a Mr. Brown to build the mill and he finally finished it in April 1813. Jefferson was unable, however, to use it until after the following June on account of not being able to get a sufficient supply of water through his canal that led to the saw mill. Indeed, this inability to get water to the saw mill caused him so much trouble that he had to postpone his usual early summer visit to Poplar Forest until after the August harvest.

Jefferson planned a saw mill and a dam at Poplar Forest, but it is doubtful that he ever built them.

Letters and memoranda on saw mills have been omitted here, but copies of them are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

Gunpowder

JEFFERSON'S workmen used gunpowder to blow out rocks in building roads and excavating for cellars to houses. The building of his canal, since it ran through solid rock, required a great deal of powder.

Jefferson bought some of his powder from merchants in Charlottesville and Richmond. This powder was of such poor quality that he often sent to E. I. Dupont's in Wilmington, Delaware, for powder of a superior quality.

He had at Monticello, an epreuve for measuring powder by which he was able to determine its force before using it.

To E. I. Dupont de Nemours

Monticello Apr. 24. [11.]

. . . I am engaged in works which require a good deal of rock to be removed with gun powder, in doing which with the miserable stuff we have here, we make little way. will you be so good as to send me a quarter of a hundred of yours, addressed to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond who will forward it to me. . . . (MHi)

To M. Dupont

Monticello Nov. 4. 11.

I recieved, some time since, the keg of powder, you forwarded for me, and I have been daily expecting you would be so kind as to send on the note of the cost that I might remit it to you. the object of the present is to pray you to forward me another quarter of a hundred, comprehending half a doz. cannisters of shooting powder as before, & the rest proper for blowing rock, of which I have much to do, & to send a note of the cost of both parcels, which shall be immediately remitted you. both qualities have been found of very superior kind. . . . (MHi)

To E. I. Dupont

Monticello Dec. 25. 12.

I learnt the arrival of the powder . . . you were so kind as to send me at Richmond as early as September last, and in the daily expectation of it's arrival here I put off making my acknowledgements to you until it should be actually received. by a mistake of a waterman, never discovered till within a few days past, it has been lying at Milton within three miles of me for three months, unknown by any

STILL AND BREWING

body. it is now recieved, and we are at work on our rocks with the powder which answers our best expectations. . . . (DLC)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello Feb. 4. 13.

. . . I am engaged in the blowing of rocks with gunpowder and my stock being nearly out, and none to be had here, I must ask the favor of you to procure & send me a keg of 25. lb. to be packed in an outer one or in an external box, & forwarded by the first boats, Johnson's or mr Randolph's of preference if at Richmond. I am told that Burr's powder is the best, & that they have still some on hand. in works of this kind the price of the best is not to be regarded, because in using what is indifferent we lose much of the labor of boring. . . . (DLC)

To Patrick Gibson

Monticello May 20. 13.

. . . I must also request of you to send me another quarter hundred of powder. but if it is possible to get it any where else than where the two last were purchased, do so. I have the eprouvette used in our war department for proving powder. Dupont's carries that to 27. however 22. or 23. is recieved at the war office. the common store powder is from 13. down to 9. I never saw any lower than 9. the first barrel you sent me was at 9. the last at 7. it is not merely the difference in quantity which might be thought requisite to make up the difference of force: but in boring rock, even if you were to treble the size of the hole, & of course the expence of boring, yet such a quantity of powder would not all kindle but be blown out unburnt. but this weak powder cannot force out more of the rock than barely spoils the hole bored. I had been informed that Burr's powder was even stronger than Dupont's, which was the reason of my naming that to you in a former letter. . . . (DLC)

Still and Brewing

ALE, BEER, CYDER, WHISKEY,
RUM, VINEGAR

JEFFERSON apparently distilled none of his grains and fruits at Monticello or at his other plantations, until the fall of 1813, when he wrote on September 17, that "we are this day beginning under the directions of Capt. Miller, the business of brewing malt liquors."

The Account Book and letters indicate that before this year he had bought whiskey, rum, ale, cyder, and vinegar, often in large quantities, from other sources; and that he had bottled them at Monticello and Poplar Forest for later use. They were used mainly, excepting cyder, beer, and vinegar, by Jefferson's slaves and workmen. Jefferson preferred wines and cyder for his own use. He probably rarely drank other kinds of alcoholic beverages. He was opposed to giving whiskey to slaves and workmen, excepting under certain conditions and when they were doing certain kinds of labor, as it greatly impaired their work.

As early as 1792 Jefferson had planned to purchase a still for the distillation of his fruits and grains, and he had written George Divers, of Farmington plantation, for advice as to what kind to buy. Mr. Divers wrote him that he should ". . . purchase one Still that will work 85 and one of 45 and a Copper Kettle of Sixty Gallons. . . ." It is not known whether Jefferson carried out these plans of Mr. Divers, but it appears that he did not, and that the plans for brewing and distilling at his plantations lay dormant until many years later.

During the War of 1812 an English captain, Joseph Miller, of Norfolk, Virginia, who had formerly been a brewer in London, was confined to Albemarle County for political reasons. He became a friend of Jefferson and he was invited by him to live at Monticello during his stay in the county. While there he started Jefferson's distillery; and he also taught Jefferson's servant the processes of malting and brewing.

Jefferson's distillery and brewery was in operation in the fall and in the spring of the year. The fall brewing took place in October and November, while the spring operations were in April and May. Jefferson used the grains of corn, rye, and wheat. Barley was not grown at Monticello.

To George Divers

Philadelphia Nov. 26. 1792.

As I propose to purchase a still here for the use of my plantations, & understand there is a good deal in the size, proportion & number of the vessels, I take the liberty of requesting you to inform me what particulars I had better provide. I make this appeal to you the rather, as you can judge of the extent & manner in which I am to carry on the business, proposing nothing more than the distillation of my own grain & fruit. . . . (MHi)

STILL AND BREWING

From George Divers

Albemarle County Virginia

1st. Jany. 1793

. . . I would advise you to purchase One Still that will work 85 one of 45 and a Copper Kettle of Sixty Gallons with these Stills and Boiler you may make from 70 to 80 Gallons of whiskey p Week & feed 60 or 70 Hogs, the feeding that number of Hogs will be an object to you as it will save a considerable quantity of Indian Corn, from which consideration I have been induced to recommend it to you to purchase Stills of the above size, that you may be able to keep them at work for 7 months in the year in which time they will Distill about 900 Bushels of grain. If you wish to carry on the business to a greater extent you can add 10 or 15 Galls. to each Lott but I would not exceed 100 Galls. for the large or 70 Galls for the Small one. a pewter worm is better than Copper. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Newton

Washington Nov. 20. 1802.

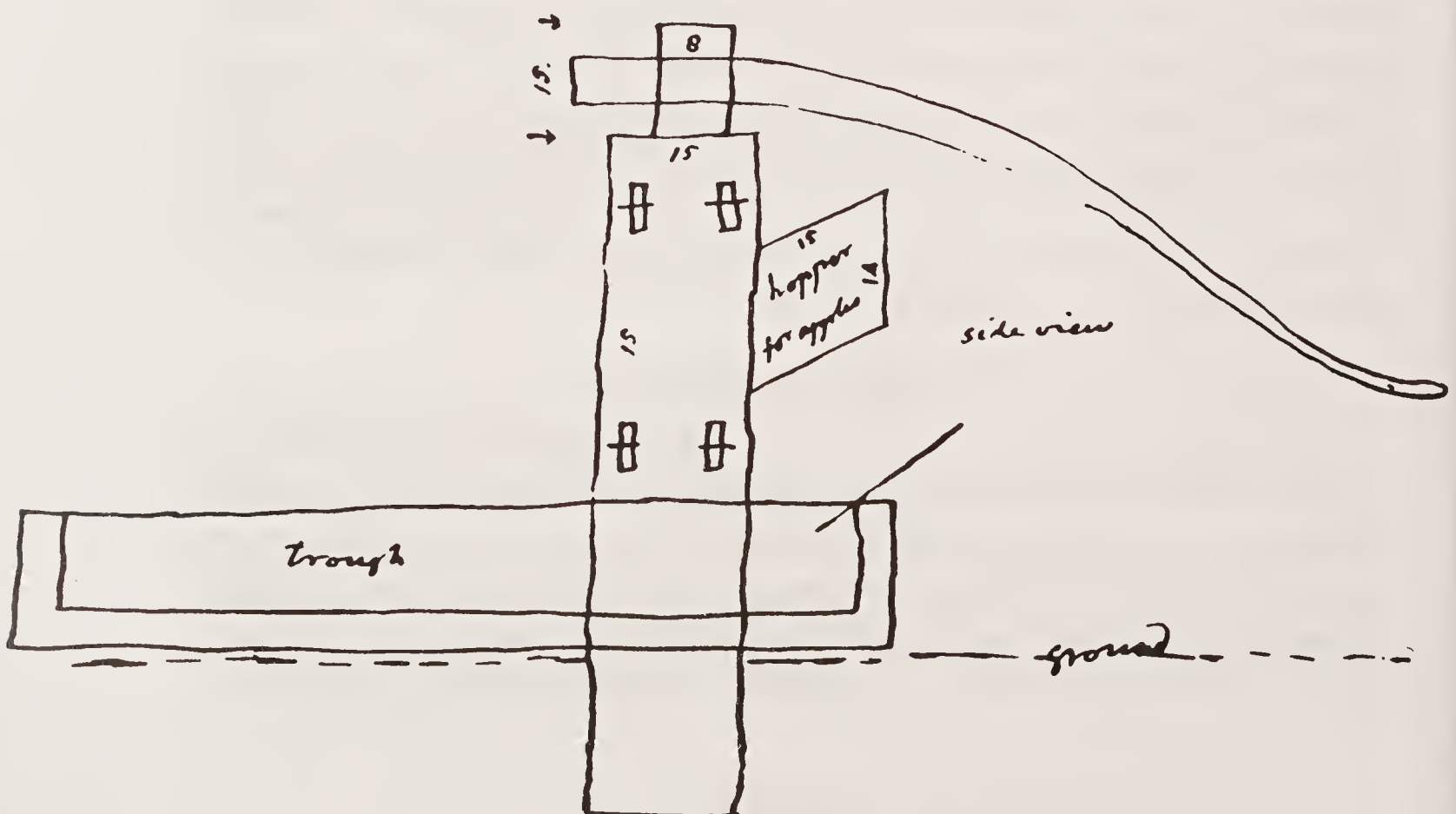
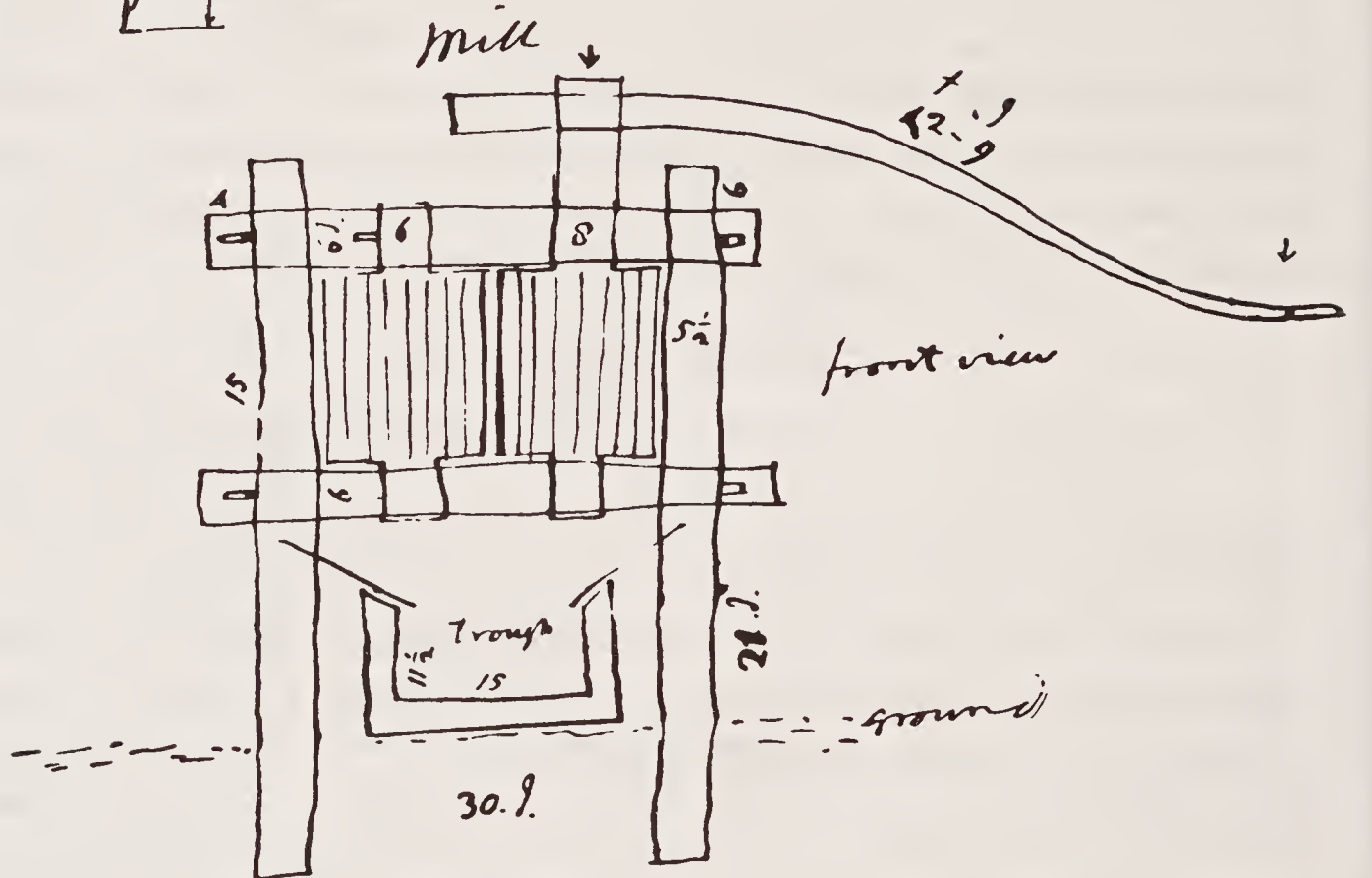
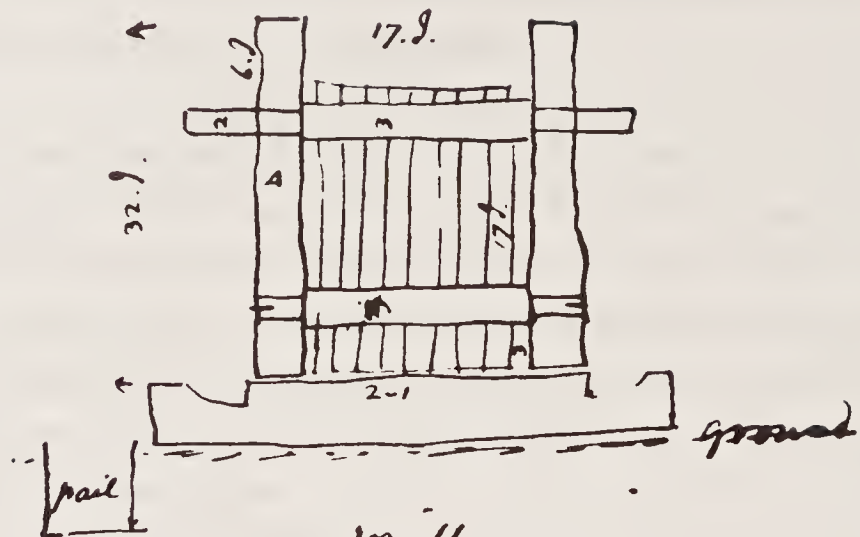
. . . your kind offer respecting the procuring cyder for me is accepted with thankfulness. if there were people at Norfolk who follow the business of bottling as in most of the large cities, I am persuaded it would be better done there than here. my people (who are foreigners) know nothing of it, nor is there any body in this place who does. hence a great inequality in the bottles, from some being better or worse corked, and an inequality in the casks from their not understanding the true state of the liquor for bottling. if there be persons in Norfolk who follow this & are skilful, I should prefer it's being done there, & forwarded after it is done. if not, I shall still be glad to recieve it in cask and do it ourselves. 6. casks sent on to this place, and three to Gibson & Jefferson in Richmond to be forwarded to Monticello will be sufficient. the main article is to have it of superior quality. but for this I rely with satisfaction on your friendship. . . . (MHi)

To Michael Krafft

Washington Dec. 21. 04.

Th: Jefferson presents his compliments to mr Krafft and his thanks for the volume on distilling which he has been so kind as to send him. he owes him particular acknolegements for the obliging terms in his dedication: but is sensible that the book possesses, in it's own merits, the best of all titles to the public esteem. (DLC)

laths $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide
 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart Press



Jefferson's drawing of an apple mill and press.

STILL AND BREWING

To J. Holmes Freeman

Washington Dec. 21. 05.

. . . as to whiskey to be given to the labouring hands, it is right when they work in the water in cool weather. on other occasions in general it is an injurious & demoralising practice. they do more for a day or two but less afterwards as we see where a harvest is lengthy. confine therefore if you please, the giving them whiskey to those occasions which might otherwise produce colds & sickness. . . . (Courtesy Mr. A. J. Liebmann.)

From Memorandum Book

Apr. 22. 1810. Statement of cyder made in November last.

1. cask of Taliaferro cyder was bottled & served thro' the winter to this day.

in March we bottled 460. bottles of Taliaferro

72. of red Hughes

532.

making in the whole 175. gallons.

(MHi)

To William D. Meriwether

Monticello Sep. 17. 13.

I lent you some time ago the London & Country brewer and Combrun's book on the same subject. we are this day beginning, under the directions of Capt. Millar, the business of brewing malt liquors, and if these books are no longer useful to you I will thank you for them, as we may perhaps be able to derive some information from them. . . . (MHi)

To Nicholas Gouin Dufief

Monticello Sep. 18. 13.

. . . in the Aurora of Sep. 7. I see a book advertised as under publication at N. York under the title of "the American brewer & Malster" which, as teaching the method of malting Indian corn I should be very glad to get. could you procure it for me if published or when published. . . . (DLC)

To Richard Randolph

Monticello Jan. 25. 14.

Will you be so good as to send me two gross of your beer jugs; the one gross to be quart jugs, and the other pottle do. they are to

be delivered to a mr William Johnson a waterman of Milton, who will apply for them about a week. . . . (MHi)

To Nicholas Gouin Dufief

Monticello Mar. 20. 14.

. . . I must still request you to keep in mind my former unsatisfied commissions. the work on brewing from Indian corn, particularly, if yet published will be acceptable. . . . (DLC)

To Richard Randolph

Monticello Sep. 27. 14.

I am now engaged in brewing a year's supply of malt strong beer, which however I have no chance of saving but by a supply of quart jugs from you. I recieved (I think) 10½ dozen and must ask the favor of 4. gross more for which mr Gibson will pay your bill. . . . (MHi)

To Joseph Coppinger

Monticello Apr. 25. 15.

. . . I am lately become a brewer for family use, having had the benefit of instruction to one of my people by an English brewer of the first order. I had noted the advertisement of your book in which the process of malting corn was promised & had engaged a bookseller to send it to me as soon as it should come out. we tried it here the last fall with perfect success, and I shall use it principally hereafter. during the revolutionary war, the brewers on James river used Indian corn almost exclusively of all other. in my family brewing I have used wheat also as we do not raise barley. I shall still desire my bookseller to send me on your book when printed. . . . (DLC)

To Joseph Miller

Monticello June 26. 15.

. . . our brewing of the last autumn is generally good, altho' not as rich as that of the preceding year, the batch we are now using is excellent. that which Peter Hemings did for mr Bankhead was good, and the brewing of corn which he did here after your departure would have been good, but that he spoiled it by over-hopping. a little more experience however will make him a good brewer. my absence in Bedford in the spring prevented our preparing some malt then, which I now regret. . . . (DLC)

STILL AND BREWING

To Charles Yancey

Monticello Oct. 15. 15.

. . . Capt. Joseph Miller, a resident of Norfolk, but who has staid a good deal in this county, and with me particularly. . . . (DLC)

To Fanny Brand

Monticello Dec. 16. 15.

I was unfortunately from home when you were so kind as to send information of your having cyder to spare. I returned yesterday only, and now send the bearer to ask the favor of some samples of your best casks of cyder. he carries 6. phials with numbers on their corks, and if you will be so good as to give a sample from each good cask, and number the cask correspondingly with the number on the vial into which it's sample is put, I can chuse with certainty what I prefer. if your cyder is as good as what I had before I shall willingly take two or three hundred gallons. the quantity will depend on the quality. . . . (MHi)

To Joseph Miller

Monticello Mar. 11. 17.

. . . Peter's brewing of the last season I am in hopes will prove excellent. at least the only cask of it we have tried proves so. altho' our hopes of your settling among us are damped by your long absence, yet we do not despair altogether. in the mean time Charlottesville is improving much both in buildings and society. . . . (DLC)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello Mar. 11. 17.

I must ask the favor of you to purchase for me 6 gross of the best corks* to be had in Richmond, and to send them by the stage to Milton to the address of mr Vest postmaster, the season for using them being now actually upon us. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 17 March 1817.

. . . I have searched the City for the best Velvet Corks, & have succeeded in procuring the six Gross wished of excellent quality, which shall be forwarded by tomorrow's stage, to the address of Mr. Vest, Milton. . . . (MHi)

* There are several other letters pertaining to corks. They are omitted here, but copies of them are in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

To James Madison

Monticello Apr. 11. 20.

Our brewing for the use of the present year has been some time over. about the last of Oct. or beginning of Nov. we begin for the ensuing year, and malt and brew 3. 60 galln casks *successively* which will give so many successive lessons to the person you send. on his return he can try his hand with you in order to discover what parts of the processes he will have learnt imperfectly, and come again to our spring brewing of a single cask in order to perfect himself, and go back to you and try his hand again on as much as you will want. you will want a house for malting, which is quickest made by digging into the steep side of a hill, so as to need a roof only, and you will want a haircloth also of the size of your loft to lay the grain in. this can only be had from Phila or N. Y. I set out for Bedford the first of next week to be absent till the 1st. week in May. I will give you notice in the fall when we are to commence malting and our malter and brewer is uncommonly intelligent and capable of giving instruction if your pupil is as ready at comprehending it. . . . (DLC)

From James Barbour

Barboursville April 30th. 21.

Some years past I recollect to have drunk some ale at Monticello which I understood was of your own brewing. The manner of doing which you had obtained by a recipe from some intelligent Briton. Being desirous to introduce that kind of drink and having a facility in preparing the materials of which it is made, you will oblige me much by furnishing me with a copy of the recipe as soon as your convenience will permit. (DLC)

To James Barbour

Monticello May 11, 21.

. . . I have no reciept for brewing, & I much doubt if the operations of malting & brewing could be successfully performed from a reciept. if it could, Combrune's book on the subject would teach the best processes: and perhaps might guide to ultimate success with the sacrifice of 2. or 3. trials. a Capt Miller now of Norfolk, but who passes much of his time with Charles Bankhead in Spotsylva, was during the late war, confined by the executive to our neighborhood, perhaps indeed by yourself. I took him to my house. he had been a brewer in London, and undertook to teach both processes to a servt. of mine, which during his stay here & on one or two visits

SMITH'S SHOP

afterwards in the brewing season, he did with entire success. I happened to have a servant of great intelligence and diligence both of which are necessary. we brew 100. gallss. of ale in the fall & 100. galls. in the spring, taking 8. galls. only from the bushel of wheat. the public breweries take 15. which makes their liquor meagre and often vapid. we are now finishing our spring brewing, if you have a capable servt. and he were to attend our fall brewing, so as to get an idea of the manual operation, Combrune's book with a little of your own attention in the beginning might qualify him. . . . (DLC)

To Charles Massie

Monticello Oct. 26. 25.

I will be glad to take of you the present year about 90. or 100. galls. of cyder, which I hope you will chuse formed of your very best. . . . (MHi)

Smith's Shop

EDMUND BACON, in his reminiscences says, "He [*Jefferson*] had a good blacksmith shop. A man named Stewart was at the head of that. He was a fine workman, but he would have his spreess—would get drunk. Mr. Jefferson kept him a good many years longer than he would have done, because he wanted him to teach some of his own hands" (Pierson, *Monticello*, p. 69). When Edmund Bacon became overseer at Monticello in 1806 the smith shop had been in operation some thirty years. William Stewart came to Monticello as Smith in the summer of 1801. He remained there until the latter part of 1807. Stewart was undoubtedly the most skillful smith that Jefferson employed, but he was unfortunately given to drink which cut down his efficiency. While he was at Monticello the mill was built, nails were produced in great quantities, and wrought iron was used for various objects on that busy mountaintop. Jefferson built, just below the first roundabout in front of his own house, a special shop for Stewart.

Jefferson's first smith shop was located "at the Shadwell Branch" and appears to have been built in the fall of 1774. Francis Bishop was the smith and Barnaby was his apprentice. In addition to building a house and a shop for Bishop, Jefferson agreed also to find for him 400 pounds of pork, corn, and to get tools for him. They were to go halves in the profits of the business. So far as the records go, Jefferson's smith work was done at this shop until a new one on Mulberry Row was built in the early 1790's. This shop,

which was built of wood, was combined with the nailery in 1793, and in 1807 the wooden shop was replaced by a stone one. (See "The Nailery.")

Before William Stewart came to Monticello, several men had worked at the smith trade for Jefferson. George, who was one of Jefferson's slaves, was the most efficient one of them. After Stewart quit his job as smith, the overseers at Monticello attended to the smith shop and used Negroes who had been trained by Stewart to carry on the work.

Although Jefferson set aside a complete page in the *Farm Book* for the smith shop, he failed to make any entries on it for the work of the shop. Most of the accounts for the years 1791 to 1794 were kept in a special account book called "Blacksmithing Accounts" which is now deposited in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. The other accounts are scattered in the following letters and memoranda books. See also "Blacksmiths" in the *Garden Book*.

From Account Book, 1774

- Sep. 1. agreed with Francis Bishop that he shall work at the Smith's trade with Barnaby whom he is to teach. I am to build him a house and shop at the Shadwell branch & to find him 400 lb of pork & corn for himself. also I am to find tools, but if I cannot get them in time he is to use his till I can. he & Barnaby are to get their own coal wood but I wagon in the coal and we go halves in the profits of the business. my own work is to be thrown into my half of the debts and to make a part of that half. Colo. T. M. Randolph's work is also to be in my part of the debts.
- Octo. 9. Colo T. M. Randolph is to engage of Thos. Newton 3. tuns of iron for him & myself annually, to receive the first on the middle of next summer.
- Octob. 18. Bishop the blacksmith begins to work for me. George Bradby goes to cutting wood with Bishop for which I am to pay him by the month.

SMITH'S SHOP

From Account Book, 1778

Feb. 14. . . .

profits of smiths shop from March 8. 1776. to Dec. 31. 1777.

Iron, steel & labor charged in that time	£ 253-15- 7
Iron used £ 66-11-4¼ Steel £ 8-14-9	75- 6- 1¼
leaves profits of labor of two smiths	<u>178- 9- 5¾</u>
Iron steel & labor as above	£ 253-15- 7
of this my own account comes to	<u>165-11- 6½</u>
leaves cash to be received	88- 4- 0½
Deduct cash pd for iron & Steel & gratuity to smiths	<u>78- 8-10¼</u>
leaves balance to be received besides doing my own work & paying for iron I use	9-15- 2¼

From Account Book, 1783

Aug. 16. the following smith's accts rendered by R.

gaines & to be charged

Thos. M. Randolph from Jan. 2. 1782 to Nov.

10. 1782.	£ 9-10-1
Nicholas Lewis. 1782. Feb. 1. to Octob. 25.	5-11-7
George Gilmer. 1782. June & August	3- 9-6
Anthony Giannini. 1782. Feb. 3. to Aug. 22.	0-18-9
Harwood Bacon. 1782. Jan. 7. to Oct. 13.	0-16-6
William Becks. 1782. Mar. Apr. May.	0-12-0
my own smith's work from 1781. Dec. 22 to 1782. Nov. 26.	36-13-2

retained the above accounts to settle myself and
delivered the following to mr Key to settle
& collect.

Samples of Work Done at Jefferson's Blacksmith's Shop
between 1791-1794 and Taken from his "Blacksmithing Account"

1792. Feb. 21. To sharpening a new ground coulter 6d.
Making 1. plate 6d.
- June 4. makg. 1. hoe eye 1/ sharpeng. weeding hoes 1/.
- July 25. To Clouting a Axeltree 5/
- Jan. 23. To mending a shovel 8d
- Apr. 24. To putting on 1 plow Eye 6d.
- May 1. To mending 1 Saddle
- Feb. 21. To mending a Saw mill Crank 12/6
- Jany. 30. To making 2 spoons 2/
- Jan. 4. To putting a clapper in a Bell 1/6

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

1793. Jan. 25. making & putting on a pair of horse shoes 2/6
movg a pr do. 1/
Nov. 28. laying a foot adze 1-6
June 1. to pointing 5. ploughs 5/
Nov. 6. to makg. a plough point 1/
makg eye to a plough 1/
Dec. 2. to mending a mill spindle £ 1-10
7. cart nails & nailing on the tire 1/6
jumping an axe 1/6 mending a gouge 1/
May 3. strapping a plough 2/6
Dec. 22. layg and mendg a hoe 1/6
new eye to grubbg hoe 1/
makg. a bar share 12/
May 4. pointing coulter 6d. laying 2 hillg. hoes 4/
July 30. pointing a shovel plough 4/3
Jan. 23. To shoeing a pair of wheels & vamping the
waggon.
Jan. 3. making 5. grubbing hoes. 12/6
Jan. 25. ironing single tree 2/6
30. ironing a pr of hames 2/6 making a ox chain 8d.
July 19. strapping a scythe blade 1/6
May 28. making 2 hilling hoes 5/
July 30. strapping 2 weeding hoes 3/
May 24. Makg. a pr traces 8/6 makg. a clevis 1/
makg. 2 fezzinz 1/ makg 2 staples 9d.
Oct. 16. putting tugs to a pair of hames 1/6
Jan. 3. jumping an axe 1/6
Jan. 30. making 1 foot of chain 1/ mendg a coulter 6d.
May 15. laying hoe 2/ pointing coulter 6d sharpg 2
weedg hoes 8d.
Mar. 20. laying a plough 6/9
Feb. 27. strapping plough & pointing coulter 8d.
1794. Jan. 8. jumpg axe 1/6 sharpeng. 1 grubbg hoe dd.
Jan. 27. layg a half share 2/6 upsettg 2 grubbg hoes 8d.
makg. 4. cross bars 1/3.
Jan. 4. makg. 1 axe 9/ makg. 1 pr mall rings 2/6.

(CSmH)

From James Traquair

Philada. May 30th. 1801.

The Bearer is William Stewart, the smith you expected, the people for whom he wrought, have failed and he has been a loser,

which soured him so much, that he would go off at once. I hope he will answer every expectation, few can work better than him. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 17th. June 1801

William Stewart having to day called on me on his way to Monticello, I advanced him \$:40 on his showing me a letter from you in which he is referred to us.

I am apprehensive that you employed him on a very slight acquaintance—or else on a recommendation in which you placed too much reliance.

He was with me twice to day (once in the morning) and was either much intoxicated, or is actually a mad-man.

I do not know in what capacity he is going to Monticello, although I ask'd him; for he gave me such incoherent answers that I could not understand him.

If he is to have any thing under his direction I think it will be well for you to be on your guard & give directions accordingly.

He has concluded not to bring on his family he says until he sees you. (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington June 22. 1801.

Your favor of the 17th. is come to hand, and the alarm it gives me as to Stewart has occasioned me to write the inclosed letter. I have left it open for your perusal, for explanation; and should it not reach you before our post is gone (and I think it cannot) if any safe conveyance should occur before the next post day I will thank you to contrive it. Stewart was not to have gone till July. . . . (MHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 16th. Novr. 1801.

The mad-man Stewart is again here. he has called on me for \$:105—which I was obliged to let him have or I supposed suffer him to go to jail. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington Dec. 3. 1801.

. . . I note & approve what you did as to Stewart. he is the best workman in America, but the most eccentric one: quite manageable were I at home, but doubtful as I am not. . . . (MHi)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Nov. 24. 1807.

. . . Stewart must be immediately dismissed. if he will do those jobs I mentioned before he goes, he may stay to do them, & have provisions while about them. Joe may work in the way you propose, so that the whole concern may be together. . . . (CSmH)

The Nailery

ON April 29, 1794, Jefferson wrote in his Account Book of that year, "recd. 40. bundles of nail rod from Caleb Lownes. 1 ton." On receiving this first ton of nail-rod, which had been ordered on December 18 of the preceding year, Jefferson began a new industry on the top of Monticello Mountain, an industry which apparently excited more interest in him than any of his other industrial adventures, excepting, perhaps, his Manufacturing Mill. Indeed, after a year of its operation he boastingly wrote to M. D. Meusnier, "I am myself a nail-maker. . . . my new trade of nail-making is to me in this country what an additional title of nobility or the ensigns of a new order are in Europe." Alas, despite his high hopes, Jefferson's adventure in nail-making was, like his adventure in flour-manufacturing, rarely a paying business. Although there was a large demand for nails in Albemarle County and the adjacent counties, Jefferson's long absences from Monticello, inefficient management, and his inability to collect money from the retailers of the nails, all combined to make the nailery a gradual failure. Nails were manufactured almost continuously from 1794 to 1812. The War of 1812 made it impossible for nail-rod to be shipped by water from Philadelphia to Richmond and Monticello, so the nailery was closed until 1815. It was then reopened for a brief period and from that time to 1823 was in operation only intermittently.

Jefferson's nailery, which was combined with the blacksmith shop, was located on the southeastern side of Mulberry Row, overlooking the vegetable garden. (See page 6.) The shop was probably built in the early part of 1794, for Jefferson delivered his first manufactured nails on May 21 of that year. Before the nailery was built the blacksmith shop was located on Shadwell Branch. The combined nail and smith shop was at first a wooden building 37 feet long and 18 feet wide. Jefferson planned an addition to the shop in 1796, which, according to the fire insurance policy of that year, was to be built immediately. No records indicate

that this plan was carried out. It was not until February of 1801 that Jefferson accepted Thomas Whately's proposal to build a new nailery of stone to replace the old one. A wooden building, 16 feet by 10½ feet, was built a short distance west of the nailery for storing nail-rod and iron.

During the years 1794 and 1795, the nails that were manufactured were wrought by hand. On February 22, 1796, Jefferson received a nail-cutting machine. A nail-cutting machine had been first patented in 1786 by Ezekiah Reed, but whether this one was of his patent Jefferson does not state. Although Jefferson used a nail-cutting machine, he did not abandon the hand-wrought method, manufacturing nails by both methods. The nails were made mainly by Negro boys with the help of Negro men and women. They were supervised by a foreman who examined the nails, and kept an account of the number made and sold.*

The nailery began operations with one fire, but by 1796 the number of fires had been increased to three, which appears to be the highest number used. To make a hand-wrought nail in Jefferson's day, a nail-rod was heated in the fire, hammered on the anvil, and a portion of it—the length of the required nail—was cut off on a chisel attached to the anvil. This length of nail-rod was next put into a vise which had a countersink in its jaws. The vise held the shank of the nail while the operator shaped a head by hammering the top end of it into the countersink. Jefferson described the operation as follows:

"he [*workman*] hammers the length of his nail to a proper size, then lays it on the edge of the anvil & with a stroke or two indents a shoulder, then lays it on the coal chissel, about ¼ I. above the shoulder; one stroke (sometimes 2.) cuts it very nearly in two; then he flirts the end of it against the underside of the square bit which bends it to a right angle, then he puts it through the hole in the square bit; the first stroke of the hammer discharges the but of the rod from it, & about 6 more forms the head, then with the thin plate he knocks it out so as to fall on the block about fig. 5. he then puts that rod into the fire by which time the other is hot, or so nearly so that 2. or 3. motions of the treadle make it hot: he does not blow the bellows while he is forming the nail. if in striking the nail on the cole chissel he happens to strike so hard as to cut it in two, so that it drops, he then takes it up with his pincers. when he has

* In the William A. Clark Memorial Library, at the University of California at Los Angeles, is Jefferson's nail manufacturing account for the years 1796-1800. It gives a detailed account of the workmen, the output per day of each workman, the kinds of nails manufactured, and to whom sold.

worked his rod so near the butt that it becomes too hot to hold he welds it to another. if the nail is to be flat pointed, one stroke of the hammer makes it so. he will make about 10. lb of nails a day @ 13d per lb. Penns. money." (Courtesy of Princeton University Library.) (See illustrations following page 56.)

In making nails by a nail-cutting machine, strips of metal of a breadth and thickness corresponding to the length and thickness of the required nail and about a foot in length were heated to a black heat and fed into the machine end first, a slicer cut off the nail blank, which in falling was clutched at the neck and held until a moving die struck its upper end and formed the head; it was then liberated and passed out into the trough.

Jefferson bought most of his nail-rod and iron first from Caleb Lownes and later from Howell and Jones, both ironmongers at Philadelphia. The sizes of nails manufactured were 4d. 6d. 8d. 10d. 12d. 16d. 18d. 20d. 24d. 30d. and 6d. brads. He probably made other sizes also. In 1795 the nailery was making from eight to ten thousand of these nails per day. They were sold by the pound to merchants at wholesale prices current in Richmond at the time of the sale, but Jefferson gave the purchasers three months in which to pay for them.

The nailery flourished, with varying degrees of slackening, until 1811 when it was closed temporarily because Jefferson could not collect enough money from the sale of nails to buy new nail-rod. It was reopened again in the early part of 1812, but the war beginning that year soon cut off the supply of iron from Philadelphia, so that it remained closed until 1815. From 1815 to 1823 few nails were manufactured. Jefferson's last order of nail-rod was filled in 1823. He does not state whether it was turned into nails.

The following letters and memoranda give a vivid picture of Jefferson's adventure into nail-making.

From Account Book, 1775

a Nailer will make 12 lb nails a day. nailrod iron is 36/ per C.

To Caleb Lownes

Philadelphia Dec. 18. 1793.

. . . If I understood you yesterday it is your custom to furnish nail rod to customers at 60. to 90 days credit. I suppose one ton will serve me the first quarter of the year by the end of which I shall be ready to work up two or three times as much every quarter. I will therefore be obliged to you to send a ton by these vessels to

THE NAILERY

Richmond, paible at three months. I take the longest term because on account of the slow transportation from Richmond to my house half the term will always be elapsed before it gets to hand. the rods should be proper for 8d. & 10 d. nails. . . . (ViU) (Copy)

To Henry Remsen

Monticello Oct. 30. 1794

. . . I am so much immersed in farming & nail-making (for I have set up a nailery) that politicks are entirely banished from my mind. . . . (CtY)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Dec. 26. 94.

. . . I received information *from Philadelphia* that my nailrod had been lodged in Richmond before the last week in November, & could not be forwarded here for want of a conveyance. . . . Billy has brought me 1500. lb of nailrod. The rest is at Manchester, & has been there above a month by Swan's own information to Lownes in Philadelphia & communicated by Lownes to me. I shall endeavor to get the Milton boats to bring it up. . . . (DLC)

To William Temple

Monticello Apr. 26. 95.

. . . my groceries come to between 4. & 500. Dollars a year, taken & paid quarterly. the best resource of quarterly paiment in my power is nails, of which I make enough every fortnight to pay a quarter's bill, and I would willingly send them to Richmond by the first boat or waggon after the receipt of the bill, & require there only the *wholesale price* at the time of their being recieved there. if such a form of paiment would suit you, & the quality & prices of your supplies be found to suit me, I should be willing to change my dealings from Philadelphia to Richmond. on this subject be so good as to write to me fully & frankly, stating what your convenience & the course of your commerce requires, as no dealings could be desireable to either you or myself unless founded in mutual convenience, and reasonable advantages to both parties. . . . (MHi)

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello June 11. 1795.

. . . I take the liberty of inclosing some nail cards which I will thank you to put into the hands of such of your merchants as you think substantial and punctual. mr Stuart, mr Sinclair, Gamble & [blank] have been named to me as such, and probably others. I

deliver the nails at Charlottesville, or Milton at *wholesale* Richmond price at the time being. this is certified to me monthly by mr Robert Pollard of Richmond. payment is expected in 3. months after they go out of my hands. I am now executing an order for Dr. Johnson of your town which will give them a sample of my nails. our harvest commencing now within a few days, will suspend our work probably a month from this time. any orders may be executed after that time at the rate of about 80. lb a day. I sell by the pound altogether and the merchants here retail by the pound at about 25 per cent on my prices. my barrels contain from about 125. to 175. lb. according to the size of the nails. I note the present prices below. . . . [*Not given.*] (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To James Lyle

Monticello July 10. 1795.

. . . a nailery which I have established with my own negro boys now provides completely for the maintenance of my family, as we make from 8. to 10,000 nails a day & it is on the increase. . . . (MHi)

To Caleb Lownes

Monticello Sep. 9. 1795.

I am to acknolege the receipt of your favor of Aug. 5. I have not yet heard from mr Swan of the arrival of the three ton of rods, but being very nearly out of rods, I have sent off a waggon for a load in confidence of the arrival. as three ton but barely suffice for a quarter, and it is necessary I should have some stock on hand to guard me against accidents of delay, I must pray you to send me another ton immediately. I inclose you an order on mr Barnes for 470. Dollars to pay for the three ton before ordered, the ton now desired, & the stove expected. I shall hope to have your opinion on the kitchen stove before you send it. . . . (Courtesy of Lloyd W. Smith)

To William Alexander

Monticello Sep. 29. 95.

According to the desire expressed in your note by Dr. Currie I have now lodged at Colo. Bell's in Charlottesville 3. casks of nails to be forwarded to Staunton to the care of Gamble & Grattan by any waggon which may be passing, or to be delivered or otherwise disposed of at your order. the contents of the casks, & cost carried to your debit are noted below. as it is impossible to make casks to hold exactly a given quantity, and it is necessary they should be exactly full, to bear transportation, we were obliged to put into the

THE NAILERY

cask of Xd. more than you had ordered. observe that we endeavor to make our VIIId. 10. lb to the M. Xd. 13. lb. XVI. 20. lb. XXd. 25. lb. as nearly as we can. you did not mention the size of the brads; but I took for granted they were for flooring, and made them XVId. which when flat pointed we find better than the sharp pointed XXd. brad, and they come cheaper. . . .

lb		£ s d
1. cask. 208. VIIId. nails @ 11d½		9-19-4
1. do. 60. Xd. 11d		2-15-0
1. do. { 40. XVI. 10d.		1-13-4
{ 50. XX. 9½		1-19-7
3. casks @ 1/		- 3-
		<hr/>
		16-10-3

(Stuart Papers, ViHi)

From Account Book, 1795

July 25. sold J. Madison 56 lb VIIId nails £ 2-7-11½
 Aug. 7. pd mr Massie for bringing the last ton of nailrod & stove
 46/3.

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello Jan. 3. 96.

I troubled you once before on the subject of my nails, and must trouble you once more, but hope my present plan will protect you from all further embarrasment with it. I set out with refusing to retail, expecting the merchants of my neighborhood and the upper country would have given a preference to my supplies, because delivered *here* at the *Richmond whole sale prices*, and at hand to be called for in small parcels, so that they needed not to keep large sums invested in that article & lying dead on their hands. the importing merchants however decline taking them from a principle of suppressing every effort towards domestic manufacture, & the merchants who purchase here being much under the influence of the importers, take their nails from them with their other goods. I have determined therefore to establish deposits of my nails to be retailed at Milton, Charlottesville, Staunton, Wormester & Warren, but first at the three first places, because I presume my present works, which turn out a ton a month, will fully furnish them, and two additional fires which will be at work in a short time, will raise it to a ton & a half a month, and enable me to extend my supplies to Wormester & Warren. I shall retail at the *Richmond wholesale*

prices, laying on 5. per cent at Milton & Charlottesville for commission to the retailers, and 10. per cent at the other places for commission & transportation. my present retailing prices at Staunton would be

Sixes 12½d	per lb equal to 7/3½ per M
Eights 12d.	..... equal to 10/
Tens 11d½	..... equal to 12/5½
Twelves 11d.	..... equal to 14/8
Sixteens 10d½	..... equal to 17/6
Twenties 10d.	..... equal to 20/10

it is tolerably certain that the moment my deposit opens, there will be an entire stoppage to the sale of all imported nails, for nobody can *retail* them in the upper country at the Richmond *wholesale* prices, advanced only 5. or 10. percent. and as I mean to employ only one person in each place to retail, it will be of some advantage to the merchant who will undertake it, to have the entire monopoly of the nail business, & so draw to his store every one who wants nails, besides the commission of 5. per cent, which in an article to be sold for ready money only, and where he does not employ a farthing of his own capital, I am advised is a sufficient allowance for commission. I should expect them to send me a copy of their sales once a month, and to hold the proceeds ready for my draughts at stated periods, say monthly. I trouble you to engage some person whom you can recommend for punctuality, to retail for me. I have heard very favorable accounts of a mr Stuart, mercht. of Staunton, & should not hesitate to prefer him if he will undertake it. if not pray do me the favor to find some other. I have written you the details, not that you need trouble yourself with explaining them to any person but that you may put this letter into his hands. as soon as you will name to me the person you engage I will send him an assortment of nails by the first waggons which will take them in. . . .
(*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Jan. 11. 96.

. . . our nail business has changed it's appearance a good deal. a rise in the price of iron & fall in that of nails has struck off 20. per cent from the clear profits since the last winter. the two importing houses at Milton have also brought a deluge of British nails with a view as is said of putting down my work. I have hereupon been obliged to enter the lists with them, by establishing a deposit of nails for retail at Milton, another at Charlottesville, & shall send

another to Staunton. I ask from the people no more than I did from the merchants with an advance only of 5. per cent commission to the retailer. that is to say I *retail* at 5. per cent on the Richmond *wholesale* prices. this I presume will soon give me a clear field, and defeat in this particular this effort of the general system of Scotch policy to suppress every attempt at domestic manufacture. I am in hopes my cutting machine, hoop iron & rope will be up soon. if this should find you in Richmond perhaps you can aid in getting them off, as also 3. or 4. tons of nail rod lodged for me at Gamble & Temple's. . . . (DLC)

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello Feb. 22. 1796.

My letter of Jan. 3. was still in my hands, when the receipt of considerable orders for nails, immediately wanting, prevented my commencing a supply for Staunton. I therefore thought it better to hold up my letter till I could begin on a stock for Staunton. we are now at work on them, and in about 10. days shall have a supply of VI^d. VIII^d. X^d. XII^d. XVI^d. XX^d. & of XVI. penny brads, say 100. lb of each, which shall be followed by successive & timely supplies.

I percieve by the last Philadelphia prices current that there is a rise of 1^d. to 1^d½ per lb on nails. I wait to see if this is permanent or a casualty of the day; in the former case that addition will be made to the prices stated in the former letter. I will thank you to put me immediately into the hands of some good retailer, & I will promise to trouble you no more on this subject. I have just recieved my cutting machine, & iron for 4. pennies, which I shall shortly begin to cut. I doubt whether the larger nails will be called for cut, as they are not fit for country work. should they be desired however, I will provide proper iron & furnish them. . . . (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To James Madison

[Monticello] Mar. 6. 96.

. . . I thank you for your information respecting Lownes. there is one article still necessary to be known from mr Howell. Lownes began with credit of 90. days from the time of the departure of the nail rod from Philadelphia (not his delivery of it to the vessel: for that makes a difference sometimes of many weeks) but he afterwards reduced it to 60. days. what would be mr Howell's credits? I know that credits in Virginia startle a merchant in Philadelphia; but I presume that mr Howell could have confidence enough in me

(tho' not personally known to him) to make a trial & govern himself afterwards according to the result, & to the punctuality with which he would recieve his remittance. I wish to know this, tho' I am not yet decided to drop Lownes, on account of his being a good man, & I like much to be in the hands of good men. there is great pleasure in unlimited confidence. my consumption has now advanced from 3. to 4. tons a quarter. I call for a quarter's supply at once, so that the last quarter's supply is always paid for before the next is called for, or at the very time. . . . (DLC)

To William Alexander

Monticello July 26. 96.

The large and constant remittances of cash which I am obliged to make in Philadelphia for nail rod for the supply of my nailery, constrain me to expect short paiments for the nails I furnish. I have lately even found it necessary to require ready money instead of the three months credit I formerly gave. I have therefore taken the liberty of drawing on you for £ 16-10-3 the amount of the nails I furnished you last September in favor of mr Samuel Clarke merch. of Staunton.

Mr. Monroe mentioned to me your directions to him to pay me the proceeds of a suit he brought for you in this county. but the delays of the law leave it in the power of a debtor to lead a choice of years by the help of appealed injunctions, replevins &c. inconsistent with the necessities of regular business. . . .

1795. Sep. 29.

		£ s d
208. lb	VIII d. nails @ 11d½	9-19-4
60. lb	X. @ 11d	2-15-0
40. lb	XVI. @ 10d	1-13-4
50. lb.	XX. @ 9d½	1-19-7
3. casks	.....	3
		<hr/>
		16-10-3

(*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

From John McDowell

Staunton Oct. 23. 1796.

I have sent you all the Cash that is in my hands at presents by Jupiter which is ninety two Dollars & ⅔ you mentioned you will be satisfyed to receive payments quarterly. any time that will answer you I shall be satisfyed as I only retail your Nails for Cash

and I can remit the money at anytime however when it best suits you. you will please to send me one Cask of 12d and one 20d as I have none of either of them and they are much wanted. I expect I shall be able to dispose a Large quantity if the assortment is kept up. (MHi)

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello Sep. 5. 97.

I furnished to Wm. Alexander of Augusta in 1795. nails to the amount of £ 16-10-3. the year following I gave mr Saml. Clarke an order on him for the amount. he talked about some suit he had employed Joseph Monroe to bring for him in my county, the proceeds of which were to pay me. but lawsuits against others are not paiments to me; and in fact Joseph Monroe has removed into a distant part of the country with which we have no communication. I inclose you Alexander's original letter, and press copies of two I wrote him, the originals being in his hands. they contain the account. if you can collect the money from him with or without the law, I shall be obliged to you: and you will be so good as to deduct from what he pays your fees of suit & commission for collecting. . . . (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To George Jefferson

Philadelphia Mar. 8. 98.

I this moment recieved your favor of the 1st. inst. & am alarmed at the account of my nailery being out of nailrod. I left them with a provision to last till late in April, but whether it had all got home, or was still at Richmond my memory does not tell me. a person happened to be with me when I opened your letter who tells me he was in mr Johnston's warehouse the 1st. of Feb. & saw a quantity of nailrod which the young man told him was mine. if this is so, it explains thier running out at home. I will get the favor of you to enquire into it and have it forwarded by the boats without delay, if it were there and be not gone. to guard against the danger of mistake however in the person who gives me the information, I will tomorrow order three tons by the first vessel. I inclose you a bill of lading for a hogshead of molasses, a barrel of clover seed, & a small box laden to your address. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Philadelphia Mar. 15. 98.

Your's of Feb. 26. came to hand on the 8th. inst. but after mine to you of that date was sealed. I at the same time recieved one from

G. Jefferson informing me I had no nail rod in his possession. Richardson however, who happened to be present told me that on the 1st. of Feb. he saw in mr Johnston's warehouse a considerable parcel of nail rod which they told him was mine. I therefore wrote back instantly to G. Jefferson to enquire into that & forward it without delay, & the next morning (the 9th.) the vessel with my molasses, cloverseed &c. being just about sailing, I got 3. tons of rod put on board her. so that perhaps by this time it may be at Richmond & will be forwarded by G. Jefferson by the Milton boats. I hope therefore there will be no great interval of want of this article. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

Apr. 22. 98.

. . . I scarcely look to the nailery at all. George I am sure could not stoop to my authority & I hope and believe he pushes your interests as well as I could. . . .

. . . Summer & Monticello, Monticello and you are linked together in the fancy, which heightens the warmest feelings of the heart. . . . (ViU)

To Archibald Stuart

Philadelphia June 8. 98.

. . . I wrote to mr Clarke sometime ago mentioning that I had been here for six months advancing for all the nail rods for my nailery, without the possibility of recieving any thing from it till my return. that this will render it necessary to recieve immediately on my return whatever sums my customers may have in hand for me. I yesterday recieved a letter from him informing me he had left Staunton, & with your approbation had turned over my matters to a mr John Mc. Dowell. as I am not acquainted with him, nor as yet in correspondence with him, will you be so good as to mention to him that I shall have a great need of whatever sum he may have in hand for me, as soon as I return, and should be very glad if he could lodge it with Colo. Bell by our July court, at which I shall be, or if no conveyance occurs he can send me a line by post to Charlottesville, informing me what sum I may count on. his future orders for nails I shall be able to attend to in person. . . . (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To Samuel Clarke

Monticello Sep. 25. 98.

I duly recieved your favor of July 10. with the amount inclosed,

authorizing me to debit mr John McDowell for nails delivered over to him £ 120-2-7 leaving a balance in your hands of £ 90-18-8. having recieved nothing of the earnings of my nailery during my absence from Decemb. last, & little since my return, and constantly to make advances for nailrod I am under a necessity of soliciting your remittance of the balance at the first possible moment. I shall be much pressed by a paiment to be made at our next court (Oct. 1.) when the reciept of your balance would be particularly acceptable. however then, or as soon after as you can make it convenient. . . . (MHi)

To John McDowell

Monticello Sep. 25. 98.

I recieved by mr Stuart your note, as also the sum of 34 £-13s-9d which is duly entered to your credit. mr Clarke had before informed me that, on his quitting business you had undertaken to dispose of my nails, recieving from him to the amount of 124 £-2s-7d which I have accordingly debited you. I sent you also some time ago 3. casks of nails as stated below. there has been, since the reciept of your note, such a demand from the tobacco planters for nails to build their tobacco houses, & the season pressing hard on them, that I have been unable to get ready a barrel of twenties as desired in your note: but we shall be able to go about them soon. I take for granted mr Clarke informed you that the retail of my nails was to be ready money only, as nothing but quick returns of my advances could support the business at so low prices as I charge. having been without any receipts from my nailery during my absence from December last, and constantly advancing largely for it, I am particularly pressed at present, and shall therefore be obliged to you for any balance in your hands on the sales you have made. . . . (DLC) [*McDowell's reply of September 27, is omitted.*]

To John McDowell

Monticello Oct. 22. 98.

Your favor of Sep. 27. was duly recieved, and having now to make a paiment, I send the bearer, Jupiter, a trusty servant express, to recieve and bring any sum you may have in readiness for me. be so good as to let it be in hard cash, as no paper is recieved here. I will hereafter ask of you only quarterly statements & paiments if you please, fixing them in the months of March, June, Septemb. & December, because these falling in with our docket & district courts give a chance of conveying the money without my sending express for it. the manager of my nailery has been sick upwards of a month,

& is but just getting about. this has occasioned less work to be done, and not well enough done to trust it to a distant market, where the cause not being known to be temporary might give a permanent discredit to our work. as soon as he can attend to business you shall be furnished with the kinds of nails you desire. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Monticello Dec. 4. 1798.

. . . extreme disappointments in recieving money for the nails made all last winter & summer, have left me this year under painful embarrasments even for small sums, for the paiment of which I had relied as usual on my nail-money. . . . (DLC)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 8th. Janr. 1799.

I was informed by Mr. Joseph Roberts in a letter of the 14th. ultimo that he had shipped on board the rising sun Capt. Adderson 120 bundles of nail rod on your account. I was informed some days ago upon inquiring after her, that there was a report she was lost, her hands having all deserted her—this report the Norfolk paper by last post confirmed, as you will find from the inclosed. I have to day seen one of the owners, who says he understands the Capt. is within 15 or 20 miles of this place & has been for several days; he is much surprised at his not having yet arrived.

I suppose the Capt. will proceed on immediately after coming up, to claim the property of which however I will advice you as soon as I hear from him. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Philadelphia Jan. 22. 99.

I recieved your favor of the 8th. instant announcing the misfortune of the vessel having my nail rod on board. my situation rendering it impossible to take the proper steps, I must beg the favor of you to act for me in the business, and to get the nailrod brought to Richmond & forwarded up. in the meantime, as I know my nailery will be out of rod, I will send on some from here the moment the river opens. . . . (MHi)

To Archibald Stuart

Philadelphia Feb. 13. 99.

. . . Let me now trouble you with a small private matter of my own. Mr. Clarke was tolerably punctual in his remittances as long as he continued in business. but when he quitted he had near £ 100.

of mine for nails actually sold, in his hands. for so I had a right to consider it as I charged only ready money prices, and such was the condition settled between us. this money has now been a twelve month in his hands, and the intermediate applications ineffectual. in truth I am not able to carry on my manufactory but on ready money sales. I have no money capital to enable me to make great advances & long winded debts. if you could mention the matter to mr Clarke in any way that would best suit the footing on which you stand with him, and be the means of my recieving it immediately on my return home (about the 10th. of March) it would be a very sensible relief to me. and indeed if he does not pay it soon I must use effectual means to obtain it, such delays being incompatible with the course or the necessities of my manufactory. . . . (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 22d April 1799.

. . . Your nail rod I hope will now shortly come round from North Carolina, as one of the owners of the rising sun has at length gone to attend to her, and he promises to send it round—when it arrives we will reserve it for Johnston of which we will inform him. . . . (MHi)

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello May 14. 99.

I recieved by the hands of mr Coalter £ 13. from mr Alexander. he is mistaken in supposing I had recieved £ 3-10-3 on his account from Gamble & Grattan, his letter now inclosed by you being the first and only mention to me that such payment had been expected. however this balance is not worth troubling you further with.

I am sorry still to be troublesome with my nailery. mr Mcdowel writes me he cannot continue the sale of my nails. if he would have disposed of those remaining on his hands it would have been desireable; because they are hardly worth offering alone to another; and a long illness of my foreman, occasions our work to go on so poorly that I am able to do little more than supply this part of the country. he has for sometime past had symptoms of a dropsy supervening a decline of near a twelvemonth. he seems now to be getting better; but till he gets well, or till, that becoming desperate, I engage another manager, I hardly expect to be able to resume my supplies to Staunton. however, if mr Mc. Dowell will not consent to sell off what remains on his hands, I must ask the favor of you to engage some other to do it, as well as to dispose of future supplies as

soon as I shall be able to furnish them. I am sensible of the difficulty of a person who sells other goods on credit, demanding ready money for nails; and therefore have found it necessary here to place them in the hands of grocers, or others dealing for ready money. . . .
(*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To John McDowell

Monticello May 14. 99.

I have still to acknowlege the reciept of your favors of Mar. 20. and Apr. 13. as also the reciept of forty pounds by mr Kenney. I am sorry it has not suited you to continue the sale of my nails; but I cannot expect it, if it does not suit your convenience. the long & still doubtful illness of my foreman together with my absence, have greatly affected my nailery, little having been done during the winter, and much less still than if he were well. so that for some time yet I shall be able to do little more than supply this part of the country. being unacquainted in Staunton I write to my friend mr Stuart to procure some person to sell the nails remaining on your hands, tho' if you could have gone through with them, it would have been more agreeable. I apprehend some difficulty in finding a person willing to sell merely these remains, as I cannot give them a prospect of making up an immediate assortment. . . . (DLC)

From George Jefferson

Richmond 3d. June 1799.

. . . I have but a poor account to give you of the nail rod . . . $\frac{2}{3}$ of the vessel & cargo were decreed for salvage—he offered half the value for the nail rod but could not get it—& since he came away it has been sold for \$:265—your third of which is \$.88 $\frac{1}{3}$
(MHi)

To John McDowell

Monticello Oct. 1. 99.

Having to pay a sum of money at our ensuing court (the 7th. inst) I am obliged to muster up all my resources. if you have any thing for me for nails sold, I should thank you to remit it. if nobody should be coming from your place to our court, I will send express for it a day or two after, if the sum should be worth while. I do not know the person who rides post: but if you know him or can learn that he is trusty I should be willing to have it sent by him at my risk, to be lodged with Colo. Bell. I would thank you to let me know by return of post whether you have any thing for me, that I may be able to judge of what I can effect at the time requisite. I should

have written to you sooner on the subject, but that I waited the return of my sister Bolling lest she should have had occasion to draw on you. . . . (DLC)

To George Jefferson

Philadelphia Jan. 12. 1800.

. . . I suppose by this time you will have recieved 3. tons of half crown rod from Monticello, which I return to mr Roberts as unfit for my use. he agrees to recieve it in Richmond. keep it therefore till I get information from him as to the person in Richmond to whom we are to deliver it. . . . (MHi)

To John McDowell

Philadelphia Feb. 1. 1800.

Your favor of Oct. 3. was recieved in due time; by which I percieve that the sale of nails at your market is too slow to merit further attention. I would therefore make you a proposition on the subject of those remaining on hand. I have occasion the ensuing summer for 4. or 500 lb of feathers for making beds, and I understand they are to be had good & cheap with you. perhaps you can get them from your customers in the ordinary course of dealing in paiment of their accounts. if you think proper to take the balance of the nails on hand, I will accept paiment in this way, taking for granted you will take care to recieve none but goose feathers, un-mixed & well dried. be so good as [to] inform me whether this proposition is agreeable, that if it is not, I may decide what else is best to be done with those remaining unsold. a letter put into your post office & directed to me here, will come safely and readily. . . . (DLC)

From John McDowell

Staunton Feb: 14, 1800

I received your favour this morning by post in which you mention that feathers of a good quality woud answer you for the balance of Nails now on hand. I should be willing to give feathers but they are so scarce at present that it would [be] impossible to procure them at any price. There has been such a demand last Summer in the place that I doe now that 20 lbs Could be got in the whole Town therefore I doe suppose it would [be] impossible to get any quantity in a reasonable time I have sold Very few of the Nails since I wrote you last the amount of Money in my hands maybe had at any time however if I have any opportunity of Getting any feathers I will write you. . . . (MHi)

To John McDowell

Monticello Nov. 12. 1800.

Being within a few days of my departure for Congress where I shall continue through the winter, & desirous of leaving all my pecuniary affairs settled, I must avail myself of the post rider from your place to Charlottesville for the transmission of the balance which may be in your hands for me. any sum which you may pay into his hands for me on return from his present tour, will still find me here and shall be applied to your credit. the nails from [illegible] desired to be forwarded to the late Colo. Bell, may be delivered for me to mr Kelly merchant of Charlottesville. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Jan. 9. 1801.

. . . we must take every person from the nailery able to cut and keep them at it till the clearing [*clearing for John H. Craven*] is completed. the following therefore must be so employed. Davy, John, Abram, Shepherd, Moses, Joe, Wormly, Jame Hubard, with the one hired by Lilly making 9. besides these if Barnaby, Ben, Cary, & Isabel's Davy are able to cut as I suppose they are, let them also join: shoemaker Phill also if he can cut. I doubt it, & that he had better continue to be hired. these make 13. or 14. with whom the clearing which I was to do this year, ought not to be a long job. there will remain for the nailery Burwell, Jamy, Bedf. John, Bedf. Davy, Phill Hub. Lewis, Bartlet and Brown, enough for two fires; this course I would have pursued even after Powell's arrival, as I had rather derange his department where the loss concerns myself only than one which affects another. I wrote pressingy to mr Eppes to hire some hands for me, and am not without hopes he may have done it. if they arrive, I would still not draw off the nailers till the clearing is completed. . . . (DLC)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Jan. 23. 1801.

. . . I forgot to ask the favor of you to speak to Lilly as to the treatment of the nailers. it would destroy their value in my estimation to degrade them in their own eyes by the whip. this therefore must not be resorted to but in extremities. as they will be again under my government, I would chuse they should retain the stimulus of character. after Lilly shall have compleated the clearing necessary for this year for mr Craven, I would have him go on with what will be wanting for him the next year. . . . (MHi)

THE NAILERY

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington Jan. 29. [1801]

. . . I still think it will be better that such of the nailers as may be able to handle the axe should be employed with it till April, that is to say till Powell comes. it will be useful to them morally and physically, and I have work enough of that kind, with the canal & road to give them full employment. . . . there should be force enough kept in the nailery to supply our standing customers. there is another reason for employing only the weaker hands in the nailery. I do not believe there is rod to employ the whole any length of time; and none can be got to them till April. I should be glad mr Lilly or mr Dinsmore would count the faggots on hand, & inform me of the quantity by return of post; as I have forgotten the state of the supplies on hand, when I left home. . . . (DLC)

From Thomas Mann Randolph

January 31, 1801.

[*P. S. to a letter written by Martha (Jefferson) Randolph*]

Every thing goes on well at Monto.—the nailers all returned to work & executing well some heavy orders, as one from D. [*Higginbotham*] for 30,000 Xd. Moses, Jam Hubbard Davy & Shepherd still out & to remain till your order otherwise. Joe cutting nails. I had given a charge of [lenity] respecting Billy: (Burwell absolutely excepted from the whip altogether) before you wrote. . . . (MHi)

To Richard Richardson

Washington Feb. 25. 1801.

. . . As I am to be fixed in this place, I give up all idea of carrying on any more stone or brick work myself. I have therefore accepted Whately's proposal to undertake my shop &c. himself, out & out, he to do the quarrying, hauling & everything. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Mann Randolph

Washington May 14. 1801.

. . . P. S. I have engaged a capital white smith, who is a nailer also, to go on from Philadelphia in July. (DLC)

From Benjamin Perkins

Washington City May 15th. 1801.

The Letter Inclosed Came to me with a Request to furnish you with a Drawing of a Machine for Cutting Nails for which My Brother Obtained a Patten. The Drawing Shall be Handed to you & any Explanations Neciry given by Wednesday Next. . . . (MHi)

To James Dinsmore

Washington June 22. 1801.

I have just learned by letters from mr Traquair & mr Jefferson that mr Stewart is gone on, having arrived at Richmond the 17th. inst. so that I presume he is with you by this time. I am rendered uneasy by the account I have of the condition in which he was there. if it be habitual, he could not be trusted with the superintendence of the nailery. Mr. Traquair had once before got alarmed on the same appearance, but hoped from the information he collected that it was accidental. I am glad that not having brought on his family we shall have some opportunity of trying him. in the meantime I wish you to keep in your own hands the transaction of all business with the customers, recieving their orders & seeing to the delivery, keeping the accounts, recieving money &c. as mr Stewart is alone, you will be able to provide for him till I come which will now be in a little more than a month. when his family comes on they are to be fixed in the house built for Powel. . . . (DLC)

To Jones & Howell

Washington Dec. 15. 1802.

Having occasion for a supply of rod & hoop iron, according to the invitation of your mr Jones, I address myself to you for two tons of rods of the sizes hitherto furnished me, that is to say from 6d. to 20d. and of a quarter of a ton of 6d. larger, which be pleased to ship immediately before the closing of your river, to the address of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson in Richmond, notifying me at the time. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1802

Sep. 7. settled with Joseph Morin & Wm. Mattox for the stone work of the offices & the nail house 748.13 perch coming to £ 548-4-1.

To Jones & Howell

Washington Nov. 6. 03.

Be pleased to send two tons of nailrod assorted from 6d. to 20d. [*illegible*] to Richmond addressed to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson for me, & with as little delay as possible. the suspension of intercourse by the fever has occasioned my nailery to be nearly out & it will be quite so before this supply arrives. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1803

the article of nails has been extraordinary this year.

THE NAILERY

Aug. 6. recd. from James Barber for nails £ 21-19-3½ = 73.20

Sep. 21. settled with Gabriel Lilly and paid him £ 3-17-3. being the balance due him. but this does not include his wages of the present year which are £ 50. and £ 10. extra for overlooking the nailery. from the commencement of the ensuing year he is to have 2. percent on all nails *sold* instead of the £ 10.

To Jones & Howell

Washington May 16. 1804.

. . . on a late visit to Monticello I found that the manager of my nailery had so increased it's activity as to call for a larger supply of rod quarterly than had heretofore been necessary. I must therefore ask the favor of you to send by the first conveyance to the address of Gibson & Jefferson in Richmond two tons more of rod, assorted as usual from 6d. to 20d. my future demands will probably be from three to four tons per quarter. . . . (MHi)

To Jones & Howell

Monticello Aug. 23. 05.

Be pleased to send two tons of nailrod, assorted as I have usually required, by the first vessel to Richmond to the care of Gibson & Jefferson to be forwarded to that place.

I am sorry to be obliged to make complaint to you. my manager desired me to do last spring or fall, but I let it go by in hopes the ground of his complaint was temporary. he sais that for a twelve-month past there has been an extraordinary proportion of the short & flawy pieces of rod, which cannot be used at all. that there are bundles of half hundreds, in which there will be from 12. to 15. lb of this kind of rod, & in none less than 5. or 6. lb. which he observes to be much beyond the proportion formerly put into each bundle. of this matter I know nothing: but he is disinterested & a man of truth & discretion & therefore to be credited. I have thought it due to you as well as myself to hand this complaint on to you, as your people might carry on this abuse to your prejudice & without your knolege. . . . (MHi)

To George Jefferson

Washington Nov. 14. 05.

Mr. Freeman my manager at Monticello in the place of Lilly, being new in the business, has improperly applied to you for nail rods. I pray you not to supply it, as it's high price at Richmond would take away all profit from the manufacture. I have ordered it

from Philadelphia & it must now be on the way. if you have not lately sent up some coal for the smith at Monticello, I would thank you to send a hogshead as the mill irons wait for it. would it not go better in a hogshead. . . . (MHi)

To John Holmes Freeman

Washington Dec. 21. 05.

. . . with respect to pork my wish is that you could get your supply through the merchants at Milton & Charlottesville in exchange for nails. they recieve pork from their customers in paiment of debts. we must contrive to make the nailery meet all the expenses of the establishment there. I pay 1000. D. a year for nail-rod. the nails are worth 2000. D. after deducting what are employed for my own work. the balance ought to furnish every expence there. I pray you to keep a very exact account of all the nails sold, & a separate one of those delivered for my use, this being essential to show what the nailery turns out. . . . (Courtesy of Mr. A. J. Liebmann.)

From Jones & Howell

Philadela. 22nd Feby 1806

Engaged as you doubtless must be at this important junction of national affairs has we presume been the reason of one small acct. having escap'd your notice. Neither would we at this time call your attention to it were it not that we are in much want of money, and knowing it also to be your wish to pay always at the regular periods which for this time only you have forgot. There are three parcels of Iron. VIZ.

6th Septr.	\$349.93
12 Nov.	268.00
11 Decr.	268.00
	<hr/>
	\$885.93

(MHi)

To Jones & Howell

Washington Mar. 7. 06.

Your letter of Feb. 22. was duly recieved and occasioned me great astonishment. of the two debts of 268. D. each I was aware and had prepared to pay but of that of 317.93 I had not the least recollection & could not believe it but to be an error till I turned to my papers & found it real. I habitually note in a calendar of pai-ments to be made, all sums as soon as made known to me. how I

THE NAILERY

happened to omit entering this I cannot concieve. but the failure to do it made it escape my memory. I repair the failure as soon as it is in my power, by now inclosing an order from the bank of US. here on that at Philadelphia, for the sum of 585.93 D. being for the 317.93 & the first 268. D. the second I must of necessity postpone a little beyond the term at which it will be due. the sum of 317.93 is stated from your account sent at the time, being a little different from the statement in your letter of Feb. 22. . . . (MHi)

From Jones & Howell

Philadela. 11th March 1806.

Your favor of the 7th Int is at hand Covering Check on the Bank US for 583.93. And we find that the Account in our books correspond to the Statement last sent you.

Sept. 6. 90 Bundles 2.5.0.0. Rod Iron at 128.	\$288.
36 Bar Iron 10.0.4. at 45/	60.26
Portiage	1.67
	<hr/>
	\$349.93

Of Course there must have been some mistake or Omission in the Invoice which when you Complain. You will satisfy yourself on that point. We shall wait Cheerfully untill you are at leisure to attend to the Subject. . . . (MHi)

To John Holmes Freeman

Washington June 28. 06.

. . . I have recieved an account from mr Higginbotham, by which I find that mr Lilly has left me a heavy sum for dealings to be paid there. this will render it indispensably necessary to push the nailery with all possible force. Ben & Davy then should immediately resume their station there, & none of the nailers to be taken off on any account. let me know when you will want nail rod. of the three women Cretia, Fanny & Ursula, I presume you keep two at work with our gang until my return. . . . (CtY)

To Edmund Bacon

Washington Jan. 11. 07.

. . . I think it well that mr Grady should lodge with you till we can build his house. indeed after further reflection I think I can fix a place for the nailery more convenient to you, and as much so to myself; or perhaps indeed let it remain where it is. this we will decide on when I come home which will be in two months from this time. . . . (CSmH)

To John Coalter

Monticello May 8. 07.

. . . I must ask the favor of you also to settle another old affair for me with mr Mc. Dowell. the inclosed paper will fully apprise you of it's nature and situation. it is impossible, that mr Mc. Dowell should not have sold the whole of the nails by this time, which is the more to be believed as he has not returned them according to his understanding. indeed, independant of the nails unsold at the date of his letter inclosed (which were a part of the 8. pennies only) there would be a balance of near £ 50. besides interest. altho' it would be extremely convenient to me to have this money also paid to mr Higginbotham, yet I will not incommode mr Mc. Dowell with a sudden call. if therefore he will give his note for the balance paiable in a twelve month that time may be given. your assistance in bringing this matter to a footing of certainty will much oblige me. . . . (DLC)

To Jones & Howell

Monticello Aug. 9. 08.

I expect that mr Barnes on the 6th. inst. remitted you on my account two hundred & eighty two Dollars 67. cents now due for former supplies. I am to pray you now to send for me to the address of Gibson and Jefferson in Richmond two tons of nailrod assorted as usual, and 2½ hundred of bar iron of a tough quality. . . . (MHi)

From Jones & Howell

Phila. 16th Augt 1809.

We have your favor of the 10th Inst Contents of which we have noted. And in reply we have to assure you that any supply of Iron you are in want of shall be sent you without any delay or hesitation, at all times. And you will pay us in such times and manner as will best suit your circumstances. You have been a regular & punctual customer to our house for a series of years. And we would consider ourselves ungrateful to refuse you any accomodation within our reach. And the present is completely so as through the medium of the Banks, we can obtain what money we want and the Interest we charge to the act. of our Friend. Whenever the customary credit expires, you will therefore just mention what quantity of Iron you wish and what kind and it will be forwarded. (MHi)

To Jones & Howell

Monticello Sep. 6. 09.

Your favor of Aug. 16. was duly recieved, and I thank you for

the indulgence of making my remittances from time to time as I can. this shall be as diligently done as the difficult circulation of money in this part of the country will permit. in the meantime I avail myself of your permission to ask a new supply of 2. tons of rod, assorted as usual, and a quarter ton of the best tough bar iron, in bars from the size of an axle tree down to the smallest. . . . (MHi)

To Jones & Howell

Poplar Forest near Lynchburg Apr. 7. 10.

I remitted you some time ago 200. D. through Gibson & Jefferson and I take measure by the present mail from this quarter to remit through them another sum of 100. D. until I could pay up one of the two quarters of supply due, I preferred letting my nailery be without employ. this is their present state. I must therefore now pray you, with as little delay as possible to send me on a supply of two tons of rod assorted as usual, & a quarter ton of bar iron of the toughest quality, varying the sizes of the bars from the smallest to those large enough for large ploughs. . . . (MHi)

To Jones & Howell

Monticello Jan. 10. 11.

Your letter of Dec. 17. reached this just as I had left it on a journey to a possession I have about 90. miles South of this, and from whence I am but lately returned. I had not written to you for some time, because I was in the constant hope of making you a remittance, which the delays and difficulties of those from whom I had a right daily to expect paiments as constantly disappointed, insomuch that I had suspended my nailery until I could see more assured means of being enabled to be punctual in my engagements. I will instantly redouble my efforts to merit the indulgence you have used to me, and, without waiting till I can remit the whole balance at once, I will send it as I can collect it. in a former letter I had observed to you that whatever disappointments might intervene in the course of the year, whenever the season of selling our crops arrived, all deficiencies would be certainly brought up. we are just now beginning to send the crop of the last year to market, which operation is not generally compleated till April, which of course presents me a term beyond which I cannot fail to make up my whole paiment, whatever my intermediate endeavors may fail to accomplish. the three or four banks which are in this state are so distant from us that we have no connection with them, nor other means of obtaining advances of money even for short terms. I shall not fail

however to press my resources as much as possible to comply with your desires and my duty. . . . (MHi)

To Jones & Howell

Monticello Apr. 3. 11.

I believe our account stands thus . . .

. . . Balance will then be due 349.35
which balance of three hundred and forty-nine dollars 35. cents I now desire Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson to remit to you out of funds placed in their hands the 1st. inst. I have been truly mortified at the unavoidable delay of this paiment. but I believe I mentioned in a former letter that my resources, as a farmer, coming in but once in a year, I had made the rent of a mill payable quarterly, in order to have intermediate resources to meet your quarterly supplies, and that a failure in these could only be brought up with certainty in the spring of the year, when we get our produce to market. the intermediate resource failed me entirely by the deranged circumstances of the tenant, and the first produce I get to market is now applied to make good my arrears to you. whether I shall continue my nailery or not I am very doubtful. not a pound of nails is ever sold for cash, and unless I can get my mill into better hands, I have no reliance but the annual one of my farms. . . . (MHi)

To Benjamin Jones

Monticello Mar. 4. 15.

The war has so long interrupted ordinary intercourse that it's reestablishment is like a new work. I do not know whether you continue the same business of ironmongery, but presuming you do I take the liberty of addressing you, as I shall be glad to renew my dealings with you, not on so large a scale as I have given over manufacturing nails but for myself. I will thank you to send me by the first vessel from your port to Richmond the articles below written to be addressed to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson there as formerly. favor me at the same time with a bill of the amount, and it shall be punctually remitted within our former usual terms of 90. days. . . .

1. Cwt of 4d hoop iron
 2. Cwt of 30d nail rod
 7. Cwt of rods assorted in equal quantities for all sized nails from 6d. to 20d.
- a quarter ton of bar iron, assorted of tire-bars, those proper for

THE NAILERY

axes, mattocks, horseshoeing, & some inch bars of the toughest quality. (MHi)

From Benjamin Jones

Philadela. 25th. March 1815.

I recd. your favor of the 4th Inst. and was glad to recognize your well known hand once more and I now send you the articles order'd remarking at the same time that Iron had become very scarce and the price very high, previous to the news of peace. it has falln. a little but is still high compared with former times. A few months I hope will regulate these things. I send you now

16 Bars of Iron assorted at 5.0.7 at 8.50 pct	\$43.04
18 Bundles rod Iron 9.0.0 at 10	90.00
1 Bundle 4d hoop Iron " 3.11 at 11	9.35
	<hr/>
	\$142.39
Portiage	37½
	<hr/>
	142.76½

(MHi)

From Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

Monticello Aug. 7. 1819.

. . . the smith's shop took fire a few days since and but for the circumstance of his [*Captain Peyton*] being here with Mr Randolph & F. Gilmer it would certainly have burnt down. there was no man upon the mountain but Joe and old John, and whilst Joe was disengaging the bellows the 3 gentlemen passed on their way to visit the president when they percieved the fire. Capt Peyton tore the planks off of the roof by main force the rafters were so much burnt that they fell in immediately. both Mr Randolph and himself were smartly burnt particularly Mr. R. whose cloaths caught. nothing was lost but the roof which they are repairing with all speed. . . . Poor old Robert Hemming is dead. . . . (MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello Feb. 9. 21.

. . . I have a smith's shop which has leisure beyond my own work, and I am thinking of setting them to make nails at their spare time. Will you be so good as to inform me of the prices of nail rod in Richmond and also of the price of *wrought* nails there of the different sizes sold by the barrel. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Rich'd 12 February 1821

. . . I have made enquiry as to the price of wrought Nails in this market & find 8d, 10d, 12d, 20d & 24d all sell at 12½ ¢, & if an assortment of each is taken, 10 ¢ pr. lb. is the price. There are no Nail Rods in this market just now save a few very superior I have myself from the manufactory of the Messrs. Patterson's of Balto, which are \$7 pr. Bundle of 56 lb—if those would suit, of assorted sizes, I could forward them to you. . . . (MHi)

To Bernard Peyton

Monticello Apr. 19. 21.

. . . In your letter of Feb. 12. you said you had nailrod at 7. D. the bundle of 56. lb. I think this must have been a mistake for 7. D. the long hundred. because when I kept a nailery, my rods cost me at Philada regularly 123. D. the ton; sometime ago I think I saw them quoted at about 137. but in the latest price current I have which is of N. Y. 1818. they are from 105. to 120. D. the ton. I suppose it an error for this further reason that while the rod is 14. cents a pound, nails are said to be 10. cents. will you be so good as to set me to rights on this subject, and to say whether I could depend on always getting a supply at Richmond. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 23d. April 1821

. . . The Nail Rods I have are very superior, & invoiced to me at \$7 by the *single Bundle* of 56 lb, but by the *Ton*, I can supply you regularly, & with any quantity at \$130, to which will be added all charges from the factory at Balto: & for smaller quantities, other than by the single Bundle, at \$3.50 pr. Bundle of 56 lb, with the addition of charges from Balto: these rods are so far superior to the English, that they will not sell in this market at all, & a supply *made here* could not be calculated on regularly. . . . (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richmond July 3d. 1822

By Mr. Harlow's boats you will receive, 4 Blls. herring, 2 Bundles 20d. nail rods 2 do. 8d. & 6 Bundles of the sizes between making in all 10 Bundles. if delivered in good order pay frght: as customary. . . . (MHi)

HIDES, LEATHER, SHOES

To Bernard Peyton

Mo. May 10. 23.

. . . In my lre of June 20. 22. I wrote to you for

2. bundles VIIId nailrod.

2. do. XXd do.

6. do. intermediate sizes measuring of course Xd. XIIId. & XVIId. two of each

I recd. in July 2. bundles XX

1. do. XIII

7. do. between VIId. & IVd which are quite useless to me. I now therefore by Wood's boat return the 7. bundles of what is below the limits I wrote for, to be exchanged for 1. Bundle of VIIId. 2. of Xd. 2. of XIIId. & 2. of XVI. I mentd this to you when here, and trust the delay will make no difficulty, having been little able to attend to business during the winter. (MHi)

From Bernard Peyton

Richd. 20 Novr. 1823

I this day send you, by S. Gilleats Boat, seven bundles Nail rods, in place of those formerly sent, & returned, which I hope will prove of the sizes wanted, they are furnished by your memorandum, by an Ironmonger. I am not a judge of their sizes myself. Those returned are so extremely injured & defaced, that some loss will be encountered, in the exchange, tho' not yet ascertained. . . . (MHi)

Hides, Leather, & Shoes

JEFFERSON used the hides from his own cattle for leather and he also bought hides and leather from other people. Part of the tanning was probably done at Monticello, but it appears that most of the raw hides were sent to other tanners to be turned into leather. In the *Farm Book*, under "Timber," Jefferson tells his workmen to "Get bark for tanning leather where your next clearing is to be, felling the tree & stripping it clean." This might indicate that tanning was done on his plantations.

Probably most of the shoes worn by Jefferson's slaves were made by his workmen or trained slaves. In 1800 a man named Shepherd made shoes, and in 1810 the shoemaker was Buck. Buck, however, worked only a few months. He was paid thirty-seven cents for a day's work (Account Book, March 10, 1810). In 1811, Jefferson, writing to Jeremiah Goodman, tells him to let Nace, who was re-

covering from a sickness, sit in a warm room and do such things as "shoemaking and making baskets."

If Jefferson's cobblers made shoes for all of his slaves, then large quantities were necessary. In 1794 Jefferson issued sixty pairs of shoes to his slaves. It is not stated how long a pair of shoes lasted and in what rotation shoes were issued.

Leather was also used for making harnesses and saddles for horses.

Coal—Charcoal

CHARCOAL is an impure variety of carbon, prepared from vegetable substances or from bone. Wood charcoal, which was the only kind that Jefferson made, consists of wood burned with but little access of air. Billets of wood are built into a heap, which is covered with earth or sand. The heap is fired at openings left near the bottom of the pile and the gases escape at small openings above.

Jefferson used charcoal for the smith's shop and for fuel in the house. It appears from his Account Books that Jefferson bought coal up to 1795. In that year he began to burn his own charcoal in coal kilns; and he hired Jacob Silknitter to manage the business. He was later succeeded by a man named Frank, who was followed by Jame Hubbard and Cary. Davy was the next burner. He fired the kilns from about 1809 through the early 1820's.

Jefferson had four kilns. They produced varying amounts of charcoal. A cord of wood yielded about thirty or forty bushels of charcoal. From 1814 through 1819 Jefferson's kilns burned 7,306 bushels of charcoal. The average annual yield was 1,043 bushels: thirty-five bushels to the cord. He paid his men five cents per bushel for burning it. Jefferson used on the average of 112.4 bushels per month and used an average of 1,350 bushels per year.

About 1790 Jefferson built two coal sheds on Mulberry Row and proposed to build later four others. He does not state whether he carried out this proposal. In 1823 he built a coal house which probably replaced the coal sheds.

From Account Book, 1775

John Day gives 2d a bushel for charcoal delivered at his shop. he sais a cord of wood will make 40. bushels.

From Account Book, 1795

Jan. 28. Silknitter comes to burn coal.

COAL-CHARCOAL

From Account Book, 1799

May. 14. I am always to give Frank a half dime for every bushel to the cord of wood which his coal kiln's yield. his last yielded 30 bushels to the cord: therefore paid 1.5 D.
 Nov. 30. pd Frank for his 4th. kiln 33. half dimes + a bottle of molasses @ 1/3 note it yielded 37. bush. to the cord.

From Account Book, 1811

July 7. since the paiment of May 20. Davy has burnt 3. coalkilns the 1st. yielded 1025 bush. from 30. cords is to the cord 34 bush.

2d. 1138 38

3d. 1190 40

3353

112 @ .05

the last kiln is just now finished. pd him for the whole 5.60.

From Account Book, 1820

Feb. 15. Recapitulation of coal kilns burnt & of coal used.

	bush	b
1814. Aug. 28.	974. which is	33. to the cord
1816. Jan. 24.	972.	33½
Aug. 23.	1240.	41.
1817. Mar. 12.	1034.	34.
1818. Mar. 12.	1010	33.7
Sep. 16.	1060.	35⅓
1819. May. 5.	1016.	33.86

7306

average yield 1042. b. and 35. b. to the cord, prem .05 pr. b.

the average used is 112.4b pr. Month & say 1350 a year.

From Account Book, 1823

Apr. 23. Davy has burnt a kiln of 40. cords yielding 1276. bushels, to wit 32 bushels to the cord, at .05 to the bush. is 1.60 his premium. note the coal house now built is 10. by 19. clear. the body 8. f. high, roof 3. f.

the body holds 1520. cub. f. = 1213. bushels

roof 270. = 217.

1790

1430

Carpenters, Joiners, Masons, Wheelwrights, Coopers

CARPENTERS, JOINERS, MASONS

SINCE Jefferson was continually building, he was constantly hiring joiners, carpenters, and masons. They were of varying skills, and they remained with him for shorter or longer periods of time. Some of them were experts in their trades, as is well shown in the house at Monticello. The outstanding carpenters and joiners who worked for Jefferson were James Oldham, James Dinsmore, John Nielson, Hugh Chisholm, and John Perry. They taught their trades to some of Jefferson's slaves who became skilled workmen as carpenters and joiners. John Hemings was the most expert of Jefferson's slaves who served a kind of apprenticeship under the white carpenters and joiners. Jefferson was dependent on him for most of the fine woodwork to be done in later years at Monticello and Poplar Forest. The joiner's shop was on Mulberry Row. See page 6.

Although in general Jefferson's need for carpenters and joiners was greater than his need for stone-masons and brick-masons, these masons were necessary for building the basements and the walls of his houses at Monticello and Poplar Forest. And, after the houses were completed, there were stone and brick walls to lay.

Jefferson's masons came from Albemarle County, from Staunton, and from far-distant Scotland. Their wages varied with the men, depending chiefly upon the places from which they came.

See "Carpenters," "Masons," "Hugh Chisholm," "James Dinsmore," and "John Perry," in the *Garden Book*.

LETTERS AND MEMORANDA ON CARPENTERS, JOINERS, MASONS

From Account Book, 1774

Jan. 24. Agreed with Humphry Gaines that he shall work with my carpenters and I am to give him £ 30. a year and find him provisions. he is to begin about the middle of May.

From Account Book, 1776

Sep. 13. agreed with Randolph Johnson, a bricklayer to work @ £ 4. a month. he begins tomorrow.

From Account Book, 1781

Apr. 3. sent David Watson a Brittish deserter, house joiner by

trade, to work at Monticello @ 3000 lb tobo a year or it's worth in paper.

From Account Book, 1783

Sep. 20. agreed with Joseph Price to serve me a year as carpenter.
I give him £ 30. 500 lb pork & fodder for a horse & cow.

To Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

Philadelphia May. 12. 1793.

. . . I got a person to write to Scotland for a mason & house joiner for me. I learn that they were engaged & only waited for a ship. they will be delivered at Richmond to the address of mr Brown. a person who is to come here, & knows them personally, says they are fine characters, will be very useful to have on a farm; it is material therefore that they do not remain 24. hours in Richmond to be spoiled. I shall write to mr Brown to send them off instantly & shall be obliged to mr Randolph to have an eye to the same object. how to employ them will be the subject of consideration. it will be puzzling till my return. . . . (MHi)

To Archibald Stuart

Monticello Apr. 5. 96.

I am doomed to be a very troublesome acquaintance to you. I am now in want of a stone mason, one with whom I had agreed to begin my house within 3. weeks from this time having yesterday notified me that he cannot come. mr Cocke of this county tells me of a mr Felty Millar of your town a good workman and suitable on every account for my purposes. the object of this letter is to get you to engage this man for me. mr Cocke says he lately offered to come & work for him at 2/6 a perch. I should prefer hiring by the day, because it is the foundation of an addition to my dwelling house, which I have to do & which I wish to have great pains taken about. he supposes 7/6 per day equivalent to 2/6 a perch. however my necessity is such that I must have a workman, & therefore am only to try to get him as cheap as we can. I had in fact agreed to give the other man 9/ a day. I would wish him to be here ready to go to work on the 8th. of May, and could not admit of more than a week or a fortnight's delay beyond that: because after the foundation of stone, I have to go on with the brickwork, then the roof, & all within the limits of the summer. if he makes a difficulty of the distance, I will pay him for his time coming & going, rather than be disappointed. I lodge him & find provisions; but give no liquor. this is an absolute article, as I never saw work go on well if the work-

man had liquor. it is therefore a point which I never give up. I have about 140. perch in the present job. the next year I have a large mill to build, which, if he gives satisfaction, he would probably be employed on. he may bring one assistant with him if he chuses. but this is not essential. . . . Pray tempt & persuade Millar by all possible motives to come. (*Stuart Papers*, ViHi)

To George Jefferson

Philadelphia June 26. 98.

This will be handed you by mr James Dinsmore, a house joiner whom I have engaged to live with me. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1801

March. 24. agreed with James Oldham to go to Monticello as Housejoiner @ 240. D. a year & his expenses going.

Apr. 14. James Oldham (ante Mar. 24.) begins to work.

To Isaac Briggs

Washington Apr. 20. 1803.

The writer of the inclosed letter, James Dinsmore, is an excellent young man from Philadelphia, who has lived in my family as a house joiner 5. or 6. years. . . . of his brother John Dinsmore I know nothing. . . . (DLC)

To Colonel Harvie

Monticello Sep. 27. 04.

The bearer hereof, James Oldham, has lived with me several years, is an able workman in housejoinery, skilled in the orders of architecture, honest, sober and industrious. he wishes to get into business on a larger scale than that of merely monthly wage, and I have recommended Richmond to him as a place where he will find no superior, and as I suppose no equal; and where, when once he can make himself known, he cannot fail of employ. taking an interest in his success, and knowing that a first introduction is the most difficult step, I have taken the liberty of making his character known to you, and of asking your advice and influence on his behalf towards getting himself under way. . . . (MHi)

To Mr. Watkins

Monticello Aug. 22. 08.

When you were here to offer me your services for the next year, we separated on the subject of price. I offered you 120. Dollars, & you asked an hundred & fifty for the year's service. I have con-

cluded to give you your asking of one hundred & fifty dollars, with the allowance of 600. lb of pork, & corn as usual. . . . (MHi)

To Jesse Perry

Monticello Jan. 20. 1810.

Mr. Watkins, who superintended & worked with my out-carpenters, has left me this year. he was employed in such carpenter's work as the plantations required and I gave him 150. Dollars a year, his provisions & a house to live in. I do not know on what footing you are at present employed with your brother, & certainly do not mean to break in on any arrangement of his with you. but if it should be agreeable to you both that you should come & take mr Watkin's place, I shall be glad to employ you on the same terms, and to recieve you here with as little delay as possible. I should expect a first engagement for one year, to be continued as long as agreeable to both parties. I shall be glad to recieve an answer by mr Randolph on his returns. . . . (MHi)

Richard Durrett

"It is agreed between Thomas Jefferson and Richard Durrett, both of the county of Albemarle, that the said Durrett shall serve the said Jefferson one year as a carpenter. And the said Durrett does by these presents oblige himself to do whatever work the said Jefferson shall require in the business of carpenter work; and the said Durrett obliges himself to faithfully do his duty. The year commences on the day that the said Durrett shall take charge of the said Jefferson's employ; for which year's service the said Jefferson agrees to pay the said Durrett forty pounds, and to find him four hundred and fifty pounds of pork, and a peck of corn meal a week; or, in case the said Durrett should have three in family, the said Jefferson agrees to find him three pecks a week, and to find him a cow to give milk from 15th April to 15th November. As witness our hands this 28th of October, 1812.

"Richard Durrett.

"E. Bacon for

"Th. Jefferson."

(Pierson, *Monticello*, pp. 83-84.)

From Account Book, 1813

Jan. 13. Richd. Durrett enters my service as carpenter.

Aug. 23. Agreed with Rolin Goodman to serve me as a Carpenter for a year, for which I give him 250. D. and 20 Barrels of corn for which he is to allow me 3. D. a barrel: in other words I give him 190. D. and 20. barr. corn. he finds him-

self all other provisions. [*He began work January 17, 1814.*]

To Thomas Munro

Monticello Mar. 4. 15.

. . . you will therefore I presume be glad of the offer of good workmen from every quarter. two such propose to offer themselves from hence, James Dinsmore and John Nielson. the former I brought from Philadelphia in 1798. and he lived with me 10. years. a more faithful, sober, discrete, honest and respectable man I have never known. he is at present half owner of a valuable manufacturing mill in this neighborhood. Nielson I also got from Philadelphia in 1804, and he lived with me 4. years, and I have found him also an honest sober, and excellent man. both are house joiners of the first order. they have done the whole of that work in my house, to which I can affirm there is nothing superior in the U. S. after they had finished with me they worked 2. or 3. years for the President, to whom therefore they are well known. mr Mills knows them also personally and their works. Doctr. Thornton knows their works, perhaps their persons. whatever they will undertake with you, you may be assured they will perform and in the best and most faithful manner. the most difficult job you have is the dome of the Representatives, and I doubt if there be any men more equal to it than these. Dinsmore built the one to my house, which tho' much smaller, is precisely on the same principles. . . . I strongly recommend these men to you, and if you employ them I shall have the double gratification of having served men worthy of trust, and of putting a public trust into worthy hands. . . . (CSmH)

John Hemings

"John Hemings was a carpenter. He was a first-rate workman—a very extra workman. He could make any thing that was wanted in wood-work. He learned his trade of Dinsmore. He made most of the wood-work of Mr. Jefferson's fine carriage. Joes Fosset made the iron-work. He was a very fine workman; could do any thing it was necessary to do with steel or iron. He learned his trade of Stewart. . . ." (Pierson, *Monticello*, p. 109.)

WHEELWRIGHTS

JEFFERSON'S wheelwrights, who lived chiefly at Monticello, built his carriages and gigs, his landau, his phaetons, and his carts and wagons. They were assisted by the smiths, who fashioned the iron parts of the vehicles.

CARPENTERS AND OTHER CRAFTSMEN

In appraising his property for taxation in Albemarle County, Jefferson listed one chariot and one phaeton for 1773; one chariot and one chair for 1782; one phaeton for 1794; one phaeton for 1800; one phaeton and one gig for 1814; and for 1815, 1816, and 1817, he listed one gig and one four-wheeled landau for each year. Between 1817 and 1821 Jefferson, on account of his health, gave up the one-seated gig, and he rode only in his landau and on horseback.

While Jefferson was serving his country in France, he bought carriages which were later sent to America, and during his Presidency he bought a “new plain, well-furnished chariot with plated Harness for 4 Horses, and 2 postillion Saddles,” for \$1200. (See correspondence between Jefferson and Enoch Edwards in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.)

LETTERS AND MEMORANDA ON VEHICLES

Received this sixth day of Novr, 1788 the Sum of one Hundred & Seventy one Pounds & five Shillgs of His Excellency Thomas Jefferson by the hands of John Trumbull Esqr, for a bill deliver'd for a New Crane Neck Chariot & four harness Compleat.

John Hemp

£ 171-5-0
(MHi)

From Account Book, 1791

July 7. pd mr J. Ross freight on my carriages from Havre & of the President's champagne 72.57 D.

To Thomas Divers

Monticello Sep. 28. 94.

. . . I take the liberty of entering my phaeton, the only carriage I have in this county, and of inclosing you a guinea, 26/ the tax I believe being 20/. . . . (MHi)

From Conrad Hanse

[Frankford, Pa.] Augt. 29. 1801.

Thomas Jefferson, esquire,

1801	To Conrad Hanse	Dr.
Augt 29.	To a new plain, well-finished chariot, with plated Harness for 4 Horses, and 2 postillion Saddles	Dolls. 1200

(DLC)

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

From Account Book, 1803

Jan. 4. gave Jones & Kain ord. on J. Barnes for 154. D. for body & finishing Phaeton, wheels to market waggon, & repairs to harness.

From Account Book, 1809

Mar. 10. recd. from Dr. Elzey 500. D. the price of my chariot sold him.

From Account Book, 1814

Mar. 3. pd Th: J. Randolph tax for my double phaeton for 1814. 10. D.

To William Richardson

Apr. 6. 14.

My granddaughter Ellen Randolph purchased for me at your store about six weeks ago. 15. yds of scarlet rattinett. we want 2. yds more to compleat the lining of the carriage it was intended for. I will be obliged to you if you will do up that much compactly in the size and form of a moderate letter and put it into the post office, to come by our first mail as it is the last article we want to finish a carriage, for which I am waiting to set out on a journey. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1815

Jan. 8. pd him [*Th: J. Randolph*] tax on my Landau 11. D. for this current year.

COOPERS

JEFFERSON's coopers made barrels for flour and hogsheads for tobacco. The tobacco hogsheads were "4 f. 6. I. long. the head 34. I. in the clear with an allowance of 2. I. more for the prizing head." In making the flour barrels Jefferson got staves "28 I. long and dress to 27 I. it takes 16. or 17. staves to a barrel & 6. heading pieces. 22. or 23. in all. a cut of a middle sized tree yields 16. or 17. bolts, which give 4. staves each. such a tree, midling good will yield 18. or 20 cuts. a cut will make 3. barrels, staves & heading. one tree with another will make 50. barrels."

Barnaby and Nace were the chief coopers. On March 17, 1813, Jefferson "promised Barnaby to give him one barrel out of every 31. he sends to the mill." Jefferson probably made the same arrangement with Nace. By 1817 Jefferson counted on delivering 4000 barrels a year to the mill. The number of barrels and hogsheads

necessarily changed each year depending on the crops of wheat and tobacco.

The cooper's house and stable were near the mills. It is not known whether his shop was there also. The work may have been done in the joiner's shop.

See "Cooper's House," in the *Garden Book*.

LETTERS AND MEMORANDA ON COOPERS

From Account Book, 1813

Mar. 17. promised Barnaby to give him one barrel out of every 31. he sends to the mill.

From Account Book, 1816

Dec. 21. gave Barnaby ord. on T. E. Randolph for the price of 18. Barrels to wit 1. in every 31. see ante 1813. Mar. 17. note he has delivered (with 72. to be delivd. this day) 563 barrels from Oct. 9. to yesterday inclusive.

To Mr. Colclaser

Monticello Aug. 8. 17.

You enquired the other day what number of barrels I should be able to furnish. we have barrel stuff enough in the woods ready cut off to serve two seasons. I have now set mr. Goodman's force to riving and dressing ready to put up, and mean that they shall always get and dress the timber, so that Barnaby & the other two with him shall do nothing but set up. I count on their setting up ready for delivery from 90. to 100. a week, & that they will do this at least 40. weeks in the year, as nothing but harvest or sickness will ever take them a day out of their shop. I therefore count on delivering you 4000. barrels a year. they have 50. in the barn ready for delivery and will begin on Monday to prepare their 90. or 100. a week. I have instructed mr Bacon to give the hauling necessary in this business a preference over every other call. . . . (MHi)

From Account Book, 1821

June 26. Barnaby has delivd. 1203 barrels this year. I gave him an order for 26. some time ago, & now for 13 = 39 his allowance. Nace has delivered 1380. bar., and I now give him an order for 45. of them. his part.

Spinning, Weaving, Cloth

We never had an interior trade of any importance. Our exterior commerce has suffered very much from the beginning of the present contest. During this time we have manufactured within our families the most necessary articles of cloathing. Those of cotton will bear some comparison with the same kinds of manufacture in Europe; but those of wool, flax and hemp are very coarse, unsightly, and unpleasant: and such is our attachment to agriculture, and such our preference for foreign manufactures, that be it wise or unwise, our people will certainly return as soon as they can, to the raising raw materials, and exchanging them for finer manufactures than they are able to execute themselves.—*Jefferson in The Notes on the State of Virginia, 1787.*

THE spinning wheel, the common loom, and the hand card made up the machinery of Jefferson's spinning establishment during the early years at Monticello. It was not until 1811 that he purchased from William Maclure a Spinning Jenny and a loom with flying shuttle to add to his shop. Mr. Macluro had settled near Monticello, under Jefferson's auspices, in order to teach Jefferson's people the art of spinning and weaving.

Before the War of 1812, Jefferson bought from merchants most of the coarse cloth, all of the fine cloth and blankets, for the use of his plantations. The embargo of 1808-1809 and the War of 1812 so completely cut off the importation of goods to the United States that Jefferson, along with other planters, was compelled to resort to more home manufacture. During the War of 1812 Jefferson greatly increased his business of home manufacture. Writing to Thaddeus Kosciuszko, on June 28, 1812, he says, ". . . my household manufactures are just getting into operation on the scale of a Carding machine costing 60. Dollars only, which may be worked by a girl of 12. years old, a Spinning machine, which may be made for 10. Dollars, carrying 6. spindles for wool, to be worked by a girl also, another which can be made for 25. Dollars, carrying 12. spindles for cotton, & a loom, with a flying shuttle, weaving it's 20. yards a day. I need 2000. yards of linen, cotton, & woollen yearly, to cloathe my family, which this machinery, costing 150. Dollars only, and worked by two women & two girls, will more than furnish. . . ." Earlier in the year Jefferson had ordered two improved spinning

machines, one from Ebenezer Herrick and the other one from Oliver Barrett. The Herrick machine arrived at Monticello in July, but the Barrett machine did not reach Monticello until early in 1813. Because of their complexities the Barrett and Herrick machines proved so unsatisfactory that Jefferson continued to use the simpler Spinning Jennies that could be repaired by his own workmen.

Early in 1813 Jefferson bought from the firm of Alrichs & Dixon a hand-carding engine for carding cotton. Hand-carding was so laborious that the carders were unable to keep up with the spinners. Writing to Richard Fitzhugh, in the spring of 1813, Jefferson remarks, ". . . we still want carding machines in our neighborhood working at such moderate prices as to relieve us from hand-carding. with this convenience the clothing our family would be a thing really of neither trouble nor expence. . . ." In this same letter to Mr. Fitzhugh, Jefferson mentions that at Monticello, ". . . We have in our family (including my daughter's) three spinning Jennies agoing, of 24. & 40. spindles each which can spin 11. pounds of coarse cotton a day, and our loom fixed with flying shuttles, which altho' they do not perform the miracles ascribed to them, do, I think double the effect of the common loom. . . ."

During the following years Jefferson became interested in other improved spinning machines, looms, and carding machines. They were either too complex in their machinery or their prices were too high for him to buy them. He continued to use the simpler Spinning Jennies and looms of the kind that he had purchased from Mr. Maclure in 1811. By 1814 he had four of the Spinning Jennies running, three of them with twenty-four spindles and one of them with forty spindles. For weaving coarse cloth he had two common looms with flying shuttles.

Spinning and weaving, as the following letters tell, became an important occupation at Monticello and Poplar Forest, especially from 1811 until a few years before Jefferson's death. Cotton, wool, flax, and hemp were the four kinds of fibers used in the manufacture of cloth. Cotton was by far the most important of the four. This fiber being difficult to buy, especially after the farmers of Albemarle and most of the other counties of the state stopped growing it, wool, flax, and hemp partially took its place. See "Spinning," "Spinning Jennies," "Spinning Wheels," and "Weaving," in the *Garden Book*.

To Ellen Randolph

Washington Feb. 23. 08.

. . . You give a bad account of the patriotism of the ladies of Williamsburg who are not disposed to submit to the small privations to which the embargo will subject them. I hope this will not be general and that principle & prudence will induce us all to return to the good old plan of manufacturing within our own families most of the articles we need. I can assure you from experience that we never lived so comfortably as while we were reduced to this system formerly; because we soon learnt to supply all our real wants at home, and we could not run in debt, as not an hour's credit was given for anything. it was then we were obliged to *act* on the salutary maxim of 'never spending our money before we had it.' I expect it will not be long before you will spin me a dimity waistcoat. . . . (MHi)

To James Ronaldson

Washington Oct. 13. 08.

In the spring of 1806. you sent me many patterns of a variety of manufactures then carried on in Philadelphia. these proved that the arts had already taken good root there. occurrences since that have made it the duty of every one to improve every opportunity in his power of promoting these. I happen by accident to have obtained the Iceland or Shetland race of sheep of many horns. it is from their wool I understand that the famous Shetland stockings are made which I believe sell for a guinea a pair being as soft as fur. as this peculiar wool may possibly be useful for some manufacture here, I send a fleece of it as a sample, by my grandson, who is going to Philadelphia, and who will put it into your hands. and I am encouraged to take this liberty by the zeal which your letter manifested for the promotion of manufacture. the request I have to make is that you will be so good as to have ascertained whether there will be any particular utility in raising this kind of wool, & what would be it's probable price in Philadelphia. if encouraging I can probably extend it's produce to any requisite degree in my neighborhood. your information in due time on this subject will be thankfully recieved. . . . (DLC)

To James Ronaldson

Washington Oct. 28. 08.

Th: Jefferson presents his compliments to mr Ronaldson & his thanks for the satisfactory information he has been so good as to

SPINNING, WEAVING, CLOTH

give him on the quality of the wool of the many horned sheep. it has determined him to make trial of them on quite a small scale, until he shall see whether they possess any other qualities which may countervail the low value of their wool. (DLC)

To Colonel David Humphreys

Washington Jan. 20. 09.

. . . my idea is that we should encourage home manufactures to the extent of our own consumption of every thing of which we raise the raw material. I do not think it fair in the shipowners to say we ought not to make our axes, nails, &c. here that they may have the benefit of carrying the iron to Europe & bringing back the axes, nails &c. our agriculture will still afford surplus produce enough to employ a due proportion of navigation. . . . (DLC)

To James Ronaldson

Washington Feb. 13. 09.

I must once more be troublesome to you on the subject of wool. I inclose you a sample of the wool of a race of sheep which I have been propagating for 14. or 15. years as the Merinos of Spain. their history is stated on the back of the paper, and I ask the favor of you to be so good as to ascertain, by the opinion of the best judges, it's quality & value, & particularly in comparison with that of Colo. Humphreys, Chancelr. Livingston & Mr Dupont, the only persons I know of who have Merinos, if there are samples of their wool to be seen in Philadelphia. I believe the hatters are among the best judges, as they can say whether this is such as they give the high prices for. I must pray you to pardon me the trouble I give you, the object of it being to know how far it is worth my while to persevere in the same breed & to encourage my neighbors in it. . . . (DLC)

To Caleb Kirk

Washington Feb. 13. 09.

I enclose you a sample of wool of my Merino sheep, and will thank you for your opinion of it & that of the best judges you can consult. the hatters particularly can say whether it is such as they give the high prices for. my object is to know whether it is worth my while to attend to their propagation. . . . (DLC)

From Caleb Kirk

Brandywine Feby. 17th. 1809.

I Recieved thy favor of 13th. with the Inclosed Specimen of Spanish Merinos wool. I have compared it with those in my neigh-

bourhood. I have likewise had the Opinion of our principal Hatters, without having any knowledge of breed, before giving their Judgment, the result has generally been unfavorable. They uniformly make use of our *best* lambs wool of the *first* years growth being short and more suitable for their purpose than longer wool.

I am Induced to believe that thy Original Stock have not been from the genuine Merinos. I have Inclosed Specimens from my friend I. E. DuPont's flock as well as from my own—[the] first of the full blooded Imported eight years in this Country and the product from breeding with our common breed of this neighbourhood *bred in* from the same Ram having no full blooded Ewe to help the breed. I may Observe the Importance of this breed to our Country as this will appear by the great Improvement it makes in a mixture Consequently a greater in breeding the full blooded together. No diminution in point of Quality since the first Introduction of them into this neighbourhood. The price of full blooded has been from two to three dollars per pound with the Hatters. I have given one dollar pr lb for half blood wool for my own Manufacture. . . .

I may further Remark the true Characteristic marks of the genuine Merinos the pile or staple is short and very thick set on the Animal so as to form an Impenetrable coat for the Animal against Inclement weather. And as an addition Nature furnishes an Oil or unctious matter exuding from the body which lodges on the Outer end of the wool and collects dirt so as to give them an unfavorable Appearance until examined by close Inspection. This unctious matter thee will observe to decrease on the Specimens as they depart from the Original Stock. . . . (DLC)

To William Maclure

Monticello Sep. 10. 1811

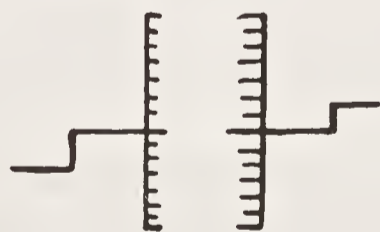
In order to commence the establishment for family manufacture in our neighborhood, on which we conversed the other day, I will, for myself, engage of you a spinning Jenny, and a loom with a flying shuttle, doing towards them myself whatever my workmen can do. I will furnish six women or girls to work for myself on them under your direction, build a house for them to lodge in, contribute to a common manufacturing room, & dwelling house for yourself, all of logs, furnish subsistence for my own people, contribute a quota of corn & pork for that of your family, furnish the materials for my own people to work up, giving you, for your trouble, such proportion of what shall be woven as shall be agreed on: all however on the conditions that the numbers to be employed

in the factory shall not exceed a limit to be agreed on, and that the establishment shall be at a distance to be agreed on from the two towns in the neighborhood & on the opposite side of the river from them: and I should suggest as a convenient position some spot in the woods near the Edgehill and Lego line, where a spring may be found. these propositions are submitted to you for consideration. . . . (MHi)

To William Thornton

Monticello Jan. 14. 12.

We are all busied in the country with our household manufactures of clothing. I do not believe one fifth of the coarse clothing has been bought this year from the importers which has been heretofore bought, and the next year nobody counts on wanting a single yard of coarse goods (blankets excepted) & but little will be wanted of goods of midling qualities. for the fine we must depend on the town manufactories, most of us are still however at the old spinning wheel & hand cards. a few neighbors of us are setting up some spinning jennies, next in simplicity to the spinning wheel. but I have seen in the hand of a friend an advertisement of a machine much simpler than the jenny, & which will do about 6. times the work of a spinning wheel. it's price, 15. Dollars shews there cannot be much work about it. this promises to be exactly what we want. but does it answer what is announced of it? this question I have presumed your friendship would induce you to answer for me, to give your opinion of the machine & some idea of it, that I may know if it is worth the trouble of sending for it. if we could but have as simple a carding machine we should be fixed. Why would not 2. circular cards in peritrochio, fixed thus, answer? one turned by each



hand in the same or opposite directions ad libitum? or plain cards on 2. cylinders, one to be turned by each hand? or 2 cards on plain surfaces, & prone, shoved backwards & forwards as in polishing marble? I copy the advertisement on the other side & tender you the assurances of my continued friendship & respect. (DLC)

To Oliver Barrett

Monticello Feb. 20. 12.

Being desirous of getting a Spinning machine simpler than any of those made on the Arksright plan, so simple indeed as that we can use and keep it in order in our families in the country where we have nothing but very coarse workmen, I consulted Dr. Thornton of the Patent office on the subject. he recommends yours as coming more nearly within my views than any other and carrying about 20. threads which induces me to wish to get one. he says that you furnished one to Judge Cranch of Washington at the price of 50. D. of which 20. goes for the patent right and that the workmanship is about 25. or 30. D. will you be so good as to answer this letter and to inform me if he is correct as to the number of threads & price. if he is I wish you to prepare me one immediately for 20. threads, and on receipt of your letter I will immediately remit you the price to any address you direct in New York, and will expect you to forward the machine well packed to the address of Gibson & Jefferson merchants at Richmond to be forwarded to me. Doctr. Thornton further mentioned that you would sell your patent right to a county for 500. D. I imagine you judge of our counties by those of N. York which are perhaps 5. times as large & populous as ours. we have about 100. counties which may average 5000 souls of white population. 500. D. @ 20. D. a machine, patent price, would suppose 25. machines in a county, which are 5. times as many as could be sold at 50. D. each. if the machine answers as well as Dr. Thornton says, I think it probable that at 100. D. to a county you would sell twenty county rights where you would one at 500. D. this is mentioned for your consideration my object being only to get a single one to use in my family. . . . (MHi)

To Ebenezer Herrick

Monticello Feb. 20. 12.

I subjoin the copy of an advertisement taken from a newspaper, which induces me to write this letter requesting you to forward one of the machines therein described, well packed to the address of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson merchts. at Richmond for me. They will send it on to me. I inclose you 15. Dollars, the price mentioned in the advertisement, in bills of the bank of Richmond, which the mercantile intercourse between Boston & Richmond will certainly afford opportunities of exchanging. the same intercourse doubtless furnishes opportunities of sending the machine to Richmond by

vessels going constantly from Boston to Richmond for coal, flour, corn &c. be so good as to drop me a line of answer by post. . . .

[Inclosure]

Mr. Ebenezer Herrick
West Stockbridge
County of Berkshire Mass
Extract from the Delaware Watchman
Wilmington Mar. 16.

The Domestic Spinner. Ebenezer Herrick of West Stockbridge, County of Berkshire Mass. has lately recieved a patent for an invention greatly improving the art of spinning wool and cotton. the machine is called the Domestic Spinner. it will spin from 6. to 8. threads at a time. the expense of one machine, together with the right of using the same, will not exceed 15. Dollars. mr Herrick says any person can spin one run & a half per day on each spindle with the same labour requisite to spin two runs on a common wheel. (DLC)

To Jeremiah Goodman

Monticello Feb. 21. 12.

. . . I hope the spinning and weaving has got well underway. I am informed from Richmond that there is not a single yard of cotton or oznabrigs to be had there, nor is there another yard ordered or expected. we have no chance therefore of clothing the negroes next winter but with what we shall make ourselves. . . . (MHi)

To Nathaniel Hooe

Monticello Mar. 15. 12.

. . . I have written to Boston for the Spinning machine of which you gave me a note, and to New York for one under a much higher character carrying 20. spindles, roving for itself, and costing but 25. D. in addition to the patent price which is 20. D. more. . . . (MHi)

From Ebenezer Herrick

West Stockbridge March 24th. 1812.

Yours of Feby. 20th. has just come to hands containing two bills of the amount of 15. Dollars with a request that I would send you one of my machines. Also a Copy of an Advertisement taken from a News paper which is not just as I have published: but Sir the plan of the machine is such as to admit of any number of Spindles that will best accommodate for family use. the best Recommendation I

think will be to say it has done. a young woman my Neighbour has spun last season over 1000 Runs of good woollen yarn at the rate of from 6 to 9 Runs per day. she observes that she can now spin 10 runs per day on the same machine. as to [*illegible*] person spinning at that rate without some [*illegible*] instance with it can not be expected as practice is the only way to be expert at any business. as to spinning Cotton we have had but small opportunity to ascertain the value of it for that purpose as great numbers of Cotton Factories are in this vicinity. We find it will spin Cotton of a coarse Quality best however. It is great repute here. as to the method of Conveyance by Vessels from Boston to Richmond. I think will be some trouble as I live 150. miles from Boston and but about 25. miles from Hudson. a machine might be sent to New York at any time. I shall delay sending it on until I hear from you again, will then convey it as you may direct. . . . (DLC)

To Oliver Barrett

Monticello Mar. 29. '12.

On the 20th. of Feb. I wrote to you requesting you to forward for me to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond one of your Spinning machines carrying not more than 20. threads, but fewer if that number increased sensibly it's complicateness. and assuring you that on knowing from you the price it should be immediately remitted to N. York to any address you would indicate. this will be by Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson before mentioned. in consequence of this letter I suspended an order I had given for a machine of a different kind in another quarter. not having heard from you, and apprehending my letter may have miscarried, I repeat the essential parts of it here, and renew my request that you will forward one with as little delay as possible, and in the mean time that you will let me know whether & when I may count on your forwarding one, as the order for the other one of a different kind remains suspended, and the year is advancing during which our winter cloathing should be going on. . . . (MHi)

To Ebenezer Herrick

Monticello Apr. 9. 12.

I recieved last night only your favor of Mar. 24. altho we generally get our letters from N. York in 6 days I shall certainly receive your machine from that port more readily than from Boston. I had named the latter place, because being the seat of Government of your state I had presumed your communications with it more direct.

if to the address of Messrs. Gibson and Jefferson at Richmond as before desired, you will add that of mr Gelston the collector at N. York and you send it to him, he will forward it to Richmond. I will thank you to do it speedily as the commencement of my spinning establishment awaits that alone. I presume you have printed directions for the use of it, which will be the more necessary with those who are entirely uninformed of it's principle. a line of information, by post via N. York informing me of your having dispatched it will reach me in a week. if you have a careful correspondent of your own at N. York it might be in his power to dispatch the machine quicker than the multiplicity of mr Gelston's business might permit him to do. . . . (DLC)

From Oliver Barrett, Jr.

Troy April 10th 1812

With Due reverence I hasten to answer your inquirys. The machine I believe is such as you Wish to Obtain, for when properly made is not likely to get out of repair without very bad management. My price for a machine of 12 Spindles is \$50. and \$2. for every additional Spindle. Dr. Thornton was correct as to the patent fee, which is the same for a machine of 12 Spindles that it is for 20 or 30. as it Gives the purchaser a Right to build as Large as he thinks proper. the machine I sold to Judge Cranch carries but 12 Spindles. Doctr Thornton is the Agent for the State of Virginia and has the exclusive Right to make & sell any person in the State or to sell the right to any County in Sd. State the method which I have adopted to ascertain the Real Value of Co. is this according to the No. of inhabitants my rule is three cents on the Population of which I shall inform Doctr Thornton. if the Doctor wishes I will furnish you with a machine as soon as I get orders to that effect. . . . (MHi)

To Robert R. Livingston

Monticello Apr. 20. 12.

. . . I owe it to you also in return for your excellent book on the subject of sheep, now becoming daily more and more interesting to us. I am embarked a little in that business myself, having made a small beginning in the Merino race, from a ram and three ewes. My principal flock is of the Tunisian breed. the wool of these suits best our common manufactures, which are altogether household, there being scarcely a family in the *country* which does not clothe itself, as far as coarse woollens, or those of midling quality are required. so also as to hemp, flax, and cotton, the last of which has

been always manufactured with us extensively, and in considerable perfection. so that were we to have tomorrow with Great Britain peace instead of war I am satisfied we shall no more take from her, in these lines, the worth of a shilling where we have taken that of a pound. the great desideratum with us is the invention of simpler machines, even the Spinning Jenny being too much for our country workmen. I have heard of one by an Oliver Barrett of your state, which the price would indicate to be simple, & another still more so by Herrick of Massachusetts, and I have sent for both. but it is on the puffs of the newspapers which merit as little credit in this as in their other branches of lying. yet I have thought it a duty to my neighbors to take on myself the risk of disappointment. if the machines answer, a service will be rendered them; if they do not I only lose a few dollars. being a farmer myself, I write to you as a farmer, leaving politics to those who are not worn down by them. . . . (MHi)

To William Thornton

Monticello Apr. 24. 12.

On the receipt of your letter of Jan. 26. recommending Barrett's spinning machine, I wrote to him for one; but not knowing his particular address, my letter was long getting to him; so that within this day or two only, instead of a machine I have received only a letter from him. in this he informs me you have the exclusive right to make and sell them to our state; and adds that if you wish it he will furnish me with a machine of 12. spindles (the size suiting me best) as soon as he gets your orders to that effect. I had before ordered a spinning Jenny, but on the receipt of your letter countermanded it: in consequence my establishment remains suspended until I can get Barrett's machine, and in the meantime a man and his wife whom I hired to conduct it, and who have themselves been brought up to the business, as well as my other subordinate hands are idle. I am very anxious therefore to receive a machine as early as possible. if you have one ready made, and which you can recommend as well made, you will relieve me much by having it well packed and sent to Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson, my correspondents at Richmond, who will forward it to me. if you cannot speedily furnish one, will you be so good as to order one from Oliver Barrett himself. he knows how to forward it in either case, as soon as it is ready & notified to me I will forward the whole or the divided price to yourself or Mr Barrett as you shall direct me. can you do me the favor of informing me immediately when & from whom I may expect one.

Your description of the plant, a substitute for hemp & flax for the exclusive use of which mr Whitlow has a patent, has thrown all the boys of our neighborhood into great alarm, lest they should not be allowed hereafter to make their trap strings of what they call Indian hemp, which, boys have been in the practice from time immemorial, of applying to their purposes; of this I can give testimony for near 70. years back when I was a boy myself. one of them, in the name of his companions brought me his trap string to be lodged in the patent office as a caveat against mr Whitlow's claim, if this be the plant he claims. I send a piece only of the string, supposing it sufficient. it is made of the *Apocynum Cannabinum* of Clayton & Linnaeus.

On the subject of the price of a patent right for a county for mr Barrett's machine, I think he mistakes his interest greatly in asking so much. at 500. D. he will never sell two county rights in this state, whereas at 100. D. he would probably sell from 50. to 100. if the machine be found in practice to answer well. . . . (DLC)

To E. I. Dupont

Monticello Apr. 30. 12.

. . . I shall shear this year, 3. fleeces only of imported Merinos, their wool of 1st. quality, and about 15. of half blood. I have understood you are concerned in a manufactory of cloth, and will recieve one's wool, have it spun, wove & dyed for an equivalent in the wool. I should be very glad to get mine into so good hands. will you be so kind as to inform me more particularly on this subject. . . . (MHi)

To William Thornton

Monticello May 24. 12.

. . . I accept with great pleasure the offer of the machine of Barrett made for mr Greenleaf, and I now inclose you a fifty dollar bill, the price stated: and my spinning works having been some time and still continuing suspended till I get this machine, a cart will be sent express for it, rather than wait till it could come round by water. this will set out for Washington before the post does which carries this letter, and will probably be with you about the time of your recieving this. I will therefore ask the favor of you immediately on your receipt of this to procure the machine to be packed, which you say can be done in the same box in which it came, and to direct my servant on his arrival where he may recieve it. I presume the machine is accompanied by instructions for the use of it, if necessary. . . .

I have been unlucky with my Merinos, having lost one of only three ewes by the scab, & the others having brought me only *ram* lambs. . . . (DLC)

From Ebenezer Herrick

West Stockbridge 19th June 1812

Sir emediately after writing to you I was seized with an extreme fit of illness which confined me to my bed until a few days since which is the only reason why I did not send the machine according to yours as well as my own calculations. But the misfortune however disagreeable was unavoidable. I have Marked the Machine or the parts of it so that I think there will be no difficulty in putting it together. the large bands from the wheel you will cross on the scilender and turn the wheel over from you as you stand in the machine & that will give a propper motion. The bands from the scilender to the spindles you can Turn or shift them so as to turn them which way you pleas the [*illegible*] you will twist the opposite way from what you spin and place it on the pins on the rack. I have had no use for printed directions therefore am not provided with them, I have not sent any machines away without being accompanied with some person who was acquainted with the use of them. I think however there will be no difficulty in learning; the operation of them is much simeler to the woolen Ginnees any person that understand them can spin on my machine. I have followed your directions in sending it from Hudson to New York to be delivered to the collector M. Gelston & with directions on the Box for it to be delivered to the care of Messrs. Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond in Virginia the bill for cartage from where I live to Hudson [will] be \$3. which you may inclose in a letter to me if you pleas. I am disposed to give every information in my power that you may use this machine to advantage. But it must be understood that no person can learn to spin without some practice & any person young or old has learned to spin on this machine they are compleatly learned to spin on the woolen Ginnees. . . . (DLC)

To William Thornton

Monticello June 20. 12.

I wrote you three days ago thro' the post office, but by an unfortunate change of our post days, I expect my cart will convey this sooner still to it's destination. the object of that letter was to explain the delays which had taken place in sending for the Spinning machine; the present is to request you to have it delivered to the bearer Davy, who carries a cart for the purpose. instead of the body

of the cart I have had a light frame made, just large enough to recieve the box, according to the dimensions you were so kind as to state to me. . . . (MHi)

From William Thornton

City of Washington 27th. June 1812

I recd. your Favour a Day or two after I wrote, and by your Servant Davy an order for the machine, which I went to the point to have packed up immediately, but hearing that one of his Horses was galled I advised him to rest them a Day or two, & to manage the Geers so as to prevent any further harm, which was done. He arrived on the 24th. and after the machine was put up I paid Judge Cranch for it, whose receipt I enclose. You will find the machine on the principle of the Jenny, & I have taken the liberty of sending Mr. Barrett's Papers to enable you to put the machine up: but in doing this I should do a reprehensible act, if I did not determine in case of any accident to them to draw the machine again, & furnish fresh papers: However I am in hopes that the Post will be so safe, that I may rest satisfied in the security of the Papers. You will be so good as to return them in a week or two after you receive the machine, & if there be any further Explanation wanting I will furnish it if in my power. The feeding sheet is to be put at the end of the machine, occasionally, but I find it is sufficiently described in the specifications. I hope the machine will arrive in safety, and I shall be very much disappointed if it should not answer every expectation formed of it. Your servant started this day, & I informed him I would write to you by the first post. I charged him to move with great care, & to go steadily on. He seems to be very attentive. He informed me you have some Pups from your Sheep Dogs. If they are not engaged & should not be wanted by you, I should be much obliged by a pair of them or if two cannot be spared at present a dog would do. . . . (MHi)

To Thaddeus Kosciuszko

Monticello June 28. 12.

. . . Our manufactures are now very nearly on a footing with those of England. she has not a single improvement which we do not possess, and many of them better adapted by ourselves to our ordinary use. we have reduced the large & expensive machinery for most things to the compass of a private family: and every family of any size is now getting machines on a small scale for their household purposes. Quoting myself as an example, and I am much

behind many others in this business, my household manufactures are just getting into operation on the scale of a Carding machine costing 60. Dollars only, which may be worked by a girl 12. years old, a Spinning machine, which may be made for 10. Dollars, carrying 6. spindles for wool, to be worked by a girl also, another which can be made for 25. Dollars, carrying 12. spindles for cotton, & a loom, with a flying shuttle, weaving it's 20. yards a day. I need 2000. yards of linen, cotton, & woollen yearly, to clothe my family, which this machinery, costing 150. Dollars only, and worked by two women and two girls, will more than furnish. for fine goods there are numerous establishments at work in the large cities, & many more daily growing up, and of Merinos we have some thousands, and these multiplying fast. we consider a sheep for every person as sufficient for their woollen clothing, and this state, & all to the North have fully that, and those to the South & West will soon be up to it. . . . (DLC)

To David Gelston

Monticello July 2. 12.

I recieved yesterday your favor of the 26. and lose no time in replying to it. if a conveyance by a coasting vessel to Norfolk or Richmond can be found it is so much the simplest that I should prefer it, notwithstanding. the risk brought on by the war. but the enemy have not yet had time to spread their privateers on our coast, nor have their ships of war as yet had time to catch our swift sailing pilot boats, to arm them as tenders and be able to take every thing in shore. I think therefore there is but little danger as yet. . . . (MHi)

To Ebenezer Herrick

Monticello July 2. 12.

Your favor of June 19. came to hand yesterday, and I this day include your 3. dollars for cartage in a small remittance I make to mr Gelston to meet other petty charges. but you must have the goodness to direct some friend going to N. York to call on mr Gelston for the 3. D. he has retained the machine for further orders on account of the danger of capture by sea: but I desire him to risk it, and if it is taken I must apply to you for another, & try another chance. it is the smallness and presumed simplicity of this machine which makes me anxious to get it, as I expect it will best suit the situation of a family in the country. we have Jennies, & mules & Arkwright's machines in the neighborhood so that I suppose we shall be able to understand yours. . . . (DLC)

To William Thornton

Monticello July 3. 12.

My spinning machine is safely arrived, and also your letter of the 27th. covering the drawings now returned. they served to instruct us compleatly as to the spinning part of the machine which is now at work; but not as to the Feeding frame, marked G. in the drawing. the written specification says (it recieves motion in the same manner and performs the same service as in the common roving jack.) but of this common roving jack we know nothing, having never seen one. my superintendant of the manufactory, a very ingenious man, perfectly acquainted with the spinning machines, has puzzled now for 2. days, and myself about an hour, and we can make nothing of it. I am obliged therefore to ask a word of explanation from you. we observe the following parts which appear not to be used in the spinning, & suppose therefore they belong to the roving. 1. a groove on the inside of the side plate visible in both the drawings near the bottom of the plate & parallel with it.

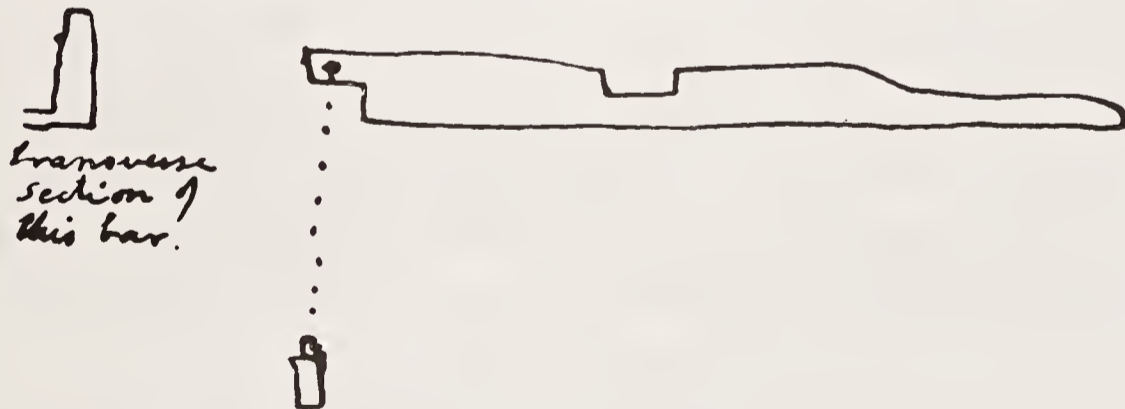
2. a pulley on the inside of the same plate not shewn in the drawings but near 5, in the upper one.

3. a wooden thing of this shape sliding on a screw through a groove,



and against it a wooden spring. neither shewn in the drawings.

4. a little wooden bar about 17. or 18. I. long shaped thus



this is detached from the frame and has a weight appended by a small string 6. f. long. we observe also the pully & ratchet or click on the large cylinder of the feeding frame, apparently for carrying a band of 1. I. broad. I must now ask the following questions.

1. on which hand or side of the machine does this pulley & ratchet stand? on that of the wheel, or the opposite one?
2. which side of the feeding sheet is uppermost? that which is supported by boards or the unsupported one?
3. What gives motion to the rollers of the feeding sheet? doubtless a band on the ratchet pulley of the large one. but whither is the other end of the band carried to receive it's motion? & what it's mover? you see by these questions that we have not the least idea of this part of the machine: and I am afraid you will feel how enormously unreasonable I am in giving you so much trouble about it. but I know your charity, and that that virtue is not confined to the giving money only, but information and counsel also to the needy in that line. . . . (DLC)

To Jacob Alrichs

Monticello Aug. 10. 12.

When you were so kind as to exhibit to me at Washington your Spinning machine with 6. spindles (for I believe it was yourself who attended there) I understood you meant to employ your mind in the construction of a carding machine on the same scale, to go by hand, and if it succeeded, that I should be furnished with one on request. I understand you have fully succeeded in it, and I now ask the favor of you to furnish me one to be worked by hand, and just large enough to employ my spinning machine of 20. spindles. I would ask as a great favor to be furnished without delay, because in the mean time my spinning drags on very heavily, having to do all the carding by hand. the machine when ready & packed should (for safety) be sent down the bay of Chesapeake, to either Norfolk or Richmond, addressed to the care of mr Gibson mercht. of Richmond to be forwarded to me. mr Gibson will pay the freight, and the moment you notify me that it is ready, and mention it's price, it shall be remitted to you either to Wilmington or Philadelphia. have the goodness to drop me a single line on the receipt of this, that I may be on a certainty as to it's getting to hand, and when I may hope for it's effect. . . . (DLC)

To Alrichs & Dixon

Monticello Sep. 22. 12.

My letter of Aug. 30. informed you of my departure on a journey before I could consult the person who has charge of my small spinning establishment as to the kind of roll which a hand carding machine should make to suit us. I am but just returned from that

journey, and on consulting him he sais the perpetual roll would not suit us, that it should be the short roll, such as is given off by common cards, of either cotton or wool. I will thank you therefore to expedite me one such as soon as you can . . .

P. S. do you make *hand* carding machines for wool also, and what is the price of a small one? (DLC)

To James Ronaldson

Monticello Oct. 11. 12.

. . . we shall in all events derive permanent benefit from the war, by it's giving time for the permanent establishment of our manufactures, to which the high duties you mention, will contribute, while they also enrich our treasury. we always manufactured a great deal in this state in the houshold way. but this was on the old Spinning wheel. the introduction of machines into our families is becoming common. those of 6. spindles suit the smaller families. I have 36. spindles going myself & shall soon add 18. more. my son in law has 40. we find the old Jenny far preferable to the newer & less simple contrivances. in a year or two more, houshold manufactures will be so universally established in this state, that the British commerce in coarse goods will be compleatly extirpated, & never more will be of much value to them. . . .

P. S. I think that this, or one year, more will have raised our stock of sheep to one for every person in the state, which we deem sufficient for our cloathing with the aid of our cotton. This is spun so much more cheaply than hemp & flax that it will be substituted entirely for coarse shirting instead of oznabrigs & ticklenburg. . . . (DLC)

Bill from Alrichs & Dixon

Dec. 2. 1812.

Thomas Jefferson

For one Hand Carding Engine for Cotton	\$86.00
" 2 Emery Boards & Cylinder	2.00
" 2 Boxes & packing	4.00
" Cash paid portage to French Town & Freight to Baltimore	5.00
	<hr/>
	\$97.00

(DLC)

To Alrichs & Dixon

Monticello Jan. 14. 13.

Your favor of Dec. 2. arrived here while I was on a journey

which occasioned me an absence of between 5. & 6. weeks. I found it on my return here, and learning at the same time that the carding machine was on it's way up the river, I waited till I could acknowledge the receipt of both together. the machine arrived safely, and has now been at work some days. the person who directs my factory I found to be not as well acquainted with it as I supposed. he could not make it produce a perfect roll, until he made some alteration (probably not for the better) which adapted it to his own ideas. it produced at first a roll partly flat. it now produces it perfect. the force required to turn it is almost nothing, but the velocity with which it must be turned is fatiguing. I am putting a 6. I. whirl in place of the handle of the great cylinder to be driven by a 2. f. wheel & band, so that the hand will make one revolution where it now makes four. this I expect will be a less fatiguing composition of force & velocity than the present. the addition will be attached by 2. screws only, so that if it does not answer it will be easily taken off & leave the machine exactly as it now is. I will immediately desire Gibson & Jefferson of Richmond to remit you the 97. D. amount of your bill. Your favor of Jan. 1. is just now received. there being near me a wool carding machine, going by water, renders the question as to hand-carding machines for that article less important. . . . (DLC)

To Alrichs & Dixon

Monticello Feb. 26. 13.

. . . I did not make the addition to the carding machine which I proposed in my letter, because I found it worked with practicable ease without. I therein mentioned to you that I had found the person who superintends my little factory, less acquainted with the machinery than I had expected. he was able to make it produce the roll perfect as to shape, but the staple of the cotton so chopped up, as to appear knappy or curdled in the roll, and in the *roved* thread. this rendered it incapable of being spun; and finding he could not remedy this without trying projects which I would not permit, we have set the machine by in the hope that you can explain to me the cause & correction of this. the manager says that your directions forbid the cards on the cylinders & those on the outer boards to come quite into contact in which way she rendered nothing at all. he made them take a little into one another, which produced rolls, but such only as I have mentioned. perhaps the stating this to you may lead you to a discovery of the cause of failure, and you will very much oblige me by any instructions you will give me to surmount it. . . . (DLC)

To Jeremiah Goodman

[Monticello] Mar. 5. 13.

. . . Maria is becoming a capital spinner. She does her ounce. & a half a day per spindle on a 12. spindle machine & will soon get to 2. ounces which is a reasonable task. she learnt from a girl younger than herself, in 4. or 5. days. this shows it to be so easy, that it will not be necessary for Agay to come down, as she can learn from Maria. of Sally we can make nothing at all. I never saw so hopeless a subject. she seems neither to have the inclination nor the understanding to learn. she is now weaving one yard a day, with the flying shuttle and of such stuff as will not be worth giving to children. I have given her notice that she shall have some days trial more and if there be no improvement she must cease to spin more cloth and go out to work with the overseer until I send up Maria & the 2. machines for Maria & Aggay, which will be in April. and she must then change places with the most promising of those you have in the ground. still it is possible she may come to for much is owing to the distraction of mind which the courses she has taken to here occasion. in making your spinning house let the door be 4 f. 6. I. wide in the clear to let in the machine of 24. spindles. . . . (DLC)

From Alrichs & Dixon

Wilmington Del, 3rd Mo. 10th. 1813

Thy favr of 26 Ulto came to hand a few days since, are sorry thou give thyself a minutes concern about the trifle that was due us, we received it some days ago from Gibson & Jefferson as thou expected.

We have considered the statement thou has given us of the failure of thy Carder to produce good Rolls and are of opinion that when it *appeared* to be fixt as we directed and "renderd nothing at all" that the *daffers* must have been too far off from the *main Cylinder*, they ought to be placed as near as possible in contact so as not to touch, the placing the Cards so as "to take into one another" must produce bad Knappy Rolls and in a very short time Ruin the Cards.

We think that if thy Superintendent will grind up the Cards *perfectly sharp* (supposing they must be very dull by working into each other) and fix all the working Cards *as near* each other *as possible so as not quite to touch* taking care to have his Cotton Clean and well picked (or Batted) [*illegible*] before he puts it on the feeding table and feed very *light the first* Runing through, Cleaning

the top Cards frequently; he will find that on the *second* Carding, the machine will produce good *Carding*, and good Rolls. the main cylinder must allso be cleand every few (5 or 6) hours. . . . (DLC)

To Martha (Jefferson) Randolph

Poplar Forest May 6. 13.

. . . The Spinning Jenny is at work, well while with washed cotton, but very ill when with unwashed. at least this is Maria's way of accounting for the occasional difference of it's work. the flying shuttle began a little yesterday, but owing to a variety of fixings which the loom required it exhibited very poorly. we hope to see it do better to-day. . . . (MHi)

To Richard Fitzhugh

Monticello May 27. 13.

. . . we have in our family (including my daughter's) three spinning Jennies agoing, of 24. & 40. spindles each which can spin 11. pounds of coarse cotton a day, and our looms fixed with flying shuttles, which altho' they do not perform the miracles ascribed to them, do, I think, double the effect of the common loom. we still want carding machines in our neighborhood working at such moderate prices as to relieve us from hand-carding. with this convenience, the clothing our family would be a thing really of neither trouble nor expense. even without this additional aid the labour is a very light one. . . . (MHi)

To Hugh Holmes

Monticello July 21. 13.

Availing myself of your kind offer, I forwarded to Staunton by the stage 39. lb unwashed Merino wool which I hope has reached you safely. the cloth when made I would wish to have dyed of the darkest blue colour they can give it, which I think you said was what they called Navy blue. I yesterday wrote to Gibson & Jefferson to forward to the bank of Winchester, subject to your call, 30. Dollars which as well as I could judge from your information would cover the expenses of manufacture. . . . (MHi)

To William Mclure

Monticello Oct. 16. 13.

I was just going out on my ride the other day when your son called with your letter, which prevented my doing more than sending an order for the barrel of flour. I have with chearfulness supplied your necessities in consideration of getting my spinners &

weavers instructed, informing you always that when this was done, you would have to look to other resources: and desirous that you should do this in time I mentioned to you some time ago that when Dolly should be able to go on by herself, we should take her home. we accordingly propose, as the winter is now setting in, that after finishing the piece of cloth now in her loom, that it shall be set up here, & she come home to weave on it here. you will then have to stand on your own legs, as I formerly observed to you. you shall be welcome to continue in the house and tenement, free of rent, and I shall with pleasure do anything I can towards promoting your business and it's success, which I am sure if pushed with activity will be a sufficient resource for your maintenance. . . . (MHi)

From Hugh Holmes

Winchr Nov. 17th. 1813.

Shortly after my return the 5th inst from the judicial labours of the fall circuit I addressed a note to the manufacturers of yr Merino Wool urging the completion of the fabric and desiring to know when I might expect it. he returned the answer enclosed, which is not satisfactory as to the time of finishing it but I hope we shall be able to send it to you by your nephew Judge Carr who intends going to Albemarle about the middle of December. it was with a reluctance almost bordering on refusal that this manufacturer engaged to work the wool on terms of charging for carding, spinning, weaving, fulling dying & dressing because he prefers to *buy* the wool & *sell the Cloth at his own price*. I know from experience that including the high price of Merino Wool a yd of broad cloth 6 yds wide can be made for \$5. This cloth the Manufacturer can readily sell at \$10 by which he makes a clear proffit of \$5 per yd. hence it is that they refuse to the citizens at large access to their Machinery, this monopoly growing out of the War non importation &c. must find reasonable limits on the return of peace or the multiplication of similar establishments. . . . (MHi)

Th. Jefferson to Whoever it concerns

The bearer Wm. McLure removed from N. C. to this neighborhood under an engagement to instruct us in the use of the Spinning Jenny. several of these machines have been made by him & by our workmen, and our Spinners are taught to use them so completely as to ensure our being able to clothe our own people by the labor of a few of the less usefull of them. his principal profession is weaving, of which we have no other experience than his having taught

some of our people to weave single & double cloth, being all our wants have hitherto called for. he has lived here between 2. & 3. years and I have found him to be an honest, disinterested man, good humored, accomodating and sober. I have thought it a duty, at his request, to state these truths.

Mar. 12. 14. Th: J.
(Mo SHi) T M R

To William Thornton

Poplar Forest near Lynchburg
June 9. 14.

Your kindness has emboldened me, whenever I want information of what relates to the arts, to apply to you, and especially when for an object deposited in your office. the enclosed description of Janes's improvement of the loom has excited my attention. that the force of the stroke of the batten should also move the shuttle and treadles is certainly practicable [for] proper machinery; but we who live in the county where we have only common workmen have other questions to ask, and I address them as usual to your friendship. does the stroke of the batten in Janes's loom competently work the shuttle and the treadles? is it of such simplicity as that it can be made by our country workmen, and kept in order by the common ingenuity in our families? can the machinery be affixed to a common loom or does it require a new loom of special construction? if applicable to a common loom, can the apparatus be made in Washington, & within the volume which the stages would undertake to bring? what the price of the apparatus separately, or of loom & apparatus together if both must be had together and what the volume of both together? . . . after trying several spinning machines I have settled down with the antient Jenny, because it's simplicity is such that we can make and repair it ourselves. mr Randolph & myself have four of them at work in our family, 3 of them of 24 spindles each and one of 40. but there is an improvement of Dr. Allison's enabling them to spin from the roll, without previous roving, which, when I have leisure I shall try to make, having obtained the Doctor's permission. he has given me some directions additional to those in Cooper's Emporium, which render the executing of the machine quite easy. . . . (DLC)

From Hugh Holmes

Winchr July 10th. 1814.

Yesterday your Cloth was received from the Factory and is this

day forwarded to the care of Judge Stuart of Staunton. Some who have examined it, think that the finishing is equal to any American manufacture and but little inferior to that of the English. I confess that I am disappointed, it does not feel soft enough to my touch; which may probably arise from being too often shown. it was first dyed a blue, but not succeeding in his expectation the manufacturers changed it to a black. the workmen say that broad Cloth such as yours will require 2 lbs of Merino Wool (washed) to the yard. if so the 10 yds now sent have consumed the 39 lbs of unwashed wool.

I have not reced the bill of charge but from some hints dropped I presume it will cost more than our estimate. he sells such Cloth as yours at \$10. when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you at Monticello in September we can arrange the expenses. (MHi)

To William Thornton

Monticello July 23. 14.

I return you Janes's description of his loom with many thanks for the communication of it. the improvement for moving the treadles without using the feet is highly valuable, inasmuch as our weavers are the most part women. it appears too to be sufficiently simple for country use. the winding up the cloth is also useful, & not complicated. I do not well understand the mechanism for shooting the shuttle, nor consider it important, because it may be as well to employ both hands as one. if I knew the price, and where and how I could get one of these looms, I might be tempted to try them. . . . I am steadily pursuing the business of homespun & will never give it up. . . . (MHi)

To Thomas Ritchie

Monticello Aug. 15. 14.

It is probable that a mr Clopper of Maryland is now in Richmond exhibiting a loom of the most beautiful invention imaginable. nobody was more pleased than myself with it's construction, when shewn here, and I was willing to have procured one of them altho at a price which I deemed exorbitant. while it was here I recieved a letter from Dr. Maese of Philadelphia, informing me that one of these looms cost there about 50. D. which letter I shewed to mr Clopper, & observed to him that perhaps he might find one or two other individuals in this county who might be willing to give 100. D. the price he asked; but I was sure he would find 100. if he reduced it to 50. D. he adhered however to his price, altho' I think

with an intimation that he expected in time to lower it. since this I have recd. a letter from the purchaser of the patent right for Maryland informing me that in Connecticut these looms are sold for 40. D. and in Baltimore for 50. D. his price for the right to construct and use a single loom is 20. D. while for the same right Clopper asks 50. D. from us. nobody wishes more to encourage useful arts and inventions than myself. but I think the present a very unwarrantable attempt to make our citizens pay the double of what is asked from those of other states, and that not to reward the author of the invention, but the forestaller of the Virginia market. but the taking from a few wealthy individuals 100. instead of 50. D. is not the gist of the evil. it is the exclusion of the great body of our citizens from the benefit of the machine by asking a price beyond their faculties: it is placing the weavers of other states on a footing so much better than ours, that by underworking us, they may draw our own demands to the Northern manufactories, and put down the competition of ours. I certainly do not mean to bring myself into controversy with mr Clopper or any one else. yet I think our citizens should be put on their guard. perhaps this kind of information is properly within the functions of the public papers. . . . (DLC)

To William Thornton

Monticello Aug. 17. 14.

Your favor of Aug. 2. was duly recieved, and I thank you much for the information it has procured me. I have recieved a letter from mr Greer informing me that the price of Janes's loom in Connecticut is 40. D. and in Baltimore 50. D. where they sell the patent right for a single loom at 20. D. Dr. Maese in a letter to me from Philadelphia says the price of a loom there is 50. D. here mr Clopper asks 100. D. for a loom & 50. D. for the patent right to make & use a single one. he exhibited his loom in Charlottesville where I saw it, and think I have never seen a superior improvement. I advised him to abate his price, observing that I would give him 100. D. for a loom, & perhaps one or two others in the county would do it, while there were 100. who would take them at 50. D. he is now exhibiting in Richmond at these prices: but he will be the dupe of his own avarice. he has not the means of furnishing a single loom, & were we to buy the right to make one for ourselves, we have no model. mr Greer offers to furnish me with one for 50. D. and I would willingly send a cart for it: but then I should have no right to use it because we have been sold to mr Clopper. a few rich persons with

us may buy at 100. D. of 40,000 looms in this state I verily believe that 10,000 would be exchanged for Janes's at 50. D. but at Clopper's prices I do not believe 100. will be bought. . . . (MHi)

To John Thomson Mason

Monticello Aug. 18. 14.

Your letter of May 5. was handed me by Dr. Wallace on the 25th. of June, & I have added to the delay of answering it by waiting the arrival of the specimens of mrs Mason's skill in manufactures which your letter mentd. these (after various accidents of delay immaterial to explain) arrived yesterday, and excite the admiration of us all. they prove that mrs Mason is really a more dangerous adversary to our British foes, than all our Generals. these attack the hostile armies only, she the source of their subsistence. what these do counts nothing because they take one day & lose another: what she does counts double, because what she takes from the enemy is added to us. I hope too she will have more followers than our Generals, but few rivals I fear. these specimens exceed anything I saw during the revolutionary war, altho' our ladies of that day turned their whole efforts to these objects, & with great praise & success. the endeavors which Dr. Wallace informed you we were making in the same line, are very humble indeed. We have not as yet got beyond the cloathing of our laborers. we hope indeed soon to begin finer fabrics, and for higher uses. but these will probably be confined to cotton & wool. our Spinning Jennies working from 24. to 40. spindles each, produce an impatience of the single thread of the flax-wheel. 2. oz. of cotton, for each spindle is a moderate days work; and these, the simplest of machines, are made by our country joiners & kept in order by our overseers. very different from the clock work of Arkwright's machines whose tooth & pinion work requires a clock-maker to make & keep in repair. I have lately also seen the improvement of the loom by Janes, the most beautiful machine I have ever seen; wherein the hand which pulls the batten moves the shuttle, the treadles, the temples, the web and cloth beams, all at the same time: so that a person with one hand, & without feet, or using only one hand, may weave as well as with all their members. I am endeavoring to procure this improvement also. . . . (DLC)

To William Thornton

Monticello Dec. 24. 14.

. . . Clopper exhibited his loom at the court of our county and

might on that day have contracted for 20. or 30. single looms at the Connecticut or Baltimore prices; but asking 100. D. for a loom and 50. D. for the patent right of a single one, he contracted for not a single one, and never will here. for the people on reflection asked why give 100. D. to let the left hand & both feet be idle? if I could employ them on some thing else while the right hand is doing their work, it might be worth while. . . . (DLC)

To Charles W. Goldsborough

Monticello Feb. 9. 15.

I thank you for the information of your letter of Jan. 19. on the subject of the newly improved looms; but the extent of my manufactures is merely the cloathing my family which employs two common looms with the flying shuttle. I had indeed been much pleased with the beauty of the operation of Janes's loom, which was exhibited, by the purchaser of his patent right for this state, at our Courthouse in Charlottesville. had he offered them at the price asked by the patentee in Connecticut (40. D.) he might have sold 30. or 40. that day; but asking 80. or 100. D. he did not sell a single one, nor will he as many, I think, in the whole state. for after all, it only gives a useless holliday to one hand and both feet. . . . (DLC)

To James Maury

Monticello June 16. 1815.

. . . I make in my family 2000. yds of cloth a year, which I formerly bought from England, and it only employs a few women, children & invalids who could do little in the farm. . . . (DLC)

To John George Baxter

Monticello July 16. 15.

. . . Mr. Breckenridge informs me you have invented a spinning machine which from it's cheapness, simplicity and saving of labor is rapidly getting into general use. I should like to know in what this differs from the old spinning Jenny, or from Arkwright's machines. these last will not answer in the country because they require nice workmen to keep them in repair. I have therefore used the Jenny, because our workmen can make them, and any body can repair them. I have three of these, carrying 24. threads each, in operation in my own family. but if there be any thing yet more simple & of equal effect I should prefer it. . . . (DLC)

SPINNING, WEAVING, CLOTH

From George Baxter

Lexington August 1st. 1815.

Your favour of the 16th Ult I have received, you express a wish “to know in what my Machine differs from the old Spinning Jenny,” my Machines require no engenuous attendance, all that it requires is to turn the Handle, which can be done by any person too Young or too old for the Labours of the feild, when the bobin (spool) is full it is easily lifted off, no fly to screw off, the bobin stands on a dead spindle. There is a Band to every two spindles, one band to the Back, or feeding Rollar, and one Band to the front Rollar, or drawing rollar, and a Band to drive the Machine, she is very simple and easily kept in Repair,

a person may spin on my Machine from the time the Bobin (Spool) is put on, till it is full without even, Looking at it. There being no attention at all necessary, the person may read, Talk, or pay their attention to any other Business. I have had a Machine going here for a Number of Months & *the thread has never Broke once*, there is no education necessary, one of your Negro Girls of ten years of age is as good a spinner as I am. The machine of Eight spindles will weigh perhaps 75 pounds, If you will be so obliging as give me leave to send you one I will esteem it a favour it can be sent any distance without any great risk. . . . (DLC)

To Benjamin J. Campbell

Monticello Mar. 26. 16.

I recieved the last night your favor of the 16th. and hasten to acknolege it. I had before remarked in the newspapers an account of your new invented loom, which appeared to promise considerable advantages. but manufacturing with me is on too small a scale to make it an object, making only coarse cloths for my family and people. two common looms with flying shuttles do this. I had at one time thought of trying one of Janes’s looms, but his patentee for this state asked double it’s price in the other states, and I percieve in fact that it has not been adopted in practice. . . . (DLC)

To Charles Willson Peale

Monticello May 8. 16.

. . . In that of June 18. you promised yourself to visit Dr. Allison’s improvements in the small family machines for spinning. he published a drawing & description of one in the Symposium which spun from the roll, & saved the intermediate operation of roving which is $\frac{1}{3}$ of the labor. I formed a good opinion of it and

wrote him a letter on the subject, which he kindly answered. if you have seen it work, I should like to know how it answers. and can you tell me how Janes's loom is approved in practice? it promised well. I concur with you in doubting whether the great establishments, by associated companies, are advantageous in this country. it is the houshold manufacture which is really precious; because the same children are employed in them, under the eye & care of their parents, where they are more correctly brought up, and have better opportunities of healthy exercise. this however is for coarse, and midling goods only. for the finest fabrics, we must depend on the associated establishments, or on foreign countries. this last has many serious inconveniences. the fruit-gatherer you describe I was in possession of, a little varied only in it's construction. . . . (DLC)

To George Logan

Poplar Forest Nov. 24. 16.

. . . the specimen of flax from Sr. John Sinclair is exquisite. we have learned from the newspapers that a new method of preparing flax has been discovered in England. I presume this is an example. about 25. years ago Sr. John Sinclair sent me a specimen of Virginia wool which he had picked up accidentally, and had finely prepared, to shew that we have among us native sheep with wool equal to the Merino. now & then in a flock we find such wool; but have never made the selection of the breed an object, because in our houshold manufactures, (& we have no other) we make only coarse woollen clothing for our laborers. for the same reason we are retiring from the Merinos, for whose wool we have neither use nor market. even our houshold cotton manufactures which are innate and nearly coeval with the state, are laboring under a difficulty. originally, and till within 30. years, we raised our own cotton. about that time our emigrants to Georgia & the upper part of S. Carolina carried the culture there, and could raise it there so much easier, that we nearly gave up the culture, and procured our supplies from them thro' our merchants. these last finding our houshold manufactures shorten their sales of what is imported, have suddenly ceased to import the cotton wool of the South, and we are suddenly without a pound, and forced to go to the stores for imported substitutes. this trick will succeed for one year, & with the high price of the article is putting us on a resumption of the culture. the account you send me of the Mangel-Wurzell would encourage one to undertake it, even if it requires the culture of the spade. this

plant was all the rage while I was in France; but soon went out of vogue, I know not why. . . . (DLC)

To Joel Yancey

Monticello Mar. 14. 18.

. . . with respect to the spinning house, a previous general question must be settled. are we to make our clothing or go to the stores for it? I have never seen the latter unattended by ruin in the end. my mind is therefore decided against it. and if we are to make for ourselves it will never do to break up the establishment on every temporary variation of the material. the wool we have, the hemp we may make, and may in a great measure make it take the place of cotton in the shirting, by doing this, little cotton will be wanting, and I believe we might easily make this. you once suggested it, and I liked the proposition, and think it would be an excellent supplementary employment for the spinners. when slack of work, some of the subordinate hands of the spinning house might go to the plough, but the principal ones should be kept in practice. . . . (MHi)

. . . Mr. Jefferson also had a factory for making domestic cloth. He got his cotton from Richmond in bateaux. He had in his factory three spinning machines. One had thirty-six spindles, one eighteen, and one six. The hands used to learn on the little one. He made cloth for all his servants, and a great deal besides. I have sold wagon loads of it to the merchants. . . . (Pierson, *Monticello*, pp. 68-69.)

CLOTHS

Baby cloth—A light woolen or cotton material for making clothes for babies.

Bear cloth—A long, shaggy-napped woolen fabric used for overcoating but not made at present.

Broadcloth—A finely woven woolen cloth, usually 54 inches or more in width. (See correspondence between Jefferson and Judge Hugh Holmes under "Spinning and Weaving.")

Calamanco (callamanco, calimanco, caliminco, callimanco, calaminco)—A glossy, woolen, satin-twilled fabric originally manufactured in Flanders and much used in the 18th Century.

Calico—A cotton cloth, sometimes figured, originally imported from India. A cotton cloth printed on one side. A dress or garment made of calico.

Double cloth—A compound fabric in which a face cloth and a back

cloth—each with its own warp and filling—are combined during weaving. It produces a heavy cloth which is used for coating, blankets, upholstery cloth, etc. Jefferson's looms wove both single and double cloth.

Drab cloth—A kind of heavy cloth, usually in dark shades of gray or brown and without any decorations, and nearly always of wool.

Ell—A measure, chiefly for cloth. It is of different lengths in different countries. The English ell is 45 inches.

Everlasting—An extremely durable fabric made altogether or chiefly of wool. Everlasting made of worsted was a fabric of great use for breeches and vests.

Baize (green or red)—A coarse woolen cloth with a long nap, usually dyed green or red; used especially as a lining and for house-furnishings.

Half-thicks—A kind of coarse fabric which probably had a backing constructed with part wool—very likely the warp was cotton and the back was wool. The fabric was double construction with the face all wool. Probably not as "thick" in height and structure when compared with the greatcoats used in this era.

Hessian roll—A coarse cloth made of hemp or hemp and jute.

Huckaback—A firm, long weaving fabric, with a semirough, patterned surface. Huckaback is the name of the weave as well as of the fabric. The fabric is either linen or cotton and is used especially for towels.

Nankeen cotton—A durable yellow cotton cloth formerly brought from Nanking, China; or an imitation of this. A variety of naturally yellow cotton from which nankeen cloth was first made.

Nap (knap)—A cloth having a nap or pile on it. This fabric, at that time, was a material that had a nap that appeared in wave form because of the construction used.

Osnaburg (osnabrug, Ozenbrig, Oznabrig)—A coarse linen cloth of a kind made originally at Osnaburg, Germany; a strong, durable cloth somewhat similar to this but made of cotton.

Pennington nap (knap)—Probably a cloth with a nap, that came from Pennington, a village in Southwestern Lancashire, England.

Plains—Plainly woven cloth, usually of wool.

Single cloth—A cloth of one thickness in which weft and warp are of one thickness. (See "Double cloth.")

Skein (skane) — A quantity of thread, yarn, silk, or the like, put up after it is taken from the reel, usually in a sort of knot.

$\frac{6}{4}$ Cloth — Probably a piece of cloth 54 inches wide.

Ticklenburg — A mixed coarse linen fabric. It was often used to make bags.

Twilled — Fabrics that have diagonal lines or ribs on their surface.

White plains — (See "Plains.")

Potash and Pearlash

. . . I thought for a while of taking up the manufacture of pot-ash, which requires but small advances of money. I concluded at length however to begin a manufacture of nails, which needs little or no capital. . . . — *Jefferson to M. De Meusnier, Monticello, April 29, 1795*

CARBONATE OF POTASH, popularly known as "potashes," was originally obtained in countries where wood was cheap by lixiviating or leaching wood ashes in wooden tubs, evaporating the solution to dryness in iron pots and calcining the residue. Since the operation was carried on in iron pots and ashes were used in the process it took its name from "pot" and "ashes." The potash produced by this method was a crude substance which contained, in addition to carbonate, varying amounts of sulphate and chloride, and also insoluble matter. When the crude potash was treated with the minimum of cold water required to dissolve the carbonate, and the carbonate removed as a clear liquid and evaporated to dryness, it was purified and known as "pearlash."

Jefferson's interest in potash and pearlash began in Philadelphia in 1792, while he was Secretary of State. He was making plans to retire to Monticello and to recover again his wasted lands to their former fertility. He owned vast woodlands unfit for culture and too remote from the farms for the timber to be used on them. He decided therefore to cut down the trees and burn the wood into ashes and from them manufacture potash to use as a means of fertilizing his lands and to sell in order to increase his income. Since potash was simpler to make than pearlash, he decided to put all of his efforts on that product and not to manufacture any pearlash.

But Jefferson never carried out his plans for making potash. The years of his retirement, 1794-1796, were years too crowded with

other activities at Monticello—remodeling his house, starting a nailery, digging a canal for his mills, and countless other improvements on his mountaintop—to enter into this process of manufacturing potash. He decided a nailery would be more profitable. After 1795 there is little from Jefferson on potash and pearlash.

The following letters, with “Pot-ash. Pearl-ash” in the *Farm Book*, tell of Jefferson’s interest in and his plans for manufacturing these two substances.

To Joseph Leacock

Philadelphia Nov. 24. 1792.

I consider as a particular kindness the information you are pleased to give me on the subject of pot & pearl ash. It is a business in which I wish to engage moderately & cautiously, and being entirely unacquainted with it myself, I wish for good information before I proceed. I understand that a cord of wood makes two bushels of ashes, and that two bushels of ashes makes 10. lb. of pot ash, worth 5d. a pound. this seems to give me 4/2 a cord for my wood, which I must otherwise burn in waste on the lands I clear on my farms: besides that I have a vast deal of woodlands unfit for culture, and too remote from the farms for the timber to be used at all. 4/2 a cord for this appears a profitable price. Pot ash being the simplest process, I have no thought of trying pearl ash. I would not engage in this business at all, if I had not both the wood & the labour within myself. if my neighbors can be induced to hire the clearing of their lands at half price, or to take care of their ashes & sell them at the usual price, it will be so much gain on which I do not count. if in the pursuits of your business you ever pass this part of town in the forenoon, I am generally at home in that part of the day, and will be thankful to you to step in. . . . (DLC)

From Joseph Leacock

Phila. Novr. 25th. 1792.

Sir. My being at the Pot ash works of Richd. Johns (on business) when Mr. Jefferson came there, to make some Enquiry respecting the manufactory of Pot & pearl ash, (& Expressing an intention of beginning the business in the forests of Virginia, where he purposed having the timber cut down & burnt in the open air,) I considered it my duty to speak a few words on the occasion, having once been Engaged in that undertaking. I informed you Sir, that it did not answer the Expected End. I had an Amazing quantity of wood prepared & piled up in large heaps & set fire to, & Expected to have

a plentiful harvest of ashes to hale to the works, & was much disappointed—the rapidity of the fire was so excessive as to raise the ashes as they formed, & the wind wafted them away. I am told the Russians burn their wood in Kilns, built under the Knolls of hills, into which the wood is Easily rolled, &, where 'tis consumed to advantage, but the construction of these kilns I am unacquainted with, therefore must leave it to be explained by some person who may have seen it—probably I may be able to find out such a person, & should you Express a wish of that sort, I will then do it cheerfully. With respect to making good Pot & Pearl-ash, be assured it is but a simple thing, in which care is the Essential matter—the Lye must be Clear, or it will not be good after all the trouble, & the Lye ought to be strong ere it is Evaporated into black salts, in order that less time may be required, &, consequently, less wood, & less Expence—the process of making these salts into Pot ash, is very simple, many artists melt them Easily in open Kettles, I have been informed, but my kittle was always covered with sheet Iron, & I think Richard Johns has improved on it—his fire is so intensely hot as to burn out all the black vegetable oil, which, when left in, is the Cause of the sulphurous smell found in some ill manufactured pot-ash, which is unfit for the bleaching of Linen. Should Mr. Jefferson incline to make Pearl-ash, it will be necessary to have an oven for scorching the black salts, as the artist terms it, that is, to burn out the blackness of the salts, with a moderate fire made with dry oak, which is the best of wood for the purpose, & after the scorching is completed, it is then to be put into the kettle with a quantity of water sufficient to imbibe the alkalis & set to boil, after which put all the dissolved part into a clean tub to settle for some days, when the white Lyes are to be returned into the Kettle, to be Evaporated into white Pearl ash, & carefully stirred, till Every Lump on breaking, is found to be thoroughly white, & this is the whole art of making Pearl ash in Kettles—this new mode of boiling the scorched salts & putting the solution into the tub to settle, is productive of another good End, i.e. that of leaving all the Neutral-salts, adhering to the side & bottom of the tub, therefore this is pure Pearl-ash, & is, of more value (if duely Estimated,) than what has not gone throug this process—Should Mr. Jefferson require further information, I would advise him to apply to Mr. Johns, who is competant to it, & makes as good Pot & Pearl-ash, as any I have ever seen. I am sir, your sincere well wisher. . . .

NB. Should any blackness rise on Evaporating the white Lyes in the kettle, care must be taken to skim it off instantly, Ere it settles down again—these black skimings are not to be thrown away, but to be put into tubs among fresh ashes to Extract the alkali.

I can see no reason why those Kilns may not be made on low grounds, in the form of a Cellar walled up, into which the wood may be Easily rolled & burnt, probably it may be necessary to dig a flue below the bottom as an air hole, to kindle, & keep the fire lively.

With respect to Pearl-ash ovens, I must inform you there are several sorts in use and the original oven, which is a very good one, has two fire places within the arch, one on Each side the door. I need not describe the particular construction of this complete oven, as there are draughts of it in this City more accurately deliniated than I can describe with my pen. There is another kind, which I think Equally good, & less trouble in making, & that at Mr. John's is similar to it, but, was so in want of an Oven for the purpose of scorching the black salts, in order to make them into Pearl-ash in Kettles, as mentioned above, the oven should be built separate from any connection with the kettles—I directed Colonel Anderson of Maryland, to build such an Oven, having the fire behind, to play through a wide, but narrow Apperture over the bottom to the front, with a Chimney to carry the smoke off, just within the door through the Crown of the arch, this oven has succeeded admirably well he informs me, & says the arch is very low, not more than 14 or 16 inches high.

Colonel Anderson is daily Expected in this City & shhould Mr. Jefferson desire to talk with him on the subject, & will be pleased to intimate it to me, I will inform him. was my knowledge more Extensive, I would chearfully communicate it.

The burning of leached ashes with Expectation of gaining more alkali, is but a poor affair—there is in this City a german book, wrote by a Pot-ash maker, in which he gives the result of many Experiments made on such ashes with a view to ascertain wether 'twas worth the trouble & Expence, & concluded it to be a dirty unprofitable business & not worth following. it will be in my power to procure you the perusal of this book, should you desire it. (DLC)

From Joseph Leacock

Philada. Decemr. 10th. 1792.

. . . I hinted in my first Letter that the Russian had a method of

burning their wood for making Pot-ash in Kilns, but did not know in what manner they were constructed. I am enquiring about the large City for an intelligent person of that Country to talk with on the subject, & should I meet with one I will collect all I can & communicate it, & if possible, will prevail on him to accompany me to your dwelling. I will now impart a matter which, I flatter myself, merits some attention. the thought has just struck me, it is a method of burning wood to such advantage as to obtain every particle of the ashes, & without further preface I beg leave to ask whether Mr. Jefferson has ever seen the manner in which Colliers make Charcoal? if not, I will inform him, that, their wood is cut to one length & piled up Endways perpendicular to the horizon & when 'tis all fixed, the whole is carefully Covered with Earth, & then set fire to at an apperture below, left for that purpose, & great care observed to prevent the flame from breaking out, by adding more dirt occassionally, on the appearance of fire, & by this means Charcoal is made, & why the same mode should not succeed for reducing the wood to ashes, by leaving collateral vent holes in cross directions, I know not. It appears evident to me that great quantities of ashes might be thus obtained. it might be objected, that the dirt would fall on the ashes & injure them, to this I answer, that great part of it might be shovelled off, ere the ashes were gathered, & suppose a little to be left it can be of no ill consequence, provided due care should be taken to have the Lye Clear ere its Evaporation in the kettles. And now Sir, I will go further with the subject. I am of opinion amazing quantitys of ashes might be made in Caves dug into the sides of hills or mountains, the loftier the better, because the top or Crown will be thicker & better calculated to stand the intense heat. The bigness of the Cave must be commensurate to the quantity of wood intended to be burnt. The Cave I conceive might be made something in the following form, but being a poor draftsman I must Endeavour to Explain my ideas the half Circle represents the opening dug into the hill, the middle line represents a Column of the Earth Left not only as a support to the roof, but as a passage for the air & smoke to pass round from No. 1 to No. 2. represented by dotts. both Caves are to be filled with wood; & probably if piled perpendicular, might be best. it must be set fire to at No. 1 only, & consequently, No. 2 would be the draft hole. imagine such a place dug into a hill & the natural roof of it will be conceived. The Cave might be made so large as to admit waggons loaded with wood, several of them might be prepared in the most convenient places, & such places would last time out of mind provided the



mountain was lofty. should their be no hilly ground suitable, I see no reason why artificial places might not be made in low grounds by digging Cellars, walling them up & arching them over, & the wood might be thrown in thro an opening left in the top. these Crude hints I have thrown on paper for your more mature consideration. . . . (DLC)

Fresco Painting

IN THE FALL of 1792 Jefferson began making plans for renovating and rebuilding the house at Monticello. The plans called for extensive fresco paintings on the plastered walls of the house. Jefferson does not mention which rooms were to have frescoes, but probably they were the Entrance Hall, the Parlor, and the Dining Room. To do this work Jefferson wished to engage a Mr. Schneider, a fresco painter of New York, who had painted some panels in the house occupied by Jefferson while he lived there. Like so many of Jefferson's schemes, this one of ornamenting the walls of the house at Monticello with fresco paintings appears never to have been consummated.

The following letters and a memorandum discuss Mr. Schneider and fresco painting.

To Henry Remsen, Jr.

Philadelphia Nov. 13. 1792.

. . . when I was in Virginia the last summer I put under way all the arrangements necessary for resuming my buildings the ensuing summer. in the course of these I shall have occasion for a great deal of Fresco painting, if Schneider of N. York works in that way effectually. you know he did some pannels of that work in the house I lived in in N. York. would you be so good as to get leave to examine them now, see how their colours stand, and even try whether a towel dipped in soap & water and rubbed on them, will affect them? if you find them stand well, I should be very glad to know of Schneider whether I may still count on his coming to do my work? I should probably employ him about 3. months in the summer of 1794. and as long in 1796. and should expect to pay him by the month & the expences of his journey there & back. . . . (DLC)

From Henry Remsen, Jr.

New york November 19th. 1792.

. . . I have now the honor to inform you, that I have examined the

fresco paintings of Schneider in Mr. Bruce's house, and found them equally fresh & vivid as when first done. They bore this appearance before I tried their durability with a coarse towel dipped in soap suds. In that trial the center pannel, on which was painted a landscape, lost nothing; but, another pannel nearly opposite the door of your bedchamber, on which was painted a vase of flowers, slightly stained the cloth with red, which was the predominant colour in that piece. The painting was not however affected to appearance, tho' I rubbed it pretty hard for several minutes. I afterwards called on Schneider, & asked him if he would go to Virginia when you should want his services, and what his terms would be. He said that he would, and that his terms would be two dollars a day during the time of his employment, that is, from his arrival & readiness to proceed to work till his discharge. On observing that I thought his demand extravagant, which I really think it is, he said he had mentioned that sum to you, and that for a less one he could not well support his family. He appears very desirous of your employment, as introductory among other things to an establishment in Virginia, for, besides what work he has from the Theatre his art does not bring him more than a bare subsistence. He feels assured, he says, of executing to your satisfaction any kind of fresco-paintings, if employed. I must now beg your directions, Sir, about bargaining with him, should you consent to his terms.

I trust you will excuse my mentioning, that it has become the prevailing fashion to paint dining rooms & large halls, either green, light blue or yellow, which looks extremely well. A border of paper or paint of a different colour or colours is added. The paint is mixed with oil, and bears washing. The mantle piece is painted of the same colour as the room, and the composition ornaments which are placed on it, of a different colour. I have seen a large dining room painted light blue, the ceiling being left white; the mantle piece and the wooden pieces extending from the mantle piece to the floor, were also painted blue like the walls, and the ornaments on the mantle piece and on the side pieces white, which formed a most pleasing contrast. Different shades of yellow also look well. I am told that great care must be taken by the painter in mixing his colours & putting them on. If he has to add to his paint pot before finishing a room, it is scarcely possible for him to get exactly the same kind of paint, and the smallest difference of colour is visible. . . . (DLC)

To Henry Remsen, Jr.

Philadelphia Nov. 25. 1792.

I am extremely obliged to you for the trouble you have so kindly taken in my little commission. Schneider did mention to me the price of 2. dollars a day, at the time I asked if he would go to Virginia to work for me, and I remember I thought it enormous, but at the same time concluded as the time of my employing him was very distant, it would be time enough to settle price when I should make my definitive enquiry of him. at two dollars a day, I should certainly restrain my employment of him to one or two, principal rooms. I should be willing to give him 6 guineas a month, with his diet & lodging and extend his employment to nearly my whole house, which would be a bout 6 months work, divided between the years 1794. 5. & 6. If he chose to remove his family at the same time, he could place them in a little village about 3. miles from my house, the cheapest part of America for subsistence, beef being 2 cents pr lb. wheat half a dollar the bushel. this would give him time to look about for his final settlement, which of course would be in Richmond, that being the place where he would get most work, or where the gentlemen of the country would become acquainted with him, & employ him to go into the country at times. I wish he would decide on a moderate price with me, because I am desirous of finishing my whole house in Fresco: & such a job & situation would be convenient for him as a stand to look out for work in the first beginnings of his removal. . . . (DLC)

From Henry Remsen, Jr.

New York August 1st. 1793.

. . . Schneider informs me, after having duly considered what you wrote respecting his going to Virginia, that he cannot take less than two dollars pr. day while actually employed, that is, from his arrival, & readiness to begin work until his discharge, and one dollar pr. day for his travelling expences in going & returning. He is now engaged in painting, in dry fresco, a large room for the reception & deposit of the curiosities belonging to the Tammanial Society, and receives that pay. I have seen his work, and it looks well. . . . (DLC)

To Henry Remsen, Jr.

Philadelphia Sep. 11. 1793.

. . . Schneider's price is high. I must do the less in his way; but still I must employ him when I am ready. . . . (DLC)

LOSSES CAUSED BY BRITISH
FRESCO PAINTING

The plaister is of the common composition & laid on in the common way, except the last coat which is half lime, half sand, not laid on too smooth.

if the last coat is put on early in the morning the painter can work on it all that day, & the next day, only moistening it occasionally with a brush & water.

old plaistering can be painted, only hacking it so as to recieve a thin coat of plaister.

Schneider is a scene painter. he asks 1 dollar the sq. yard for ornamented parts let the design be what it will.

1½ dollar the square yard for plain blue or yellow.

because they require 3. coats. the other colours but one.

the colours are mixed with water only very thick

vermilion (red), orpiment (yellow), powder blue.

patent—yellow also. the white is of lime alone.

the green is a mixture of yellow & blue.

if laid on hard, it will rub up the plaister & look ill—must be laid on delicately.

The colours are very different when they are dried on the plaister, from what they appear in the pot. therefore attention must be paid to this.

Schneider would ask 2. dollars a day, & be found diet, lodgg. washing, colours, brushes &c.

he painted 6. square yards in about 12. hours; in which there was a landscape about 12 I. by 18. I. a pot of flowers 2. f. by 1. f. a column 5 f. high with a garland, 3 pannels of marble work, & 3. do. with border. (DLC)

Losses Caused by the British in 1781

THE year 1781 was a distressing one in Virginia. The war was pressing in from all sides on the Colony, and Jefferson, along with all the people, was experiencing unusual losses.

The British came to Monticello in early June; but they did little damage to that place. Elk Hill, Jefferson's estate in Goochland County on the James River, and certain properties in Cumberland County, however, suffered severe damages from the British. The

following extracts from letters, and the detailed account in the *Farm Book*, show to what extent Jefferson suffered from the invasion of the British.

State of the losses of Thomas Jefferson in the county of Cumberland by the British in the year 1781.

Slaves who went off with the British & died	
Hannibal	Nanny
Patty	Fanny
Prince	Nancy
Sam 9. years old	Flora
Sally	Quomina

Went off with the British & was never more heard of.
Sam.

Went off with the British, returned & died of the camp fever
Lucy. Black Sall. Jane 10. years old.

Lost for want of cultivation by loss of the hands
about 80 barrels of corn
130. lb of cotton
7. hogshead of tobacco

9. head of cattle taken away from Elk island where they happened
to stray
1. Fearnought filly 2 years old.

1783. January 27. This day Charles Ham overseer for Thomas
Jefferson made oath to the truth of the above state.
Henry Skipwith

Cumberland court 27th. January 1783.

The within state was presented in court and the same having
been proved by the oath of Charles Karr as appears on the certificate
there annexed is ordered to be certified to the governor and council.

Test
Geo. Carrington jr Clk

Tho. Jefferson
losses occasioned by the British proved Jan. 1783
For Governor
(Arents Collection, New York Public Library)

From Account Book, 1781

Nov. 25. furnished Will Beck going in quest of my negroes with
38/ hard money and £ 360 paper.

LOSSES CAUSED BY BRITISH

From Account Book, 1782

Sep. 28. gave my note to W. Beck for £ 3. & allow him £ 6-8 more for going in quest of my negroes.

To William Jones

Paris Jan. 5. 1787.

. . . Ld. Cornwallis encamped 10. days on an estate of mine at Elk-island, having his headquarters in my house. he burned all the tobacco houses & barns on the farm, with the produce of the former year in them. he burnt all the inclosures, & wasted the feilds in which the crop of that year was growing: (it was the month of June) he killed or carried off every living animal, cutting the throats of those which were too young for service. of the slaves he carried away thirty. the useless & barbarous injury he did me in that instance was more than would have paid your debt, principal & interest. . . . (NN)

To Dr. William Gordon

Paris July 16. 1788

. . . it was early in June 1781. Lord Cornwallis then proceeded to the point of fork, and encamped his army from thence all along the main James river to a seat of mine called Elkhill, opposite to Elk island & a little below the mouth of the Byrd Creek. (you will see all these places exactly laid down in the map annexed to my Notes on Virginia printed by Stockdale.) he remained in this position ten days, his own head quarters being in my house at that place. I had had time to remove most of the effects out of the house. he destroyed all my growing crops of corn & tobacco, he burned all my barns containing the same articles of the last year, having first taken what corn he wanted, he used, as was to be expected, all my stocks of cattle, sheep & hogs for the sustenance of his army, and carried off all the horses capable of service: of those two young for service he cut the throats, and he burnt all the fences on the plantation, so as to leave it an absolute waste. he carried off also about 30. slaves: had this been to give them freedom he would have done right, but it was to consign them to inevitable death from the small pox & putrid fever then raging in his camp. this I knew afterwards to have been the fate of 27. of them. I never had news of the remaining three, but presume they shared the same fate: when I say that Lord Cornwallis did all this, I do not mean that he carried about the torch in his own hands, but that it was all done under his eye, the situation of the house, in which he was,

COMMENTARY AND EXTRACTS

commanding a view of every part of the plantation, so that he must have seen every fire. I restate these things on my own knowlege in a great degree, as I was on the ground soon after he left it. . . .
(DLC)

From Account Book, 1796

Feb. 31. inclosed to Dr. Turpin order on C. Johnston & co. for £ 15. for a debt & interest due him for attending my people at Elkhill after the departure of the British army.

Appendices,
Bibliography,
&
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Appendices

1. Less Common Abbreviations and Symbols Used in the *Farm Book*

Alb.: Albemarle	Mos.: Moses
as.: acres	nonpaimt: nonpayment
B, bar., barr.: barrel	N's: Ned's
B, Bedfd.: Bedford	o: old
b: bushel	ov.: over
Bac's: Edmund Bacon	ozn.: osnaburg cloth
Bagw.: Bagwell	patd.: patented
begg: beginning	P. F.: Poplar Forest
bl: black	plns.: plains
br., bra.: branch	p. o.: peas, oats
ch, chdr: children	Po. Bo.: Portobello
cl: cloth	r: rolls of cloth
cold.: colored	Rach's: Rachael's
cr: creditor	s: shilling
d: pence	Sh.: Shadwell
fd.: field	shirtg: shirting
Figures: Figures before and after names indicate the year of birth.	shuckg.: shucking
forem: foreman	sm: smith
g, gal.: gallon	Sn., Snowd.: Snowden
grd.: ground	Span.: Spanish
h: hat	st.: steer
Hem.: Heming	TJR: Thomas Jefferson Randolph
hhd: hogshead	TMR: Thomas Mann Randolph
Hub., Hubd.: Hubbard	Virga.: Virginia
I.: inches	waggn., wagn.: wagoner
Isb's: Isabell's	wh: wheat
Lew's: Lewis's	ye: the
midls.: middlings	y. o.: year old
	yos: those

braces and brackets: when used with list of names of slaves usually refer to families.

* denotes a laborer in the ground

+ denotes a titheable person following some other occupation

— denotes a person discharged from labor on account of old age or infirmity

—— A line drawn through a name of a slave indicates death or sold

£ pound Sterling or Colonial

/ shilling

€ hundredweight

/ m minute

• denotes the delivery of blue thread

H hour

□ square

Δ triangle

2. Jefferson Chronology

- 1743 April 13 (New Style). Born at Shadwell, Goochland (now Albemarle) County.
- 1757. First toll mill built on Rivanna River by Peter Jefferson.
- 1757 August 17. His father, Peter Jefferson, died.
- 1760-1764. Attended College of William and Mary and started studying law under George Wythe.
- 1766 May. Journeyed to Maryland, Philadelphia, and New York.
- 1767. Admitted to the bar. Began planting at Monticello.
- 1769. Began building at Monticello.
- 1769-1776. Member of House of Burgesses for Albemarle County.
- 1770 February. His home at Shadwell burned.
- 1770 November 26. Moved to Monticello.
- 1771. Toll mill, dam, and canal destroyed by flood.
- 1772 January 1. Married Martha Wayles Skelton.
- 1772 September 27. His daughter, Martha (called Patsy by her father) born.
- 1774 March 31. Laid out vegetable garden at Monticello.
- 1775-1776. Attended Continental Congress at Philadelphia.
- 1776 March 31. His mother, Jane Randolph Jefferson, died.
- 1776 June. Drafted Declaration of Independence.
- 1776-1779. Member House of Delegates of Virginia, where his work on revisal of the laws included the drafting of the Statute for Religious Freedom.
- 1778 August 1. Third daughter, Maria (baptized Mary and called Polly by her father) was born.
- 1779-1781. Governor of Virginia.
- 1780 January 21. Elected a member of American Philosophical Society.
- 1781. June 4. Tarleton's troops raided Monticello. Jefferson took refuge with friends and later retired to Poplar Forest.
- 1781 July 26. Returned to Monticello from Poplar Forest.
- 1782 September 6. His wife, Martha Wayles Jefferson, died.
- 1784-1789. In France as commercial representative and minister.
- 1785. Notes on the State of Virginia printed.
- 1786 April 1-9. Toured English gardens.
- 1789. Returned to United States.
- 1790-1793. Secretary of State under Washington.
- 1790 February 23. His daughter, Martha, married Thomas Mann Randolph.
- 1790 August. Made first model of his mouldboard.
- 1794 January 16. Arrived in Monticello after resigning from Washington's Cabinet.
- 1794. Nailery established at Monticello.
- 1796 June. Visited by Rochefoucauld-Liancourt.
- 1796 Summer. Completed the building of his first threshing machine copied after Scotch model.
- 1796-1800. Vice-President of the United States.

DEFINITIONS

- 1797 January. Elected President of the American Philosophical Society.
- 1797 October 13. Mary Jefferson married John Wayles Eppes.
- 1801-1809. President of the United States.
1803. Toll mill rebuilt.
1803. Canal completed.
- 1804 April 17. His daughter, Mary Eppes, died.
1806. House at Poplar Forest begun.
- 1807 April-May. Laid out and planted the oval and round flower beds around the house at Monticello.
- 1807 May 29. Received French medal for design of mouldboard.
1807. Manufacturing mill first ground wheat for flour.
1808. Thomas Mann Randolph invented hillside plow.
1808. Laid out winding walk and planted flower borders on broad lawn back of house.
- 1809 March 15. Arrived at Monticello after retiring from Presidency.
- 1814 September 21. Offered library to Congress.
- 1814 November 21. Resigned presidency of the American Philosophical Society.
1814. His wooden mouldboard first cast in iron at Richmond, Virginia.
- 1815 January. Congress passed bill to purchase his library.
1819. University of Virginia chartered.
1825. University of Virginia opened.
1826. March 16. Executed his will.
- 1826 July 4. Died at Monticello.

3. Definitions of Certain Terms Used in the *Farm Book*

Architrave. The lowest division of an entablature resting on the column.

Arpent. A French acre, or about one and a quarter English acre.

Band wheel. A wheel on which a band saw runs.

Barrack. A structure for the shelter or storage of hay, straw, etc., especially one having a light, adjustable roof supported by four corner posts.

Bateau (batteau). A flat-bottomed boat, tapering towards the ends.

Belted grounds. Grounds or fields that are encircled by a belt of cleared land or one of woods.

Boisseau. The French word for a bushel.

Bolting (boulting). Act or process of bolting or sifting flour or meal. Also the refuse or bran separated.

Bolting cloth (boulting cloth). Wire, hair, silk, or other sieve cloth, used for sifting flour and meal.

Breast of a dam. The retaining bank of the mill pool above the mill wheel. If the water wheel is overshot, there is a short flume from the breast to the top of the wheel. In the case of a breast wheel, the water is delivered close against the back of the wheel from the breast of the dam through a sluice gate. (Courtesy of Greville Bathe.)

Brimstone. Sulphur in rolls.

Burr millstones. In a general sense, a millstone made of siliceous rock. The early millstones of the best quality and used for grinding wheat were built up from small stones brought from France. Each stone averaged about a square foot or so in area. These were dressed and cemented together with plaster of Paris so as to form one complete circular mass of stone.

Cocks. Small conical piles of hay.

Cooperage. A place where barrels are made and repaired.

Cradler. A person who mows or cuts the grain with a scythe.

Crocus bed. One covered with a coarse sacking material.

Demicord. Half a cord.

Drum wheel. A cylinder of a threshing machine with teeth that beat out the wheat from the heads.

Dutch stone. A kind of mill stone imported from Holland.

Entablature. It consists of the architrave, frieze, and cornice.

Farina. The pollen of a plant.

Fascia. A flat member of an order or building.

Gudgeon. A shaft with a pivot on which something moves.

Hopper-boy. The hopper-boy was invented by Oliver Evans. It was simply a large revolving rake some twelve feet long adjustable for height on a vertical driving shaft by means of a cord and a balance weight. This spread the meal evenly on the upper floor of the mill, called the mill loft, and guided it gradually to the shute over the bolting hopper, which passed it into the bolting chest. In fact, it performed the work of a boy hitherto employed solely for this purpose, hence the reason it was called "hopper-boy." (See Greville Bathe, 1935, *Oliver Evans*, p. 11.)

Hopper-free. The privilege of having grain ground at a mill without paying the usual fee.

Horsehoeing industry. Cultivating the soil with a kind of horse-drawn surface cultivator.

Horse wheel. The largest cogwheel of a threshing machine.

Jasper of Sicily. An opaque, compact, uncrystalline variety of quartz, stained red, brown, green, yellow, etc.

Journeymen. Men hired to work by the day.

Kids. Young goats.

Linchpin. A pin inserted in the end of an axletree to hold the wheel on.

Livres. A former French money of account. A pound of 12 ounces.

Lop. To hew or cut branches, twigs, or dead parts from a tree.

Mauler (mawler). One who splits fence rails with a maul and a wedge.

Middlings. The medium-sized particles separated in the sifting of ground grain. In the low grindings, where the grain passed through the millstones but once the middlings were used chiefly for feed. In high milling, the middlings consist mostly of coarse particles of endosperm, which, after being freed of fine bran particles, are ground to produce the best grades of patent flour. That part of a hog that lies between the ham and the shoulder: a side of bacon.

Mobby. The liquids, used as a beverage or for distilling, obtained by crushing apples or peaches.

BIOGRAPHIES

Odometer. An instrument attached to a vehicle, to measure the distance traversed. (See *Garden Book*.)

Peak stones. Unidentified.

Pen. A special arrangement of logs and rocks making up a dam.

Perch. A measure of length now equal to 5½ yards, but formerly variable.

Pierhead. The abutments of a pier; the projecting ends often forming a wharf or landing place.

Pouces. The French word for inches.

Prizing head. The head of a tobacco barrel or hogshead which compresses cured tobacco inside the barrel.

River. One who splits wood instead of sawing it.

Shipstuffs. A low grade wheat flour, got after separating the higher grade; wheat offals, used as a stock feed.

Skirt of millstone. The border, rim, or outer portion of a millstone.

Spring of brick arch. The lowest bricks of an arch, often called springers; or the place where the arch begins to curve.

Spur wheel. The simplest form of a toothed wheel used in machinery, with radial teeth parallel to the axis of the wheel.

Switch broom. A bunch of stiff sticks and twigs tied together for beating out certain substances.

Tail race. A lower mill race. The channel into which the water from a water wheel or turbine is discharged.

Tire (tyre). Probably the same as piles to be driven into the ground.

Twy-fallow. Probably Jefferson's abbreviation for "two-way fallow."

Verde antico (Verd antique). A green mottled or veined serpentine marble, much used for indoor decoration.

Wallower. A gear with a small number of teeth designed to mesh with a larger wheel. A smaller wheel of a pair. A wheel that turns the trundle-head in a mill.

Wether. A castrated ram.

Yean. Bringing forth young, as a sheep, or a goat.

4. Biographies of Persons Mentioned in the *Farm Book*

THIS list contains the biographies of persons frequently mentioned in this book not generally known. Others are listed in the index. Many of the sketches have been drawn from Woods, Edgar, *History of Albemarle County in Virginia*, Charlottesville, Michie Co., 1901, in which case there is a notation as, for example, W., 138-139.

Alexander, Eli. A native of Elkton, Maryland; overseer at Shadwell from December 1793 through 1795. Later leased Shadwell from Jefferson and was a tenant there at least through 1810. (See references to Eli Alexander in the *Garden Book*.)

Anderson, Richard. Probably Richard Anderson, who was a son of

- David Anderson and his wife Elizabeth. They came from Hanover County and lived on a plantation in Albemarle County, not far from Scottsville. Richard Anderson married Ann Meriwether. At one time owned interest in the land on Ivy Creek on which the Prison Barracks were built and which he sold to John Harvie about a year before their building took place. (W., 138-139.)
- Bacon, Edmund. A native of Albemarle County. His wife was Ann Bacon, and their three sons were: Fielding W., Thomas J., and William L., Bacon. Edmund Bacon was overseer at Monticello from 1806 to October 1822. Moved from Monticello to Kentucky, where he became a successful farmer. (See the many references to Edmund Bacon in the *Garden Book*.)
- Bacon, Mary. The mother of Edmund Bacon. Jefferson wrote in his Account Book 1817, "May 15. of the 145. D. borrowed of E. Bacon ante Jan. 6. his own part was 49.52 the residue 95.48 belonged to his mother Mary Bacon, of which he has paid her 20. D. recd. from Wm. Fitz on my account, and I now draw on mr Southall for 25. D. further on her account."
- Ballard, William. Overseer at Tufton from December 1, 1813, to December 1, 1814. Probably a descendant of Thomas Ballard, who as early as 1738 obtained a patent for three hundred and twenty acres near the foot of Piney Mountain. On October 20, 1815, Jefferson wrote in his Account Book, "Th: J. Randolph pays Wm. Ballard for me this day 200. D. which leaves a balance of 76D. 83 still due to him."
- Ballow, Thomas. Owned land adjoining Jefferson's land in Bedford County. Probably the Ballow who served Jefferson as steward during 1785 and 1786. (See page 29 of the *Farm Book*.)
- Bankhead, Charles Lewis. Son of John Bankhead and Mary Warner Lewis. Married Anne Cary Randolph, granddaughter of Jefferson. They lived at Carlton, Albemarle County.
- Biddle, Samuel. A native of Elkton, Maryland, who came to Monticello as overseer late in 1793. Remained only one year, leaving Monticello on November 1, 1794. (See references to Samuel Biddle in the *Garden Book*.)
- Bolling, Colonel John. Married on June 29, 1760, Mary Jefferson, sister of Thomas Jefferson. Lived first in Goochland County, and later in Chesterfield County. Member of the House of Delegates for Chesterfield County in 1778 and probably in other years.
- Bringinghurst, John. Hardware merchant and also a fancy goods merchant in Philadelphia during the 1790's. Jefferson often traded with him.
- Brown, Benjamin. Probably Benjamin Brown of Brown's Cove, Albemarle County, who obtained grants of land in Albemarle soon after its formation. Married Sarah Dabney. Died in 1762. (W., 151.)
- Bruce, Richard. Probably a neighbor of Jefferson. On August 18, 1783, Jefferson bought three horses from him; and on October 4, 1813, and on January 4, 1814, he bought several barrels of corn. (See Account Book for these years.)
- Burnley, Seth. Lived at Cloverhill north of Hydraulic Mills, Albemarle

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- County. Married Ann, daughter of Horsely Goodman. Jefferson bought corn from him in 1813. (W., 157.)
- Burras, Robert. Nothing has been found concerning Robert Burras. Evidently a neighbor, as Jefferson bought corn from him on November 12, 1799. (See Account Book, 1799.)
- Byrd, William. Probably William Byrd, the third of that name. Son of Colonel William Byrd, lived at Westover, Charles City County. Member of the House of Burgesses in 1753-1754; held other important offices. Imprudent in his private affairs and dissipated to a large extent his inherited fortune.
- Callaway, Richard. Born in Caroline County, Virginia. A colonel in the colonial army in 1758; was appointed in 1761 one of the trustees of New London, in Bedford County. Twice married. Moved to Kentucky in 1775 and became an important actor in the affairs of the new settlement. Patented many acres of land in Bedford County. (See Ackerly and Parker, *Our Kin*: 315-318. 1930.)
- Carden, Youen. The miller at Jefferson's toll mill from about 1808 until March 13, 1824. Proved to be a very efficient miller. His wife was born about 1772, and they had one son and three daughters.
- Carr, Daniel Ferrel. Son of Garland and Mary Winter Carr; succeeded his father at Bentivar, Albemarle County. Married Emily, daughter of William Terrel. Jefferson bought corn from him in 1813, 1815, and 1817. (W., 161; and Jefferson's Account Books for the above years.)
- Carr, David. Probably the son of John Carr, who became the owner by purchase of more than fifteen hundred acres in different parts of Albemarle County. Died in 1809. He and his wife Elizabeth had nine children. David was the oldest and he married Eliza Bowcock. (W., 162-163.) From Jefferson's Account Book, 1815, we learn that he bought oats from David Carr on July 7.
- Carstairs, Thomas. A builder of Philadelphia, probably also a carpenter. On April 6, 1791, Jefferson paid him for jobs, and on December 19, of the same year, he paid him in full for book presses and other work. On January 7, and on July 3, 1793, he paid him for carpentry work; and on January 1, 1794, he was paid in full for boxes. (See Account Books for the above years.)
- Carter, Edward. His home was Blenheim, Albemarle County. He married Sarah Champe. From 1767 to 1769 he represented, with Thomas Walker, the County in the House of Burgesses; and represented the same county, with George Nicholas, in the House of Delegates in 1788. (W., 163-164.)
- Carter, Secretary John. His home was Shirley. The eldest son of Robert (King) Carter, Secretary of the Colony in 1721. Founded the earliest American stud of English turf.
- Cary, Archibald. Son of Henry Carv of Ampthill, Chesterfield County, and Anne Edwards, his wife. Educated at the College of William and Mary, and later a member of all the Assemblies from 1756 to 1776, and of the Revolutionary Conventions of 1774, 1775, and 1776. The first speaker of the Senate in 1776; remained its presiding officer until his death. (Tyler, *Virginia Biography*, 2:8.)

- Chisolm, Hugh. One of Jefferson's most trusted workers. A bricklayer, a carpenter, and a man of all trades. He was working for Jefferson by 1796 and was still employed by him in 1824. (See Account Books for numerous entries about Hugh Chisolm.)
- Clark, Jonathan. In 1734 thirteen grants of land were made; one of these was to Edwin Hickman, Joseph Smith, Thomas Graves, and Jonathan Clark for 3,277 acres on the north side of the Rivanna River, running down from Captain MacMurdo's place and embracing the estates of Pantops and Lego. (W., 4.) Not further identified.
- Clarke, Mr. Probably Bowling Clark, who was overseer at Poplar Forest from 1789 to 1801. He was the son of Christopher and Penelope Clark, who moved to Bedford County from Albemarle County. In 1812 he was living at Hills Creek in Bedford County.
- Clarkson, Mr. In Jefferson's Account Book, 1791-1803, the names of David, Julius, Manoah, and William Clarkson are recorded. The Mr. Clarkson mentioned here is probably Manoah Clarkson, who served Jefferson as overseer at Monticello during 1792-1793. In his Account Book, 1794, Jefferson writes, "Jan. 24. settled with Manoah Clarkson balce due him £ 11-15-11½. assigned him T. Massey's note for smith's work 5-19-10. . . . note he has still to take his share of wheat at Shadwell." Manoah Clarkson owned several hundred acres of land in Albemarle County. He was twice married, and had twelve children. His daughter, Mary, married Jeremiah Goodman, who was Jefferson's overseer at Poplar Forest for several years. He died in 1829. (W., 168.)
- Cocke, John Hartwell. Planter, publicist, was born in Surry County, Virginia. Moved to Fluvanna County, Virginia, about 1803 and built Bremo. Promoted new agricultural methods, and the founding of agricultural societies. Published in 1860 a monograph *Tobacco* to prove it ethically and economically "the bane of Virginia husbandry." A valued friend of Jefferson.
- Colclaser, Mr. A miller, who with Thomas Eston Randolph leased Jefferson's manufacturing mill for several years. (See Mill in *Farm Book* and *Garden Book*.)
- Craven, John H. John H. Craven came to Albemarle County from Loudoun County on December 31, 1800. Leased land from Jefferson. Later became a prominent landholder in Albemarle County. Died in 1845.
- Crawford, Mr. Unidentified.
- Dickson, Mr. Probably Adam Dickson, who in 1788 published *Husbandry of the Ancients*, 2. v. Edinburgh.
- Dinsmore, James. An expert carpenter and builder, brought to Monticello by Jefferson in 1798 and worked for him there for many years. In a letter to Thomas Munro, written March 4, 1815, Jefferson says of him, "a more faithful, sober, discrete, honest and respectable man I have never known." He was still working for Jefferson in 1819. He also did much of the woodwork in building the University of Virginia.
- Divers, George. Lived at Farmington, Albemarle County, now the

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- Farmington Country Club. He and Jefferson were warm friends and often visited each other to discuss agricultural matters and to exchange plants and seeds. Mr. Divers married Martha Walker, daughter of Dr. Thomas Walker, of Castle Hill. (See the many references to George Divers in the *Garden Book*.)
- Donath, Joseph. A merchant in Philadelphia. Jefferson often traded with him, buying glass and other materials.
- Dutton, Mr. Possibly Hely Dutton, who wrote *Statistical survey of the county of Clare, with observations on the means of improvement*. Dublin. 1808.
- Eppes, Francis. Married Elizabeth Wayles, sister of Mrs. Jefferson. Jefferson and Francis Eppes were close friends and correspondents for many years.
- Eppes, John Wayles. Son of Francis Eppes and his wife Elizabeth Wayles Eppes; born at Appomatox Manor, in the present City Point, near Petersburg, Virginia. Married Mary (or Maria) Jefferson, daughter of Thomas Jefferson, on October 13, 1797. He was a Congressman and Senator from Virginia. Their son, Francis Eppes, was a favorite grandson of Jefferson.
- Franklin, Bernard. Overseer at Monticello from 1788-1790. He is mentioned in the Account Books for the years 1794, 1800, and 1801.
- Freeman, John Holmes. Jefferson wrote in his Account Book, 1805, "Aug. 22. J. Holmes Freeman commences as overseer at £ 60. a year." His work was not satisfactory and he was replaced the following year by Edmund Bacon.
- Garth, Thomas. The first of the Garth family in Albemarle County. Steward for Jefferson for several years. His wife was Judith Long. He was appointed a magistrate in 1791, and served as Sheriff in 1807.
- George. One of Jefferson's trusted slaves who seems to have held a position almost that of an overseer at Monticello for several years.
- Gilmore, Joseph. A boatman who often carried articles up and down the Rivanna River for Jefferson. From June 14, 1820, to October 23, of the same year, he worked at Jefferson's mill. He was paid \$30 per month. (See Account Books, 1816 and 1820.)
- Goodman, Mr. Jefferson wrote in his Account Book, 1809, "Dec. 25. this day McGeehee & Goodman come into my service as overseers." This Goodman was probably Jeremiah Goodman, who in 1811 became overseer at Poplar Forest. He was overseer there until 1815. Jeremiah Goodman married Mary, the daughter of Manoah Clarkson, of Albemarle County. He was the son of Elizabeth and Charles Goodman. (W., 210.)
- Gordon, Mr. Probably Gordon, the millwright. No other information has been found about him.
- Graves, Thomas. See Jonathan Clark. Not identified further.
- Griffin, Burgess. Burgess Griffin was overseer at Poplar Forest from 1801 to 1811.
- Haden, Mr. Probably George Haden, of whom Jefferson wrote in his Account Book, 1800, "Nov. 13. on a settlement with George Haden, I am indebted to him £ 31-1-19 for leather, fowls, butter

&c. furnished me which sum I am to pay for him to mr Short. . . .”
Not further identified.

Hallet, Etienne Sulpice. One of the first of a long line of French architects who have influenced American design and building.

Ham, Mr. Probably Elizah Ham, about whom Jefferson wrote the following to Thomas Mann Randolph, on August 26, 1811: “. . . he [*Goodman*] is to go tomorrow to engage for me at Lego, a man of the name of Ham, who has lived at mr Durrett’s, and is of the best qualification and dispositions.” There are references to Elizah Ham in the Account Books for 1814, 1815, 1816, and 1819.

Harris, Mrs. Not identified.

Harris, Skip. A workman at Monticello. (See *Garden Book*.) Not further identified.

Harrison, Carter Henry. Son of Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley, and a brother of Benjamin Harrison, the signer of the Declaration of Independence. He resided at Clifton, Cumberland County, was chairman of the county committee of safety, and on April 22, 1776, drafted and submitted to the people assembled at Cumberland Court House the first explicit instructions in favor of independence adopted by a public meeting in any of the colonies. Later a member of the House of Delegates under the new constitution of Virginia. (Tyler, *Virginia Biography*, 2: 11-12.)

Harvie, John. John Harvie was born in Albemarle County, Virginia. A Revolutionary patriot, a statesman, and a financier. His father, John Harvie, was guardian of Thomas Jefferson.

Hemings, John. The most expert of Jefferson’s slaves, who served a kind of apprenticeship under white carpenters and joiners. Jefferson was dependent on him for most of the fine woodwork to be done in the later years at Monticello and Poplar Forest.

Henderson, Bennett. The second son of John Henderson, Sr. and a man of much consideration. A magistrate of the county. It was on his land that the town of Milton was built. He resided at Milton and erected a large flouring mill, and a tobacco warehouse there. He married Elizabeth Lewis and they had twelve children. (W., 227-228.)

Hickman, Edwin. The second sheriff of Albemarle County. It was from his sons, William and James Hickman that Thomas Garth purchased the Lego estate for Jefferson. (See Jonathan Clark.)

Higginbotham, David. Lived at Morven, Albemarle County. A successful merchant of Milton, Virginia, and from his firm “David Higginbotham & Company” Jefferson bought many of the supplies for his plantations.

Holmes, Judge Hugh. Son of Joseph and Rebecca Holmes, born at Mary Ann Furnace in York, Pennsylvania. While he was still small, his parents migrated to Frederick County, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley. He later lived at Winchester, Virginia, and became Judge of the General Court of Virginia. He was a friend and correspondent of Jefferson. He was also on the Rockfish Gap “Board of Commissioners for the University of Virginia.” (See the

- correspondence between Jefferson and Judge Holmes under "Spinning and Weaving.")
- Hylton, John. In 1776 John Hylton was Comptroller of the Port of James River, Upper District. He was an importer of cattle and horses. Not further identified.
- Ingraham, Mr. Unidentified.
- Jefferson, Anna Scott. Born October 1, 1755. Sister of Thomas Jefferson and a twin sister to Randolph Jefferson. In October 1788 she married Hastings Marks.
- Jefferson, Peter. A surveyor who with Joshua Fry, in 1751, made a map of Virginia. Married Jane, daughter of Isham Randolph of Dungeness, in Goochland County, Virginia. He was the father of Thomas Jefferson.
- Jefferson, Randolph. A twin to Anna Scott Jefferson. Twice married. On July 30, 1780, he married Anne Jefferson Lewis, and in 1808 or 1809 he married Mitchie B. Pryor of Buckingham County, Virginia. His home was at Snowden on the James River in Buckingham County.
- Johnson, Benjamin. A native of Bedford County, Virginia. He exchanged land with Jefferson. Not further identified.
- Kames (Kaims), Lord (Henry Home). A Scottish Judge, a country gentleman of small fortune, and an amateur agriculturist. He wrote the book, *Gentleman Farmer*. Jefferson was an admirer of Lord Kames's writings.
- Key, James. He was the son of John Key, who was one of the pioneer settlers in Albemarle County. He and his family later migrated to either Kentucky or Tennessee. On December 10, 1799, Jefferson jotted down in his Account Book, "bot of Jas. Key 50 Bar. corn @ 13/ + 1/ for bringing it home."
- Key, Mr. Probably John Key, who was one of the pioneers of Albemarle County. He was Jefferson's steward in 1783 and 1784. In the index of Jefferson's Account Book, 1791-1803, are listed James, John, Joshua, and Walter, Key. He bought corn from all of them.
- Lewis, Mr. Ben. Probably Benjamin Lewis of Trinity Parish, Louisa County, Virginia, who married Patsy (Martha) Bickerton.
- Lewis, C. L. Probably Charles Lilburn Lewis, who in 1769 married Lucy Jefferson, sister of Thomas Jefferson. On June 2, 1800, Jefferson wrote in his Account Book, "I was to pay him [*John Watson*] for C. L. Lewis for 125. do. [*barrels of corn*] @ 15/ — — — 93-15-0."
- Lewis, Nicholas. A son of Robert Lewis, who married Jane, the daughter of Nicholas Meriwether. He lived at the Farm, adjoining Charlottesville on the east, a gift of his grandfather, Nicholas Meriwether. A public-spirited man, a captain in the Revolution, a magistrate, a surveyor, and a sheriff of Albemarle County, he was a trusted friend of Jefferson, and the adviser of his family during his long absences from home. He married Mary, the eldest daughter of Dr. Thomas Walker. (W., 252.)
- Lilly, Gabriel. Gabriel Lilly was overseer at Monticello from 1800 through most of 1805. Mr. Lilly was one of the most faithful

overseers that Jefferson hired. When he left Jefferson's service, Jefferson wrote to a friend that "no event of this kind could have afflicted me more, as the conduct of the present man leaves me as perfectly satisfied absent as present." (See references to Gabriel Lilly in the *Garden Book*.)

Logan, George. A physician and United States Senator. His home was Stenton, in Philadelphia; and here he often entertained Jefferson and other important men of his day. He and Jefferson were long-time friends. One of his important contributions to agriculture was as founder of the "Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture."

Marks, Mrs. Mrs. Anna Scott Marks, sister of Jefferson. (See Anna Scott Jefferson.)

Mastin. Unidentified.

Mayo, Philip. In 1749 Philip Mayo, of Henrico County, entered four hundred acres on the branches of the Hardware River, situated in the limestone belt, and long known as the Limestone Survey. In 1752 he sold it to Peter Jefferson, Joshua Fry, Arthur Hopkins, Thomas Meriwether, Daniel Scott, and William Stith, President of the College of William and Mary. (W., 270.)

McGehee, William. On December 25, 1810, Jefferson wrote in his Account Book, "this day [William] McGehee & Goodman come into my service as overseers." William was probably a son of James McGehee, who patented nearly two hundred acres on Henderson's Branch, and near the Secretary's Road. In 1774 it came into the hands of Jefferson. (W., 259.)

Meriwether, Nicholas. A neighbor and friend of Jefferson, the eldest son of Thomas Meriwether and Elizabeth Thornton, his wife. Married Margaret Douglas, the daughter of the Reverend William Douglas, a native of Scotland, then rector of the Parish of St. James, Northam, Goochland County. This Mr. Douglas was an early teacher of Jefferson. (W., 272.)

Millar, Mr. (Millar's works.) Unidentified.

Minor, D. Probably Dabney Minor, whose father, John Minor, of Topping Castle, Caroline County, was the patentee of land on the north fork of the Rivanna River as early as 1735. Dabney Minor became a large landholder in Albemarle and other counties. He subsequently purchased Carrsbrook, in Albemarle County, and there spent his last years. He was twice married, first to Elza Johnson, and secondly to Martha Terrell. He died in 1824, at about fifty years of age. (W., 277-278.)

Minor, Samuel O. Son of Garrett and Mary O. Minor. In 1817 he bought from Martin Dawson upwards of six hundred acres on the north side of the Rivanna River, below Milton. He afterwards lived and conducted a school at the Farm. (W., 279.)

Mousley, Walter. There are several entries in Jefferson's Account Book, 1771 about Walter Mousley. In 1772 the Account Book has these two entries: "Mar. 11. on settlement of accts with W. Mousley

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I am £ 4-14-0½ in his debt which he directs me to pay to Patr. Henry." "Oct. 6. I may expect from Garth & Mousley

200. barrls. corn @ 10/

15000. lb fodder

1200. lb pork."

Jefferson leased certain lands to Mr. Mousley and Mr. Garth.

Mullins, Henry. A workman at Shadwell and Monticello. In July and September of 1771 he did reaping at both of these places (Account Book). On December 22, 1772, Jefferson "bot 830 lb pork gross of H. Mullins." And on February 10, 1774, he bought a cow and a calf (Account Books).

Overton, Richard. On November 2, 1802, Jefferson wrote from Washington to Craven Peyton, ". . . from this time to February I have to pay for some parcels of lands adjoining Monticello bought of mr Overton of mr Brown & mr Wells. . . ." (ViU) On January 11, 1803, Jefferson inclosed to Gabriel Lilly for Mr. Overton \$346.67 (Account Book). Not further identified.

Page, William. Jefferson's overseer at Shadwell for the years of 1796 and 1797. This was probably the William Page who was owner of land below Milton, and of Lot Forty in Charlottesville, in the early part of 1800. (W., 293.) See references to William Page in the *Garden Book*.

Parker, Mr. Unidentified.

Peters, Richard. A lawyer, a Revolutionary patriot, judge, and farmer, the first president of the Philadelphia Society for Promotion of Agriculture. Wrote extensively on agriculture. His estate was Belmont, standing high on the west bank of the Schuylkill. A friend and correspondent of Jefferson.

Petit, Hugh. Hugh Petit became overseer at Monticello on November 18, 1794. He remained through most of 1796. There appears to have been some misunderstanding about the balance of money due him for Jefferson entered in his Account Book for 1797, "Aug. 8. arbitrated my acct. with Hugh Petit and paid him the balance awarded in presence of the arbitrators £ 1-13-4." Jefferson once wrote that Hugh Petit was ruined by the town of Milton.

Peyton, Craven. Settled in Milton with his brothers, Robert and John. When his brothers, who never married, died, he inherited their large properties in Albemarle County. He married Jane Jefferson Lewis, a daughter of Jefferson's sister, Lucy. In 1811 he sold to Jefferson more than 1100 acres of land that he had purchased from the family of Bennett Henderson. (W., 295.)

Powers, Larkin. Mr. Powers' name is mentioned twice in the *Farm Book*. In Jefferson's Account Book, 1818, there are three entries for him: "May 23. gave Larkin Powers ord. on Jas. Leitch for 30. D." "Sep. 30. charge Powers 76. lb beef @ 4d. 26/4." "Dec. 24. settd with Larkin Powers & paid him balance in full 6. D." Not further identified.

Randolph, D. M. Probably David Meade Randolph, of Presque Isle. Born 1760 and died September 23, 1830. Married Mary, daughter of Thomas Randolph of Tuckahoe. Served in the Revolution as

- a Captain in Bland's Dragoons; and as a United States Marshal for Virginia.
- Randolph, Mrs. David Meade. Wife of David Meade Randolph and the sister of Thomas Mann Randolph.
- Randolph, Martha (Jefferson). Eldest daughter of Thomas Jefferson and his wife Martha (Wayles) Jefferson.
- Randolph, Ryland. Third son of Colonel Richard Randolph and Jane Bolling, of Curls, Henrico County. He inherited lands in the fork of the Appomattox in Goochland and Amelia Counties, and at Bush River and Falling Creek, Amelia County. (See *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biography* 22: 441-443.)
- Randolph, Thomas Jefferson. Eldest son of Thomas Mann Randolph and Martha (Jefferson) Randolph. Born at Monticello, he became the favorite grandson of Thomas Jefferson. A farmer, an author, and a financier.
- Randolph, Jr., Thomas Mann. Member of Congress and Governor of Virginia. Son of Thomas Mann and Anne (Cary) Randolph of Tuckahoe in Goochland County, Virginia. On February 23, 1790, at Monticello, he married Martha Jefferson. They had ten children.
- Randolph, William. William Randolph, of Tuckahoe, was the first of the name to enter land within the present limits of Albemarle. In 1735 he was granted twenty-four hundred acres "on the north side of the Rivanna near the mountain, a little below Mountain Falls." On the organization of the county, he was appointed its Clerk. At his death his land passed to his son, Thomas Mann Randolph, of Tuckahoe. Neither William nor Thomas Mann ever resided in Albemarle County. (W., 301.)
- Roberts, Mr. One of Jefferson's overseers in Bedford County. He is mentioned in the Account Book, 1812, but his name does not occur in the following Account Books. Jefferson does not give his Christian name. From the Account Book, 1812, "May 19. note Roberts's part of the wheat of 1811 to wit $\frac{800.33}{21}$ bush. = 38b.8lb."
- Robertson, Daniel and John. Unidentified except that Jefferson bought land in Bedford County from them.
- Rogers, Mr. Overseer at Monticello in 1791, and overseer at Shadwell in 1792 and 1793. He was probably John Rogers, from whom Jefferson bought beef, pork, turkeys, and whisky, from 1795 to 1801. (See Account Books for these years.)
- Rose, J. Probably from Augusta County, Virginia. Unidentified.
- Ross, David. In the *Richmond Enquirer* for February 6, 1817, appeared the following obituary of David Ross: "We have to announce the death of DAVID ROSS, Esq. of this city, who after a long indisposition, breathed his last on Sunday forenoon. Mr. R. was more than 80 years of age, long a resident of this City. He was no ordinary man. He was gifted with a mind of extraordinary acuteness. As a commercial Agent, he greatly befriended this Commonwealth during the struggles of the Revolution, at a time when she most needed assistance. Though for a long time deaf, he was a most interesting; because a most intelligent companion. Few men were better known than Mr. Ross.—The property he left behind him is said to be

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- immense." Jefferson carried on many business transactions with David Ross. (See Jefferson's Account Books.)
- Rothwell, John. He was probably a neighbor of Jefferson. The following are entries about him in the Account Books: 1810, "paid John Rothwell for oats 42.35." "Rothwell for oats 43.50." 1814, "pd to E. Bacon for John Rothwell for 14. B. corn 42. D." 1815, "pd mr Bacon for Rothwell 50. b. oats 25." Not further identified.
- Schneider, Mr. A fresco painter of New York City. (See "Fresco Painting" in the *Farm Book*.) Unidentified further.
- Shackleford, Tom. Probably one of John Wayles's slaves allotted to Jefferson in 1774. (See *Farm Book*, p. 9.)
- Sharpe, Robert. Probably a workman at Monticello. This is an entry in the Account Book 1796, "Mar. 30. pd Rob. Sharpe 4. D. in full for his claim of land on the N. side the 3. notchd. road adjoining my limestone land." (See *Garden Book* for references to him.)
- Smith, Joseph. In 1734 Joseph Smith joined with Edwin Hickman, Thomas Graves, and Jonathan Clark in entering thirty two hundred and seventy-seven acres on the north side of the Rivanna River, where it is crossed by the South West Mountain. In the partition of the tract, the portion of Smith coincided with the Pantops plantation. He devised it to his sons, John, Larkin, Philip, and Thomas. In the interval from 1746 to 1765, they sold their shares, and eventually they all came into the possession of Jefferson. What became of the brothers is not known. (W., 316.)
- Spiers, John. John Spiers, whose name Jefferson spells Speers in the Land Roll, 1810, was a son of William Spiers. Peter Jefferson sold him 100 acres of the Pouncey tract and in 1797 Thomas Jefferson repurchased it from his son John Spiers. In the Account Book, 1797, is this record, "July 15. accepted John Spier's order in favor of Flemg & Mclan. for 30. D. in part paimt of his relinquishmt of claim to 100 acres of my Pouncey's tract." And on October 2, "gave order on P. Lott in favor of John Spiers for £ 9-14-16 = 32.20D in full for the price of his claim to 100. acres of my Pouncey tract of land."
- Spiers, William. See above. Nothing has been found to further identify William and John Spiers.
- Spottswood, Alexander. Son of John Spottswood, and a grandson of Alexander Spottswood, lieutenant-governor of Virginia. His home was at Nottingham, Virginia. A general in the Revolutionary War and a lover of horses.
- Starke (Stark), Mr. Probably James Starke, who was a carpenter at Monticello. Jefferson notes in the Account Book, 1810, "Feb. 26. James Stark begins to work @ 190. D. a year for himself & apprentice as carpenters." He is mentioned also in the Account Book, 1812.
- Stevens, William. Probably a neighbor of Jefferson, from whom Jefferson bought corn on August 1, 1813, on April 5, 1814, and on August 30, 1814. Not further identified.
- Stith, Richard. A surveyor of Bedford County, to whom Colonel William Mead was deputy. In 1758 he was a justice of the peace for

- Bedford County. He was perhaps a son of John Stith of Charles City County. (See Land Roll of 1794 in *Farm Book*.)
- Stith, William. The Reverend William Stith (1707-September 19, 1755). Historian, minister, and third president of the College of William and Mary. Born in Virginia, son of Captain John Stith of Charles City County and Mary (Randolph) Stith. (Tyler, *Virginia Biography* 4: 143-149.)
- Streshly, Robert B. Probably a neighbor of Jefferson, who often bought corn from him. In 1812 Mr. Streshly bought Mooresbrook from Benjamin Brown. (W., 154.)
- Stuart, Archibald. A Revolutionary soldier, a legislator, jurist, and for many years a prominent leader of the conservative wing of the Jeffersonian Democrats in his state. Born near Staunton in the Valley of Virginia. A warm personal friend of Jefferson, there were frequent letters between them.
- Taylor, John. A political writer and agriculturist, generally known as "John Taylor of Caroline." He was one of America's greatest disciples and philosophers of agrarian liberalism. He and Jefferson were warm friends for many years.
- Terrill (Terril), Mr. The Terrill family was a prominent one in Albemarle County. In Jefferson's Account Book, 1791-1803, he mentions three Terrills, Chiles, Richard, and Robert. It is not known to which one Jefferson refers here.
- Timberlake, Mr. Probably Philip Timberlake to whom Jefferson refers in the Account Book, 1795. "April 25. gave Timberlake for exp. from & to Poplar forest 1. D." "Dec. 25. recd. of Philip Timberlake for an ox from Poplar forest sold on the road 50/." From these entries it appears that he was a workman at Monticello.
- Triplet, Colonel. Probably a businessman of Richmond. Unidentified.
- Tullos, Richard. Mr. Tullos owned land adjoining Jefferson's land in Bedford County. On June 15, 1812, Jefferson wrote to Zachariah Morris from Monticello ". . . you will recollect that mr Wayles bought of Richard Tullos a tract of 374. acres on Ivy creek, patented by Tullos; and that he bought from Richard Stith Surveyor an entry of 99. acres adjoining Tullos's. Scott made a subsequent entry on this 99. acres, and has brought on a suit on it against me, denying there ever was such an entry of Stith's (which indeed we cannot find in either the Surveyor's or clerk's office.) As you were living at the Poplar Forest when mr Wayles purchased that entry, I am in hopes you will be able to recollect and state to me the circumstances relating to it. . . ." (ViU)
- Wadsworth, Colonel. Maybe Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth of New York, who was a Revolutionary soldier and Congressman. He was also a banker, a manufacturer, and an agriculturist. (See *Dictionary of American Biography* XIX: 309-310.)
- Watkins, Jo. Perhaps a neighbor and probably a workman at Monticello. He is mentioned in the Account Book, 1795.
- Wayles, John. Born in Lancashire, England, in 1715, and after studying law, came to Virginia, where he lived in Charles City County and had extensive practice in the Colonial Courts. His home was

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called The Forest. He was married twice, and was the father of Martha Wayles, who married Thomas Jefferson. (See Tyler, *Virginia Biography* 6: 266.)

Weaver, Mr. Unidentified.

Wells, Thomas. In 1802, Jefferson entered the following in his Account Book, "Oct. 5. . . . also 2. draughts in favr.

Ben. Brown	285.83
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Thos. Wells	133.33
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which last two are this day made and inclosed to Brown and Wells in full payment for the lands bought of them." (See also Richard Overton.) On October 19, 1799, Jefferson bought 390 pounds of beef from Thomas Wells and paid him £ 5-11-9 for it. (Account Book.)

Willis, Francis. Probably Francis Willis, White Hall. Born October 20, 1744, and died July 28, 1791. His wife was Elizabeth Perrin.

Willis, Stephen. One of Jefferson's workmen. He is probably the Stephen Willis who married Ann Lewis, daughter of David Lewis and his wife Mary McGrath, widow of Dr. Hart of Philadelphia. (W., 254-255.)

Wood, Drury. Probably Drury Wood, who was a son of David Wood and a Miss Watson. They came from Louisa and purchased land on the west side of the South West Mountain. He resided at Park Hill, opposite the bend of the north fork of the Rivanna River, near Stony Point. As a man of business he was judicious and energetic, and acquired a large estate. (W., 350.) In 1810, 1815, and 1817, Jefferson bought corn and oats from him. (Account Books.)

Wood, Mrs. Lucy Henry. Sister of Patrick Henry. Married Valentine Wood (1724-1781) January 3, 1764. Their children were Martha; Mary (Mrs. Edward Carter), second wife of Edward Carter, son of Edward Carter of Blenheim, Albemarle County; John H.; William; and Jane. Jefferson hired people from Mrs. Lucy Wood, Mrs. Carter, William, and Jane, in 1795.

Wythe, George. One of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a statesman, professor of law, and Chancellor of Virginia. Born in Elizabeth City County, Virginia. He was Jefferson's esteemed teacher and one of his most beloved friends.

Young, Arthur. Born and died in London. An agriculturist and author of *Travels in France*, he also wrote books and essays on agriculture and political economy. Probably the greatest English writer on agriculture. His writings are often quoted in the *Farm Book*.

5. Places not Generally Known

Albemarle County, Virginia. Formed in 1744 from Goochland and part of Louisa Counties, "and certain islands in the Fluvanna River."

Angola. One of the John Wayles's places, probably on Angola Creek in Cumberland County.

Augusta County, Virginia. Formed in 1745 from Orange County.

Bear Creek. One of Jefferson's plantations in Bedford County, Virginia. It adjoined Poplar Forest.

APPENDIX 5

- Bedford County, Virginia. Formed in 1754 from Lunenburg County and parts of Albemarle and Lunenburg Counties.
- Beverly. A town on the James River in Henrico County. Established in 1752, and located between Westham and the river. It seemed not to have developed and is now probably part of Westham.
- Brandywine Creek. Located in Pennsylvania and Delaware. Many mills were located along its banks.
- Bridge Quarter. One of the John Wayles's places, the location unidentified.
- Buckisland. An island in the Rivanna River opposite the mouth of Buckisland Creek.
- Buffalo Creek. Located in Bedford County, Virginia.
- Campbell County, Virginia. Formed in 1782 from Bedford County.
- Carrara, Italy. Province of Tuscany, Italy.
- Crank's. One of the John Wayles's places, the location unidentified.
- Cumberland County, Virginia. Formed in 1749 from Goochland and part of Buckingham Counties.
- Elk Hill or Byrd. Jefferson's estate in Goochland County, Virginia.
- The Forest. The home of John Wayles in Charles City County, Virginia.
- Guinea. One of the John Wayles's estates in Cumberland County, Virginia.
- Hardware River. A small river in the southern part of Albemarle County, Virginia.
- Henderson's Branch. A branch that entered the Rivanna River below the town of Milton, Virginia.
- Henrico County, Virginia. 1634 original Shire and parts of New Kent and of York Counties.
- High Mountain (Montalto). A mountain adjoining Monticello mountain.
- House, The. The Mansion House at Monticello.
- Indian Camp. One of the John Wayles's places in Cumberland County, Virginia.
- Judith's Creek or Dunlora. One of the John Wayles's places in Bedford County, Virginia.
- Lego. One of Jefferson's estates in Albemarle County, Virginia.
- Liggon's. One of the John Wayles's places, the county unidentified.
- Limestone. One of Jefferson's places in Albemarle County, Virginia.
- Meadow Branch. A branch on the Monticello estate.
- Milton, Albemarle County, Virginia. The town of Milton dates from 1789. Up to the War of 1812 it was the chief commercial center of the county. Being at the head of navigation on the Rivanna River, it became an important shipping port. Its business gradually subsided as Charlottesville grew, and it quietly passed into a straggling hamlet. (See page 57, for a view of Milton and the Rivanna as it appears today.)
- Montalto. See High Mountain.
- Moore's Creek. A creek at the base of Monticello Mountain in Albemarle County, Virginia.
- Moore's Ford. The crossing of the Rivanna River at what is now Free

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- Bridge was known in Jefferson's time as Moore's Ford or Lewis's Ferry, according to the stage of the water.
- Natural Bridge, Rockbridge County, Virginia. A natural bridge over Cedar Creek, 215 feet high and 50 to 100 feet wide, with a span of 90 feet. Natural Bridge was patented by Jefferson in 1774. It remained in his possession until his death in 1826.
- Pantops. One of Jefferson's estates in Albemarle County, Virginia.
- Parish of Fredericksville. Albemarle County contained two Episcopal Parishes, the Parish of Fredericksville in the north of the county and Saint Anne's Parish in the southern part of the county. The dividing line between them was the Three Notched Road.
- Park Branch. A branch located on the Monticello estate.
- Plum Tree Branch. The location unidentified.
- Poggio Branch. A branch on the Tufton estate, Albemarle County.
- Poggio Field. A field on the Tufton estate.
- Poplar Forest. One of Jefferson's favorite plantations in Bedford County, Virginia.
- Portobello. One of Jefferson's places between Tufton and Milton. It was patented by Peter Jefferson in 1740.
- Portobello Branch. A branch running through the Portobello place.
- Portobello Hill. Part of the Portobello place overlooking Milton.
- Pouncey's. One of Jefferson's plantations in Albemarle County, Virginia. It was patented by Peter Jefferson in 1756.
- Ragged Branch. A branch on the Monticello estate.
- Rivanna River. Northern branch of the James River in Albemarle County.
- Rockbridge County, Virginia. Formed in 1778 from Augusta and Botetourt Counties.
- Saint Anne's Parish. See Parish of Fredericksville.
- Shadwell. One of Jefferson's estates in Albemarle County: the home of Peter Jefferson and the birthplace of Thomas Jefferson.
- Willis's Creek. One of the John Wayles's places in Cumberland County, Virginia.
- Wingo's. One of the John Wayles's places in Cumberland County, Virginia.

6. Books Referred to by Jefferson

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Jefferson bought supplies for his plantations from several different merchant houses located in New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Milton, Charlottesville, and other places. The two establishments mentioned in the *Farm Book* are "McClure, Brydie & Company," of Richmond, Virginia; and "Fleming & McLanahan," of Milton, Virginia.

"The commercial house of McClure, Brydie & Co. was one of the first in the city [Richmond] in respectability as well as seniority. It was located near Shockoe warehouse, and on the steep and now dirty alley extending down to Virginia street, may yet be seen a portion of the stone wall which enclosed their premises of the same extent." (Samuel Mordecai, *Richmond in Bygone Days*, 118-119. Richmond. 1860.)

"Fleming and McLanahan" was one of several merchant houses in the thriving town of Milton, located on the Rivanna River, a few miles below Charlottesville. According to Jefferson's Account Books, he carried on an extensive trade with this commercial house.

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79°

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Poplar Forest

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AUGUSTA

38°

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ALLEGHANY

ROCKBRIDGE

NELSON

JAMES RIVER

CEDAR CREEK

Natural Bridge

AMHERST

BOTETOURT

PEAKS OF OTTER

JAMES RIVER

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Tomahawk*

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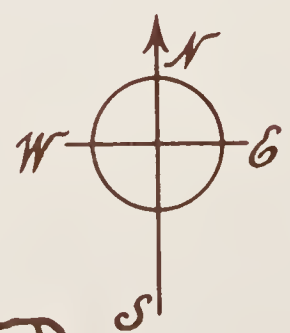
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